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EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

ALBERT BENEDICT WOLFE

PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

GINN AND COMPANY

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PREFACE

Some years ago, while teaching economics and sociology in Oberlin College, the editor of this book became impressed with the need of a course which should deal with the more basic and deeply rooted problems of our time in a serious and critical, but not too detailed or exhaustive, manner. Nearly every college and university was offering certain specific and detailed courses on individual, social, or economic problems, such as immigration, the family, poverty, etc. There were also many courses dealing with the abnormal side of society, the by-products of evolution, criminals and defectives, and methods of dealing with them — charities and corrections, criminology and penology, and the like. Thus there was much indication that many economics or sociology departments were devoting a very considerable part of their time — often the greater part of it — to a more or less superficial and temporizing study of what we may call for brevity the "down and out"; and this to the neglect of serious study of the underlying historical, economic, psychological, and social forces which produce in every normal society a number of problems of deepest import to the welfare of every normal individual and to the future direction of social evolution. Moreover, where only courses on specific individual problems or institutions are given, the student is not sure to emerge from his sociological study with anything even remotely resembling a perspective upon social and economic organization and process. Of a broad, general survey, demanding serious though not technical study of basic social problems of vital significance to-day, the editor could find few examples.

During the past three or four years there has been much indication of changing sentiment with regard to the arrangement of economics and sociology courses. The incipient demand for a general introductory course in social science in the freshman year

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will probably bear fruit in the near future. The conviction that social science courses should be definitely graded and arranged in logical series — instead of allowing the student to step from Economics 1 or Sociology A directly into any other course, not a graduate course, in the department — is growing apace. Akin to this conviction is the belief, upon which this book rests, that it is better for a student whose time is limited, as that of all students is, to secure, after a general introductory course in social science or after the elementary course in economics or sociology, a serious survey of a number of fundamental but concrete social problems than it is for him to attempt an intensive study of one or two, to the neglect of all the rest.

Some most important socio-economic problems have been practically neglected by both economics and sociology departments. Courses in one aspect of the population problem — immigration — there have been. Population as such has been considered chiefly by the economists, and by them principally as a matter of the acceptance or nonacceptance of the conclusions of Malthus, or as a subject incidental to the theory of wages. So far as sociologists have been able to take time out of the attractive business of building up social philosophies to consider practical issues, they have too often either ignored the population problem entirely or looked upon it as chiefly a matter of the declining birth rate, and usually without much apparent understanding of the underlying economic forces. The feminist movement and the woman problem (so-called for lack of a better and less invidious name) have, until very recently, either been touched upon with some hesitation or calmly ignored. In spite of the patent fact that they involve many of the most fundamental principles of ethics and economics and are freighted with profound significance for the future evolution of society and of social ethics, they have not been considered worthy the dignity of serious academic attention. It is high time this attitude were left behind in every educational institution. There have been numerous courses on the family, but they have usually treated it, mainly if not entirely, in its anthropological and historical aspects. The very important questions involved in matrimonial ideals and practice, and in divorce, with

their attendant present social unrest, were, until a comparatively recent time, left largely to the attention of those reformers who, rightly or wrongly, wish to see the amount of divorce reduced, at all costs. Race problems, where not approached in a highly biased and totally unscientific spirit, have been treated chiefly from the standpoint of anthropology.

Moreover, there have been practically no books, either for the student or the general reader, giving under one cover a serious introduction to these fundamental problems of social ethics and constructive sociology. The literature in each one of these specific fields has been increasing with gratifying, not to say embarrassing, rapidity in the past few years; but there is still a dearth of usable texts treating not one specific problem but a number.

These considerations, more particularly that it was regrettable that so many promising and supposedly educated young women and young men should go out from college with little or no ordered and scientific study of these matters, led to the development of a full-year course in social problems. The present book is an outgrowth of this course. It is the editor's hope that these readings will not only be found valuable in some courses in general sociology and in courses devoted entirely to individual problems but that they may to some degree stimulate the offering of more survey courses of the sort here suggested.

The selections will be found to reflect to some degree a historical method of attack. But for the limitations of space this would have been still more apparent. It is not always necessary to go back to the remotest anthropological or even historical beginnings of things, but some knowledge of historical development is essential to the proper understanding of any great social problem or movement. The historical attack, moreover, proves usually more interesting to the student than a purely statistical and critical method.

Effort has been made in the selections to present diverse points of view. It is, however, not possible in limited space to present examples of all the shades of opinion, nor is it necessary. The main objects are to stimulate the student to further reading, to furnish well-chosen material for classroom discussion — no

other method of instruction begins to be as effective — and above all to encourage the student to do his own thinking. Occasionally diametrically opposing views are placed together, but no effort has been made to construct a debaters' handbook. This has rather been avoided. The debater's habit of mind is not conducive to the formation of balanced judgments. Where so many conflicting views are given, it goes without saying, of course, that the editor does not hold himself responsible for any of them. The references at the end of each Book will suggest additional reading.

More stimulus from alert minds, more pure pleasure in teaching, than he has reaped from the course in social problems, the editor does not expect to experience. He desires to express his appreciation to students, past and present, for the very essential part they have played in the development of the ideas upon which this book rests. It is planned to publish, as soon as may be, a fairly comprehensive text on these problems, which will be designed as a companion book to the Readings.

Kindest acknowledgments are due to the various authors and publishers who have in every case cordially granted permission for the use of their work. The editor is further indebted to Professor W. Z. Ripley for kindly and acute criticism, and especially to Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe for constant helpful criticism and advice.

A. B. W.

Austin, Texas

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READINGS IN SOCIAL PROBLEMS

INTRODUCTION

In the long run the basic social problem is that of population. Economically the most fundamental relation is that between man and natural resources. The laws governing that relation must be understood and reckoned with first of all, in theories of social progress or in plans for the lasting improvement of the condition of the people. If these natural laws, whatever they may be, are not taken into consideration, every plan and ideal for human betterment runs the risk of impracticability, or else of being brought to naught even after it has seemingly realized its purpose. The nature of natural resources sets a limit, albeit an elastic one, to man's productivity — a limit which may be at a given time and place so highly elastic or so far in the future that it does not seem a reality, but at another place or time may prove to be a very present fact. No principle of economic science is better established than that sooner or later with increasing population the law of diminishing returns will assert itself in a way that will demand changes in economic, social, and political policies, if the average material well-being of a people is not to be brought to a standstill or actually to go backward. Moreover, a certain level of material wealth is a prerequisite to even a moderate development of the cultural and spiritual content of life. Failure or unwillingness, therefore, to consider the limitation placed upon the material basis of progress by a strictly limited supply of land, and the increasing difficulty of securing the food, raw materials, and power requisite to the needs of an expanding population, can be attributed only to ingrained preconception and prejudice.

Probably in few fields of social or ethical thought has there been as much loose reasoning, as great a lack of information, and as much seeming aversion to grapple with fundamentals, as in matters involving what is popularly, vaguely, and often erroneously known as Malthusianism. Many of the prevalent views of population are as naïve as those of the Middle Ages; and with the volcanic outburst of militarism in Europe in 1914 there inevitably comes a pronounced recrudescence of Mercantilist and Cameralist views of population—an overweening desire and a seeming national necessity for earlier marriage, higher birth rates, and larger families, to fill up the hideous gaps made by enemy shells. Whether the nature of human ambition, the drive of international competition, is such that the military argument for a high birth rate, regardless of costs, will retain perpetual validity is perhaps the deepest phase of the population question, upon the outcome of which the world's economic and social destiny hangs. Certainly the pressure of population, which Plato regarded as the first cause of soldiers, war, and conquest, and which to-day is at least one of the causes of rivalry for markets, colonies, and power, must receive the most serious sort of study by those who hope to see a real impetus toward international peace resultant upon the present European struggle. Not a few ardent social workers and reformers, many socialists, and most individualistic optimists are either supremely oblivious of the real population problems or think it sufficient to brush aside what they contemptuously refer to as Malthusianism. This habit of mind is more likely to be prevalent in a new country than an old one.

Controversy over the population question has for a century and a quarter pivoted on the theory of Malthus, under various interpretations and misinterpretations. The central thought of Malthus and of most economists since his day, that nature sets a much closer limit on man's power of producing wealth, and particularly subsistence, than upon the power of multiplying his kind, has been a stumblingblock to idealists of all types. The earlier years of the nineteenth century brought forth a copious and curious literature of criticism and attempted refutation of

Malthus's theory. Whether as left by Malthus[1] it has undergone, from this and later criticism, any vital revision must be left to the student's own judgment. The truth, falsity, or finality of Malthus's thought is, however, an academic matter. One should seek a true insight into the forces which govern population phenomena of all kinds and which may delimit and condition, or, on the other hand, may stimulate and further, social progress. Gradually sociology and psychology have been drawn upon to supplement the earlier statement of the problem. New elements are recognized, or at least given clearer definition and altered emphasis. Various sociological and psychological modifications of the Malthusian analysis have therefore been proposed, and have in part found acceptance. While there is still a plentiful lack of agreement as to the nature and force of the laws of human increase, it is certain that we understand the various elements of the problem much better than was formerly possible. Meanwhile it has increased in complexity and takes on exceedingly diverse practical aspects at different times and places, now one factor, and now another, calling for emphasis.

The declining birth rate in England, France, and the cities of Germany, to mention the striking European instances, the decreased number of children in American families, and the fact that the size of the family varies with social and economic status ("differential birth rate") have created a new situation which Malthus did not face, and one which has been taken to disprove his theories. Search for the causes of the falling birth rate has led into psychological and sociological fields and discovered influences and forces little active and hence unnoticed in Malthus's time. The checks that he recognized collectively as prudential, and which he regarded as chiefly economic in character, are now seen to be far more complex than he supposed. The rise of democracy, the modern woman movement, and the increasing emphasis on parental responsibility, for instance, are essentially new psychological forces, the significance of which as possible bulwarks against overpopulation it is of the greatest importance to examine.

[1] In the second and subsequent editions.

The problem is now recognized, too, as a question of the quality, as well as the quantity, of population. The eugenics idea, whether or not it prove capable of development into a new "science," the foundation for a new population policy, — the conscious improvement of the human stock, — has opened our eyes to some very present evils and dangers. It is unfortunate that our knowledge of the laws of heredity, which is the basis of eugenics, is so uncertain and fragmentary, and that the progress of investigation must necessarily be slow. Otherwise we might look for a rapid and at the same time sure progress of both theoretical and practical eugenics. Even with the advance of genetic psychology and experimental genetics much doubt must continue to exist with regard to the relative influence of environment and heredity. The laymen may well await the verdict of time, also, as to the validity of the methods of investigation used by the biometricians of the Pearson school in England, and of Mendelism, upon which as a working hypothesis the investigations of the Eugenics Record Office,[1] and most other American work, are being carried out. Meanwhile it is desirable to know what the problems of eugenics are, and what the difficulties in the way.

Another matter of more recent study is the high rate of infant mortality. From no rational point of view is it possible to regard the production of feeble-minded children and other defective and hopelessly inefficient elements of the population in any other way than as a dangerous and unnecessary waste of human energy. A high infant death rate must be looked at in the same light, as must, of course, a high death rate among children or youth of whatever age. It involves a useless expenditure of vital and social energy, which is at least in large part preventable. France and England have been ahead in the study of the causes and prevention of infant mortality, but vigorous work is now being done in the United States by the American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality and by the Federal Children's Bureau. It should be a matter of shame to Americans that our states have been so slow to establish adequate registration

[1] Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island.

laws that even to-day we have to work with dishearteningly inadequate statistical information as to the probable infant death rate in American communities.[1]

With the gradual abatement of infant mortality and of the general death rate, brought about by the advance of medical and sanitary science, we should have to look for a rapid increase in the population in all Western countries, were there not some evident tendency for the number of children born in a given population to decline also. Whether the birth rate is likely to continue to diminish, regardless of social and economic conditions, or whether its continued decline will be sharp enough to counterbalance the falling death rate, are questions upon which opinions may differ. The net growth ("natural increase") of a population, barring the effects of emigration and immigration, is of course the excess of the birth rate over the death rate in any given time.

An increasing population brings with it concentration into cities, overcrowding, poor housing, increased competition for work, and constantly heavier demands on the power of agriculture to produce subsistence. Nevertheless, many people look upon a large and constantly increasing population as a national necessity, whatever may be the tendency toward poverty, high cost of living, and internal dissension that may arise from it. There is felt, always, the menace of foreign armies and navies. For England "The Hun is at the gate!" for Germany hordes of Cossacks cloud the eastern horizon, for France, with her stationary population, German militarism proves a not unreal peril, and for us is the "Yellow Peril" — whether real or imaginary no one can surely say. Does it not behoove every nation, then, which desires to preserve its power and independence to see to it that it not only has full coffers and the latest models in ordnance but a plentiful population from which to draft soldiers and taxes? Because the ideal of international peace seems to some chimerical, because they look for a continuance of greedy and unscrupulous international struggle for markets, because the danger of foreign

[1] See Birth Registration, an Aid in Protecting the Lives and Rights of Children. United States Children's Bureau, Monograph No. 1, 2d ed., 1914.

military aggression seems continuous and great, a certain type of thinker sees no other logical or ethical population policy than to encourage in every possible way the production of large families. He looks with dismay on what is popularly called race suicide. On the other hand, others minimize these dangers, pin their faith to the gradual triumph of reason, arbitration, and peace, but perceive the real national dangers to lie within. They wish defense against what seems to them a rising tide of poverty, neglect, overcrowding, undernutrition, criminality, and increasing volume of mental defect, especially feeble-mindedness ; and they see no fundamentally adequate defense against these and kindred evils except a retardation in the rate of population growth. Many a sober and experienced social worker has uttered a fervent wish for a cessation of the flood of unneeded babies, born of worn-out mothers and destined to swell the ranks of the inefficient and the unemployed. The ethical issue is thus sharply drawn between Neo-Cameralism and Neo-Malthusianism.

For the United States the population problem is complicated by immigration. Formerly the prevalent American sentiment was favorable to the open door, that American resources, then seemingly exhaustless, might be thrown open on equal terms to all the peoples of the earth — or at least of Europe. By welcoming the oppressed of all lands we could not only do ourselves a good turn, but we could relieve the pressure of poverty from Land's End to Calabria. Thus were we to help the masses of Europe toward our own high standard of living. Most foreign-born Americans very naturally still hold to this view. Immigration is at bottom a phenomenon of individualism. The immigrant comes from economic, less often from other, motives, which have to do with his own individual, or his family's, interests. The American workman opposes his coming, in great measure from equally individualistic motives — fear of his competition in the labor market. The history of immigration, of course, shows a variety of causes for the movement, which, however, boil down to two — desire to better one's economic condition, and to escape political persecution. The latter motive, except in the case of the Jews, and perhaps of the Poles, has ceased to be of importance.

The present immigration problem is fundamentally economic, a conflict of economic interests. It is to the interest of the alien to come, and to that of the steamship companies and the employers of cheap labor in large batches to have him come. It is to the interest of the workmen already here to restrict immigration and to protect, in so far as it can now be done, the American scale of wages. The social, political, criminological, and even eugenic aspects of the immigrant's influence on American life and institutions have been dwelt upon both by the advocates and the opponents of restriction. These aspects have been in some ways overemphasized. The debate on restriction hinges essentially on the industrial and economic aspects of the situation.

So also does the problem of distribution and assimilation. Many regard distribution of immigrants over the country, to get them where natural resources call for them and to relieve the congestion of the crowded cities of the northeastern states, as the essential first step toward real assimilation to American standards and ideals and to ultimate amalgamation. The "melting pot" is to be the whole country. A different note is struck by those leaders of the dominant races of the newer immigration who are beginning to question the need or the desirability of a nation-wide reduction of all nationalities to a common psychological "American" type — who rather look with approbation upon the possibility that the United States may become a land of many languages, many diverse national group-ideals, each hyphenated by historical association with an Old World people and an Old World tradition. Still other thoughtful students hold that assimilation is not in any case the primary problem, but that, with little regard to relative assimilability of different races, the main task is to secure such a diminution of the immigrant tide as shall enable the people of the United States to make their contribution to civilization before they are swamped in foreign numbers and foreign social and economic poverty.

Whatever may be thought of immigration restriction in general, the policy of Chinese exclusion meets with practically universal approval. The California Japanese problem is one, however, that cannot be so easily settled, even temporarily. It has not claimed

the attention it deserves for the reason that it has been regarded in the light of a Pacific Coast, and therefore a sectional, problem springing out of local conflicts of economic interest and temporarily involving the federal government in a delicate situation. It is in abeyance for the time being but it is fraught with difficulties and dangers to international peace and comity that demand most careful and calm study by unbiased persons.

The whole ethics of the immigration question will be found on final analysis to turn on the pivot of national resources — whether the United States can maintain an open-door policy without itself rapidly approaching the Old World conditions of overpopulation, class friction, and low standards of living, which are the main causes of the swelling tide of aliens pouring in upon us. Looked at in this way, immigration is only one aspect of the larger population problem. In any case it will soon be settled. The population problem is one of centuries; this is one of decades. Compared with problems of sex and of race, immigration is a temporary matter. But that does not make it unimportant to the destiny of the country.

When the history of the twentieth century comes to be written, from a standpoint far enough away in time to enable it to be seen in due perspective, it is not unlikely that the pronounced change in the social, political, and economic position of women will be described as one of the most characteristic features of the whole era. Every period is an era of change, but some are more so than others, and it is difficult to escape the conviction that ours is a time of peculiarly rapid and pronounced transformation of social and ethical ideals, especially of the ideals in the light of which the character of men and women, respectively, is measured, and the morality of existing relations between the sexes judged. To many people the woman movement, in this or that aspect, seems to have developed with even greater suddenness than is the case. That is perhaps the reason why even many intelligent persons see no more of the unrest and breaking up of old standards and accepted traditions than may be involved in woman's demand for equal political rights. Where the world's

standards and thought have been largely the product of masculine sentiment and logic, in which heretofore woman's economic and social position has usually caused her to acquiesce, although often, very probably, not without secret, or with but mildly expressed, misgivings or resentment, it was natural and certain that women would be very slow consciously and openly to question the old ideals. And before the leaven of the democracy ideal had worked its way into social ethics it was not likely that men would come to a consciousness of the complex set of difficulties and maladjustments that are now so insistently coming to the foreground and which for want of a better term we call the woman problem, although from certain points of view it is no more a woman problem than a man problem.

It is not possible to summarize in a few paragraphs the elements of a problem that is as wide as this one, which touches at every point — biological, economic, political, educational, psychological, and ethical — the life of a whole sex, and by that token, of two whole sexes. The woman movement doubtless will produce some waste products, many temporary discomforts, especially to men, — and most especially to those men who are either ignorant or contemptuous of the question, — discomforts due to unsettled standards, relations, and organization. Like every great evolutionary change it doubtless involves society in certain dangers, as well as promises of great gains. In any case it is certain that the world's notions of woman, and what she ought to be and do, are undergoing unprecedentedly rapid change to-day, and that problems and most puzzling questions of economy and ethics are appearing where none were before. The condition of the woman worker in industry, and in the home too, and efforts to regulate the conditions of employment, either in her own interest or that of her children, are important practical questions of social economy. Such matters, however, demanding immediate action as they often do, are nevertheless incidental to the larger ethical problem of woman's capacity for varied careers, of her right to work, and to such work as she may find herself adapted to, of her duty as child-bearer and nurturer, of widening and heightening her interests, of the introduction of scientific

management and organization into domestic economy, of the possibility, or desirability, of harmonizing woman's duty and joy as mother with economic productivity outside the home, and, most basic of all, of securing for her an economic independence which shall insure to her a real ethical responsibility as a human individual. Whether, by some process not now discernible, women are to be eliminated from industry and the professions and dedicated exclusively to wifehood and motherhood; whether they are to work outside the home till married, then to break their economic and industrial habits and relations squarely off and retire to the drawing room or the kitchen, as the case may be; or whether, as Charlotte Perkins Gilman has long and ably advocated, division of labor, specialization, scientific organization, are to be extended to domestic economics, and woman, as woman, freed from the tradition that housework or house management is her one God-given function — these are questions that are sure to have increasing discussion, and which are even now weaving new designs into the social fabric.

Intimately connected with the woman question, and from one point of view a part of it, is the problem of marriage and divorce. Since the publication of the famous Report on Marriage and Divorce by the United States Commissioner of Labor in 1886, there has been much agitation of the divorce question in this country, an agitation for stricter statutes, matched at the same time by a strong movement in England for more liberal legislation. With the publication in 1908–1909 by the United States Census Bureau of a special report bringing the statistics of marriage and divorce down to 1906, popular solicitude has increased, at equal pace with the divorce rate itself. Sharp difference of opinion has arisen as to what is a proper attitude toward divorce. Demands for uniform divorce laws in the several states, for reduction in the number of legal grounds for divorce, and for the reform of court procedure have been numerous, and from sources regarded as of high authority. On the other hand, there is strong opposition to any radical diminution of the opportunity to break the bonds of an unsuccessful marriage. There is, of course, every degree of opinion from that of those who advocate

unlimited and free divorce to those who would follow the state of South Carolina and the doctrine of the Catholic Church in forbidding divorce altogether. Evidences of an increasing strain on the bonds of matrimony, of increasing unrest and dissatisfaction at the present status of the institution, and of a highly unsettled condition in the organization of the family are not lacking. Some attribute all this to a decline in moral sense and stamina, to increasing materialism and selfishness, to a deplorable lack of religious feeling; others to the growth of democracy, the development of a stronger sense of individuality and personality in women, to a growing economic independence of women and profound changes in the economic relations of the family, to education, or sometimes the lack of it, and to the general growth of an ethics of rationalism and social utilitarianism. Ecclesiastical doctrines, popular conceptions, and rationalistic views of marriage, and consequently of divorce, are seemingly hopelessly at variance. Thus the problem is far more than a question of court procedure, of securing an immediate diminution in the amount of divorce through uniform statutes or the like, or even of the reform of marriage and registration laws so that a precipitate entrance into the matrimonial state will not be so easy as now. It is one of the deepest problems of social ethics, in which many economic and psychological factors are involved, and in which different social viewpoints — individual or social, *a priori* or scientific, democratic or class, ecclesiastical or rationalistic — are bound to lead to conflicting conclusions.

Since the marriage relation in the Western world was for so many centuries under church control, it is necessary to study the historical conflict between State and Church, between ecclesiasticism and rationalism, over the question. Marriage under Roman Law, the early Christian doctrine, the development of Canon Law control, the influence of the Reformation, the final embodiment of Catholic doctrine, and modern Protestant modifications must all necessarily be examined. So too must the ethics of the diverse historical views. The history of divorce, of marriage and divorce law, and of marriage forms, must claim some attention; and finally the modern rationalistic and evolutionary

views of marriage and divorce must receive open-minded critical discussion. Especially must the causes of unhappy and unsuccessful marriages be sought out — not the legal grounds upon which the cases may be tried in the courts, but the real conditions, the real motives, which make people willing to undergo the disagreeable publicity, the confession of failure, the breaking up of the closest of bonds, which must nearly always be involved in application for divorce. It will doubtless prove in time that the present high divorce rate is the natural product of a period of great economic, ethical, and religious readjustment, and that when these changes have more nearly worked themselves out, a natural, and perhaps rapid, decline in the amount of divorce may be looked for. The ethics of divorce and of divorce legislation, already accomplished or proposed, can rightly be judged only in the light of these larger considerations.

If social maladjustments due to sex are difficult to cure, what is to be said of the race question and especially of the negro problem in the United States? In no field of social relations is there so great a conflict of interests and ideals, and in none is there greater need of calm study and of effort to understand all points of view. Barring, momentarily, questions of the anthropological status of the negro, the race problem may be considered to have two main roots — one economic, the other psychological. The historical development of the situation in America to-day goes back to the economic institution, slavery; but the conflict of interest, the lack of understanding, and the unreasoning prejudice which have marked racial relations were made very much more acute than they otherwise would have been by the psychological reactions of Reconstruction days. While it would be erroneous to trace the temper of the South, in matters pertaining to the negro, exclusively to what the Southern people went through in the Reconstruction era, there can be no doubt that the experience of that time did more than anything else to determine the South's subsequent attitude toward the negro, and toward the difficulty with which as yet either North or South can be brought to a study of the problem from a strictly scientific point of view.

The psychological factors, numerous and difficult as they are, are in part, at least, derivative from the economic interests and industrial conditions of the Southern states. The South is by no means a unit economically, but up to the present its economic destiny has been dependent on the production of cotton. Cotton can profitably be cultivated by cheap black labor. If negro labor were suddenly removed from the cotton belt, the whole economic structure of this region, except perhaps the great "black land" cotton area of Texas, where much white child labor is used in the cotton fields of the white tenant farmers, would collapse to a ruin temporarily as complete as that left by the Civil War. It is in the cotton belt that the densest negro population is found, and it is there that the color line is drawn most closely. There too the most serious questioning, not to say denial, of the value of education of any kind to the negro is likely to be encountered. It is necessary therefore to give serious study to the condition of the negro farmer, the "cropper," and the wage hand on the plantations. As the South, especially the east South, is becoming rapidly more industrial, and as the fate of the negro in the North depends in no small measure on industrial opportunity, the condition and character of the urban negro, both North and South, must receive attention. In how far is the color line drawn against him in industry? How generally is the door of industrial opportunity closed to him? Has he capacity to make use of opportunity when it is offered?

Many questions here arise — questions as to the type of education best fitted to the negro in his present circumstances, what educational ideals he should hold before himself, whether he should be called upon to furnish the funds for his own education, whether the South is doing its duty in negro education, considering its resources, whether federal aid should be forthcoming, and finally what effect education, of whatever type, will have on the thrift and efficiency of the negro and upon the economic welfare of the South as a whole.

Underneath all these questions lies the fundamental problem of race-psychology — whether there are *naturally* inferior races which no amount of education can ever bring to the level of the

higher races, whether the negro has potential mental capacity to profit by anything more than the veriest rudiments of industrial training. These are disputed points upon which there is the bitterest difference of opinion, North and South, but they must largely remain matters of opinion for a long time to come, for it is difficult to see how any really scientific certitude can be arrived at one way or the other, inasmuch as it is impossible to isolate the hereditary factor from the powerful influences of tradition, custom, home training (and the lack of it), in short from the suggestive and molding influences of social environment which no individual can escape, which are not the same for any two persons, and which certainly are widely different in the case of two races as sharply separated in culture and culture history as are the negroes and the whites.

The much-mooted questions of segregation run athwart all the phases of the problem. What the real facts and motives of segregation are, North and South, should be known, and as clear a notion as possible arrived at as to the real causes and motives underlying it. It should be emphasized always that praise or blame is not the object of the true student of the race situation. His motive should be before everything else to understand. Any other approach to the race question — or any other social problem — is unscientific. It gets nowhere, for instance, to attribute segregation and its attendant discriminations to "race prejudice." For what are the causes of race prejudice; indeed, what is race prejudice? If the white South is practically united and unanimous on the question of segregation — the drawing of the color line — and if, as many believe is really the case, the North is only less so, the causes must lie deeper than the memories of Reconstruction. The South is undoubtedly influenced by its economic interests — as is every other country. It undoubtedly fears dominance by a mass of low, ignorant, and emotional population — as does many another region. It views with some disquietude, perhaps, the lowering of the bars of opportunity — educational, economic, political — to the negro for fear that social equality will be the next demand, followed by racial intermixture and a mongrelization of the pure white stock. It is no answer to these fears

to point to the mulatto and to miscegenation. Not every mulatto by any means has a white father.

The ethics of the race problem — of prejudice, segregation, discrimination, disfranchisement, curtailment of economic and educational opportunity, denial of social recognition, conflict of belief as to the existence or nonexistence of naturally, inherently, superior and inferior races — the ethics of all these matters cannot be found by any rule of mathematics or on the basis of any *a priori* principle. Some of the maladjustments and causes of friction can be reduced with comparative ease, if the enlightened better element of the people will go about it in a reasonable, Christian spirit. Others will have to await the fullness of time. Some of the questions are essentially unsolvable, as for instance that of the negro's innate capacity, under absolutely equal opportunities with the white. It seems highly probable that with the advance of the negro in literacy, in possession of property, in development of home life, in industrial education, and in ambition, the tension of the race problem will become greater before it is less. In the long run of development and evolution great changes of some sort are bound to take place, very gradually, probably, but none the less real and significant. What they will be, how brought about, what the readjustment by which two peoples can live together in peace and with the coöperation and full utilization of human capacity, under which alone can a community be economical and efficient, it is impossible to say, and rather idle to speculate upon. Such real "solution" of the great problem as is possible probably must lie in the very slow outworking of forces but feebly responsive to conscious social control or direction.

Where there is so much diametrical opposition of views, where feeling is likely to run so high, where there is oversensitiveness to discussion, where differences of tradition, economic interest, and point of view are so great as between the average North and the average South, or between the advocates of equality (however it be defined) and those of caste, perhaps the best thing to do with the race question is to avoid talking about it. But inasmuch as it will be discussed and is being discussed, as the literature of the problem keeps piling up, as men and women

will form opinions, take standpoints, be guided by sentiment pro or con, and as opinions will be formed in a biased or unbiased manner, dogmatically or open-mindedly, it seems the best course to acquaint oneself with as many viewpoints as possible, do what one can to sift fact from prejudice, recognize the stubbornness of facts, and form one's own judgments as to social expediency and social justice accordingly. Ultimately we can afford to pin our faith to what in the long run seems most likely to substitute truth for error, joy of living for fear of living, peace for suspicion and strife, reason for preconception and passion, and "beauty for ashes." Whether the race that finally inherits the earth shall be black or white, yellow or mongrel, can be left to destiny. The biologist and the economist will rest assured in the faith that it will be the strongest, if not the best, race.

BOOK I

PROBLEMS OF POPULATION

CHAPTER I

THE MALTHUSIAN THEORY

The theory of Malthus, 18. — The fundamental principles, 20. — The checks to population, 26. — Moral restraint, 44. — The effects of moral restraint, 51. — Improvement of the condition of the poor through moral restraint, 59. — Objections considered, 65. — The responsibility of government, 69. — Rational expectations of the future improvement of society, 72.

[A population theory is a body of reasoned thought, based so far as the state of knowledge permits, upon known facts, with regard to the motives and causes which, in the absence of conscious individual direction or social control, govern the perpetuation and the increase of the human species. Such a theory may give primary emphasis to biological, to economic, to psychic, or to social forces, but it will not be a theory which approaches the truth nearly unless it recognizes and tries to give due weight to all these factors. A population theory, moreover, will be a mere academic exercise unless it attempts to show the ethical implications and results of the outworking of unguided natural forces and tendencies, and offers some practical suggestion for obviating undesirable and detrimental results, either through encouraging in the individual an intelligent and informed sense of social responsibility, or through the development of a more or less authoritative social control over population growth. When the need to regulate population — either to stimulate or to retard growth — becomes consciously recognized by a people or by their leaders, the measures adopted or recommended for the accomplishment of this practical end constitute a population policy.

Every policy rests upon some sort of theory, however crude, superficial, or traditional.

Population policies, inrooted in the traditions and *mores* of all peoples, based upon the early, primitive needs of the tribal group, for numerical strength, for warriors, for males to carry on the religious rites, are seemingly as old as custom itself. The biblical admonition to be fruitful and replenish the earth is an ethical injunction, a population policy, the counterpart of which is to be found in nearly every religion, primitive or historical. The constant decimation occasioned by wars and proscriptions, the greed of conquest, the desire for cheap labor, — all join with religious tradition to develop and perpetuate a policy based upon the idea that the wealth and welfare of a group or a nation depend primarily upon its large size and the rapidity of its growth in numbers. Through primitive times, through the checkered history of Greece and Rome, through the Protestant Reformation, and through the economic and political doctrines of the Mercantilists and Cameralists, this idea has been handed down to the end of the eighteenth century, and is even the prevalent idea to-day. Some few writers before Malthus had pointed out the danger of population increase in view of the limited possibilities of food supply, but they made little or no impression because social and economic conditions were not ripe for the force of their views to be felt. Moreover, Malthus was the first to go at the question in a thorough and scientific manner.

He published his "Essay on the Principle of Population," anonymously, in 1798. It was an outgrowth of much discussion between Malthus and his father over the communistic and perfectionist speculations of William Godwin and Condorcet, both of whom, the one in England, the other in France, were arguing for human perfectibility. Godwin, especially, had indulged in wild speculations as to the happiness, the goodness, and even the earthly immortality of man, if only government and private property, and with them their baneful influence, could be abolished. We might suppose that Malthus, then a young curate, would have been in sympathy with these dreams of peace and plenty, but he was also a student of the then new science of

political economy, and he saw at once that the communists had failed to understand or to take account of the relations between population and subsistence. The first edition of the Essay was accordingly essentially a polemic against socialism. His ideas were stated in all the hard and rigid form of cold, deductive logic. Population always "presses upon" subsistence; war, famine, misery, and vice are therefore inevitable, in the future as in the past, and socialist dreamings of abolishing poverty are mere moonshine. It is true that prudential restraint and standards of living receive some attention in the first edition, but Malthus does not expect much from them.[1] Prudential restraint itself, he thinks, leads to extramarital vice, and he holds out no particular hope that the standards of living of the working classes can be raised in such a way that the excessive birth rate will be reduced. His book met with a storm of opposition, especially from the clergy, as well as commendation from the orthodox political economists. Malthus held his peace for five years, and in 1803 published the second edition of the Essay, very much revised and enlarged. He had in the meantime gathered a large mass of data from various countries, and he had changed his views with regard to the efficacy of the prudential check, now holding that it need not involve vice, and that the condition of the laboring classes could be improved by preaching moral restraint to them, and in that way only. Malthus has always been accused, chiefly by those who have not read his work, of pessimism and of heartlessness toward the working classes. That this is an entirely unfair interpretation of his position will be apparent to any reader of his chapter on "the only effectual mode of improving the condition of the poor."]

[1] On Malthus's distinction between prudential and moral checks, see footnote, p. 29.

1. STATEMENT OF THE SUBJECT; RATIOS OF THE INCREASE OF POPULATION AND FOOD; CHECKS TO POPULATION[1]

In an inquiry concerning the improvement of society, the mode of conducting the subject which naturally presents itself is —

1. To investigate the causes that have hitherto impeded the progress of mankind towards happiness; and

2. To examine the probability of the total or partial removal of these causes in future.

To enter fully into this question, and to enumerate all the causes that have hitherto influenced human improvement, would be much beyond the power of an individual. The principal object of the present essay is to examine the effects of one great cause intimately united with the very nature of man; which, though it has been constantly and powerfully operating since the commencement of society, has been little noticed by the writers who have treated this subject. The facts which establish the existence of this cause have, indeed, been repeatedly stated and acknowledged; but its natural and necessary effects have been almost totally overlooked; though probably among these effects may be reckoned a very considerable portion of that vice and misery, and of that unequal distribution of the bounties of nature, which it has been the unceasing object of the enlightened philanthropist in all ages to correct.

The cause to which I allude is the constant tendency in all animated life to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it.

It is observed by Dr. Franklin that there is no bound to the prolific nature of plants or animals but what is made by their crowding and interfering with each other's means of subsistence. Were the face of the earth, he says, vacant of other plants, it might be gradually sowed and overspread with one kind only, as, for instance, with fennel: and were it empty of other inhabitants, it might in a few ages be replenished from one nation only, as, for instance, with Englishmen.[2]

[1] By T. R. Malthus. From An Essay on the Principle of Population, 9th edition, pp. 1–13. London, 1888.

[2] Franklin's Miscell., p. 9.

This is incontrovertibly true. Throughout the animal and vegetable kingdoms Nature has scattered the seeds of life abroad with the most profuse and liberal hand; but has been comparatively sparing in the room and the nourishment necessary to rear them. The germs of existence contained in this earth, if they could freely develop themselves, would fill millions of worlds in the course of a few thousand years. Necessity, that imperious, all-pervading law of nature, restrains them within the prescribed bounds. The race of plants and the race of animals shrink under this great restrictive law; and man cannot by any efforts of reason escape from it.

In plants and irrational animals, the view of the subject is simple. They are all impelled by a powerful instinct to the increase of their species, and this instinct is interrupted by no doubts about providing for their offspring. Wherever, therefore, there is liberty, the power of increase is exerted, and the superabundant effects are repressed afterwards by want of room and nourishment.

The effects of this check on man are more complicated. Impelled to the increase of his species by an equally powerful instinct, reason interrupts his career, and asks him whether he may not bring beings into the world for whom he cannot provide the means of support. If he attend to this natural suggestion, the restriction too frequently produces vice. If he hear it not, the human race will be constantly endeavoring to increase beyond the means of subsistence. But as, by that law of our nature which makes food necessary to the life of man, population can never actually increase beyond the lowest nourishment capable of supporting it, a strong check on population, from the difficulty of acquiring food, must be constantly in operation. This difficulty must fall somewhere, and must necessarily be severely felt in some or other of the various forms of misery, or the fear of misery, by a large portion of mankind.

That population has this constant tendency to increase beyond the means of subsistence, and that it is kept to its necessary level by these causes, will sufficiently appear from a review of the different states of society in which man has existed. But,

before we proceed to this review, the subject will perhaps be seen in a clearer light, if we endeavor to ascertain what would be the natural increase of population, if left to exert itself with perfect freedom; and what might be expected to be the rate of increase in the productions of the earth, under the most favorable circumstances of human industry.

It will be allowed that no country has hitherto been known, where the manners were so pure and simple, and the means of subsistence so abundant, that no check whatever has existed to early marriages from the difficulty of providing for a family, and that no waste of the human species has been occasioned by vicious customs, by towns, by unhealthy occupations, or too severe labor. Consequently in no state that we have yet known, has the power of population been left to exert itself with perfect freedom.

Whether the law of marriage be instituted or not, the dictate of nature and virtue seems to be an early attachment to one woman; and where there were no impediments of any kind in the way of a union to which such an attachment would lead, and no causes of depopulation afterwards, the increase of the human species would be evidently much greater than any increase which has been hitherto known.

In the northern states of America, where the means of subsistence have been more ample, the manners of the people more pure, and the checks to early marriages fewer, than in any of the modern states of Europe, the population has been found to double itself, for above a century and a half successively, in less than twenty-five years.[1] Yet, even during these periods, in some of the towns, the deaths exceeded the births,[2] a circumstance which clearly proves that, in those parts of the country which supplied this deficiency, the increase must have been much more rapid than the general average.

In the back settlements, where the sole employment is agriculture, and vicious customs and unwholesome occupations are little

[1] It appears, from some recent calculations and estimates, that from the first settlement of America to the year 1800 the periods of doubling have been but very little above twenty years.

[2] Price, Observ. on Revers. Pay., Vol. I, p. 274, 4th edition.

known, the population has been found to double itself in fifteen years.[1] Even this extraordinary rate of increase is probably short of the utmost power of population. Very severe labor is requisite to clear a fresh country; such situations are not in general considered as particularly healthy; and the inhabitants, probably, are occasionally subject to the incursions of the Indians, which may destroy some lives, or at any rate diminish the fruits of industry.

According to a table of Euler, calculated on a mortality of 1 in 36, if the births be to the deaths in the proportion of 3 to 1, the period of doubling will be only twelve years and four fifths. And this proportion is not only a possible supposition, but has actually occurred for short periods in more countries than one.

Sir William Petty supposes a doubling possible in so short a time as ten years.[2]

But, to be perfectly sure that we are far within the truth, we will take the slowest of these rates of increase, a rate in which all concurring testimonies agree, and which has been repeatedly ascertained to be from procreation only.

It may safely be pronounced, therefore, that population, when unchecked, goes on doubling itself every twenty-five years, or increases in a geometrical ratio.

The rate according to which the productions of the earth may be supposed to increase, will not be so easy to determine. Of this, however, we may be perfectly certain, that the ratio of their increase in a limited territory must be of a totally different nature from the ratio of the increase of population. A thousand millions are just as easily doubled every twenty-five years by the power of population as a thousand. But the food to support the increase from the greater number will by no means be obtained with the same facility. Man is necessarily confined in room. When acre has been added to acre till all the fertile land is occupied, the yearly increase of food must depend upon the melioration of the land already in possession. This is a fund, which, from the nature of all soils, instead of increasing, must be gradually diminishing. But population, could it be supplied with food, would go on with

[1] Price, Observ. on Revers. Pay., Vol. I, p. 282, 4th edition.
[2] Polit. Arith., p. 14.

unexhausted vigor; and the increase of one period would furnish the power of a greater increase the next, and this without any limit.

From the accounts we have of China and Japan, it may be fairly doubted, whether the best directed efforts of human industry could double the produce of these countries even once in any number of years. There are many parts of the globe, indeed, hitherto uncultivated and almost unoccupied; but the right of exterminating, or driving into a corner where they must starve, even the inhabitants of these thinly peopled regions, will be questioned in a moral view. The process of improving their minds and directing their industry would necessarily be slow; and during this time, as population would regularly keep pace with the increasing produce, it would rarely happen that a great degree of knowledge and industry would have to operate at once upon rich unappropriated soil. Even where this might take place, as it does sometimes in new colonies, a geometrical ratio increases with such extraordinary rapidity, that the advantage could not last long. If the United States of America continue increasing, which they certainly will do, though not with the same rapidity as formerly, the Indians will be driven farther and farther back into the country, till the whole race is ultimately exterminated, and the territory is incapable of further extension.

These observations are, in a degree, applicable to all the parts of the earth where the soil is imperfectly cultivated. To exterminate the inhabitants of the greatest part of Asia and Africa is a thought that could not be admitted for a moment. To civilize and direct the industry of the various tribes of Tartars and Negroes would certainly be a work of considerable time, and of variable and uncertain success.

Europe is by no means so fully peopled as it might be. In Europe there is the fairest chance that human industry may receive its best direction. The science of agriculture has been much studied in England and Scotland; and there is still a great portion of uncultivated land in these countries. Let us consider at what rate the produce of this island (Great Britain) might be supposed to increase under circumstances the most favorable to improvement.

If it be allowed that by the best possible policy, and great encouragements to agriculture, the average produce of the island could be doubled in the first twenty-five years, it will be allowing, probably, a greater increase than could with reason be expected.

In the next twenty-five years, it is impossible to suppose that the produce could be quadrupled. It would be contrary to all our knowledge of the properties of land. The improvement of the barren parts would be a work of time and labor; and it must be evident to those who have the slightest acquaintance with agricultural subjects, that in proportion as cultivation extended, the additions that could yearly be made to the former average produce must be gradually and regularly diminishing. That we may be the better able to compare the increase of population and food, let us make a supposition, which, without pretending to accuracy, is clearly more favorable to the power of production in the earth than any experience we have had of its qualities will warrant.

Let us suppose that the yearly additions which might be made to the former average produce, instead of decreasing, which they certainly would do, were to remain the same; and that the produce of this island might be increased every twenty-five years, by a quantity equal to what it at present produces. The most enthusiastic speculator cannot suppose a greater increase than this. In a few centuries it would make every acre of land in the island like a garden.

If this supposition be applied to the whole earth, and if it be allowed that the subsistence for man which the earth affords might be increased every twenty-five years by a quantity equal to what it at present produces, this will be supposing a rate of increase much greater than we can imagine that any possible exertions of mankind could make it.

It may be fairly pronounced, therefore, that considering the present average state of the earth, the means of subsistence, under circumstances the most favorable to human industry, could not possibly be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio.

The necessary effects of these two different rates of increase, when brought together, will be very striking. Let us call the population of this island eleven millions; and suppose the present

produce equal to the easy support of such a number. In the first twenty-five years the population would be twenty-two millions, and the food being also doubled, the means of subsistence would be equal to this increase. In the next twenty-five years, the population would be forty-four millions, and the means of subsistence only equal to the support of thirty-three millions. In the next period the population would be eighty-eight millions, and the means of subsistence just equal to the support of half that number. And, at the conclusion of the first century, the population would be a hundred and seventy-six millions, and the means of subsistence only equal to the support of fifty-five millions, leaving population of a hundred and twenty-one millions totally unprovided for.

Taking the whole earth, instead of this island, emigration would of course be excluded; and, supposing the present population equal to a thousand millions, the human species would increase as the numbers, 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256; and subsistence as, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. In two centuries the population would be to the means of subsistence as 256 to 9; in three centuries as 4096 to 13, and in two thousand years the difference would be almost incalculable.

In this supposition no limits whatever are placed to the produce of the earth. It may increase forever, and be greater than any assignable quantity; yet still the power of population being in every period so much superior, the increase of the human species can only be kept down to the level of the means of subsistence by the constant operation of the strong law of necessity acting as a check upon the greater power.

Of the General Checks to Population, and the Mode of their Operation

The ultimate check to population appears then to be a want of food, arising necessarily from the different ratios according to which population and food increase. But this ultimate check is never the immediate check, except in cases of actual famine.

The immediate check may be stated to consist in all those customs, and all those diseases, which seem to be generated by a scarcity of the means of subsistence; and all those causes,

independent of this scarcity, whether of a moral or physical nature, which tend prematurely to weaken and destroy the human frame.

These checks to population, which are constantly operating with more or less force in every society, and keep down the number to the level of the means of subsistence, may be classed under two general heads — the preventive and the positive checks.

The preventive check, as far as it is voluntary, is peculiar to man, and arises from that distinctive superiority in his reasoning faculties which enables him to calculate distant consequences. The checks to the indefinite increase of plants and irrational animals are all either positive or, if preventive, involuntary. But man cannot look around him, and see the distress which frequently presses upon those who have large families; he cannot contemplate his present possessions or earnings, which he now nearly consumes himself, and calculate the amount of each share, when with very little addition they must be divided, perhaps, among seven or eight, without feeling a doubt whether, if he follow the bent of his inclinations, he may be able to support the offspring which he will probably bring into the world. In a state of equality, if such can exist, this would be the simple question. In the present state of society other considerations occur. Will he not lower his rank in life, and be obliged to give up in great measure his former habits? Does any mode of employment present itself by which he may reasonably hope to maintain a family? Will he not at any rate subject himself to greater difficulties, and more severe labor than in his single state? Will he not be unable to transmit to his children the same advantages of education and improvement that he had himself possessed? Does he even feel secure that, should he have a large family, his utmost exertions can save them from rags and squalid poverty, and their consequent degradation in the community? And may he not be reduced to the grating necessity of forfeiting his independence, and of being obliged to the sparing hand of charity for support?

These considerations are calculated to prevent, and certainly do prevent, a great number of persons in all civilized nations from pursuing the dictate of nature in an early attachment to one woman.

If this restraint do not produce vice, it is undoubtedly the least evil that can arise from the principle of population. Considered as a restraint on a strong natural inclination, it must be allowed to produce a certain degree of temporary unhappiness; but evidently slight, compared with the evils which result from any of the other checks to population; and merely of the same nature as many other sacrifices of temporary to permanent gratification, which it is the business of a moral agent continually to make.

When this restraint produces vice, the evils which follow are but too conspicuous. A promiscuous intercourse to such a degree as to prevent the birth of children, seems to lower, in the most marked manner, the dignity of human nature. It cannot be without its effect on men, and nothing can be more obvious than its tendency to degrade the female character, and to destroy all its most amiable and distinguishing characteristics. Add to which, that among those unfortunate females with which all great towns abound, more real distress and aggravated misery are, perhaps, to be found, than in any other department of human life.

When a general corruption of morals, with regard to the sex, pervades all the classes of society, its effects must necessarily be to poison the springs of domestic happiness, to weaken conjugal and parental affection, and to lessen the united exertions and ardor of parents in the care and education of their children; — effects which cannot take place without a decided diminution of the general happiness and virtue of society; particularly as the necessity of art in the accomplishment and conduct of intrigues, and in the concealment of their consequences, necessarily leads to many other vices.

The positive checks to population are extremely various, and include every cause, whether arising from vice or misery, which in any degree contributes to shorten the natural duration of human life. Under this head, therefore, may be enumerated all unwholesome occupations, severe labor and exposure to the seasons, extreme poverty, bad nursing of children, large towns, excesses of all kinds, the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, wars, plague, and famine.

On examining these obstacles to the increase of population which are classed under the heads of preventive and positive checks, it will appear that they are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice, and misery.

Of the preventive checks, the restraint from marriage which is not followed by irregular gratifications may properly be termed moral restraint.[1]

Promiscuous intercourse, unnatural passions, violations of the marriage bed, and improper arts to conceal the consequences of irregular connections, are preventive checks that clearly come under the head of vice.

Of the positive checks, those which appear to arise unavoidably from the laws of nature, may be called exclusively misery; and those which we obviously bring upon ourselves, such as wars, excesses, and many others which it would be in our power to avoid, are of a mixed nature. They are brought upon us by vice, and their consequences are misery.[2]

[1] It will be observed that I here use the term *moral* in its most confined sense. By moral restraint I would be understood to mean a restraint from marriage from prudential motives, with a conduct strictly moral during the period of this restraint; and I have never intentionally deviated from this sense. When I have wished to consider the restraint from marriage unconnected with its consequences, I have either called it prudential restraint or a part of the preventive check, of which indeed it forms the principal branch.

In my review of the different stages of society I have been accused of not allowing sufficient weight in the prevention of population to moral restraint; but when the confined sense of the term, which I have here explained, is adverted to, I am fearful that I shall not be found to have erred much in this respect. I should be very glad to believe myself mistaken.

[2] As the general consequence of vice is misery, and as this consequence is the precise reason why an action is termed vicious, it may appear that the term *misery* alone would be here sufficient, and that it is superfluous to use both. But the rejection of the term *vice* would introduce a considerable confusion into our language and ideas. We want it particularly to distinguish those actions the general tendency of which is to produce misery, and which are therefore prohibited by the commands of the Creator and the precepts of the moralist, although, in their immediate or individual effects, they may produce perhaps exactly the contrary. The gratification of all our passions in its immediate effect is happiness, not misery; and, in individual instances, even the remote consequences (at least in this life) may possibly come under the same denomination. There may have been some irregular connections with women which have added

The sum of all these preventive and positive checks, taken together, forms the immediate check to population; and it is evident that, in every country where the whole of the procreative power cannot be called into action, the preventive and the positive checks must vary inversely as each other; that is, in countries either naturally unhealthy, or subject to a great mortality, from whatever cause it may arise, the preventive check will prevail very little. In those countries, on the contrary, which are naturally healthy, and where the preventive check is found to prevail with considerable force, the positive check will prevail very little, or the mortality be very small.

In every country some of these checks are, with more or less force, in constant operation; yet, notwithstanding their general prevalence, there are few states in which there is not a constant effort in the population to increase beyond the means of subsistence. This constant effort as constantly tends to subject the lower classes of society to distress, and to prevent any great permanent melioration of their condition.

These effects, in the present state of society, seem to be produced in the following manner. We will suppose the means of subsistence in any country just equal to the easy support of its inhabitants. The constant effort towards population, which is found to act even in the most vicious societies, increases the number of people before the means of subsistence are increased. The food, therefore, which before supported eleven millions, must now be divided among eleven millions and a half. The poor consequently must live much worse, and many of them be reduced to severe distress. The number of laborers also being above the proportion of work in the market, the price of labor must tend to fall, while the price of provisions would at the same time tend to rise. The laborer, therefore, must do more work to earn the same

to the happiness of both parties and have injured no one. These individual actions, therefore, cannot come under the head of misery. But they are still evidently vicious, because an action is so denominated which violates an express precept, founded upon its general tendency to produce misery, whatever may be its individual effect; and no person can doubt the general tendency of an illicit intercourse between the sexes to injure the happiness of society.

as he did before. During this season of distress, the discouragements to marriage and the difficulty of rearing a family are so great, that the progress of population is retarded. In the meantime, the cheapness of labor, the plenty of laborers, and the necessity of an increased industry among them, encourage cultivators to employ more labor upon their land, to turn up fresh soil, and to manure and improve more completely what is already in tillage, till ultimately the means of subsistence may become in the same proportion to the population as at the period from which we set out. The situation of the laborer being then again tolerably comfortable, the restraints to population are in some degree loosened; and, after a short period, the same retrograde and progressive movements with respect to happiness are repeated.

This sort of oscillation will not probably be obvious to common view; and it may be difficult even for the most attentive observer to calculate its periods. Yet that, in the generality of old states, some alternation of this kind does exist, though in a much less marked, and in a much more irregular manner, than I have described it, no reflecting man, who considers the subject deeply, can well doubt.

One principal reason why this oscillation has been less remarked, and less decidedly confirmed by experience than might naturally be expected, is, that the histories of mankind which we possess are, in general, histories only of the higher classes. We have not many accounts that can be depended upon, of the manners and customs of that part of mankind where these retrograde and progressive movements chiefly take place. A satisfactory history of this kind, of one people and of one period, would require the constant and minute attention of many observing minds in local and general remarks on the state of the lower classes of society, and the causes that influenced it; and, to draw accurate inferences upon this subject, a succession of such historians for some centuries would be necessary. This branch of statistical knowledge has, of late years, been attended to in some countries,[1] and we may promise ourselves a clearer insight into

[1] The judicious questions which Sir John Sinclair circulated in Scotland, and the valuable accounts which he has collected in that part of the island, do him

the internal structure of human society from the progress of these inquiries. But the science may be said yet to be in its infancy, and many of the objects on which it would be desirable to have information, have been either omitted or not stated with sufficient accuracy. Among these, perhaps, may be reckoned the proportion of the number of adults to the number of marriages; the extent to which vicious customs have prevailed in consequence of the restraints upon matrimony; the comparative mortality among the children of the most distressed part of the community, and of those who live rather more at their ease; the variations in the real price of labor; the observable differences in the state of the lower classes of society, with respect to ease and happiness, at different times during a certain period; and very accurate registers of births, deaths, and marriages, which are of the utmost importance in this subject.

A faithful history, including such particulars, would tend greatly to elucidate the manner in which the constant check upon population acts; and would probably prove the existence of the retrograde and progressive movements that have been mentioned; though the times of their vibration must necessarily be rendered irregular from the operation of many interrupting causes; such as, the introduction or failure of certain manufactures; a greater or less prevalent spirit of agricultural enterprise; years of plenty, or years of scarcity; wars, sickly seasons, poor laws, emigrations, and other causes of a similar nature.

the highest honor; and these accounts will ever remain an extraordinary monument of the learning, good sense, and general information of the clergy of Scotland. It is to be regretted that the adjoining parishes are not put together in the work, which would have assisted the memory both in attaining and recollecting the state of particular districts. The repetitions and contradictory opinions which occur are not, in my opinion, so objectionable; as to the result of such testimony, more faith may be given than we could possibly give to the testimony of any individual. Even were this result drawn for us by some master hand, though much valuable time would undoubtedly be saved, the information would not be so satisfactory. If, with a few subordinate improvements, this work had contained accurate and complete registers for the last one hundred and fifty years, it would have been inestimable, and would have exhibited a better picture of the internal state of a country than has yet been presented to the world. But this last most essential improvement no diligence could have effected.

A circumstance which has, perhaps, more than any other, contributed to conceal this oscillation from common view, is the difference between the nominal and real price of labor. It very rarely happens that the nominal price of labor universally falls; but we well know that it frequently remains the same, while the nominal price of provisions has been gradually rising. This, indeed, will generally be the case, if the increase of manufactures and commerce be sufficient to employ the new laborers that are thrown into the market, and to prevent the increased supply from lowering the money-price.[1] But an increased number of laborers receiving the same money-wages will necessarily, by their competition, increase the money-price of corn. This is, in fact, a real fall in the price of labor; and, during this period, the condition of the lower classes of the community must be gradually growing worse. But the farmers and capitalists are growing rich from the real cheapness of labor. Their increasing capitals enable them to employ a greater number of men; and, as the population had probably suffered some check from the greater difficulty of supporting a family, the demand for labor, after a certain period, would be great in proportion to the supply, and its price would of course rise, if left to find its natural level; and thus the wages of labor, and consequently the condition of the lower classes of society, might have progressive and retrograde movements, though the price of labor might never nominally fall.

In savage life, where there is no regular price of labor, it is little to be doubted that similar oscillations take place. When population has increased nearly to the utmost limits of the food, all the preventive and the positive checks will naturally operate with increased force. Vicious habits with respect to the sex will be more general, the exposing of children more frequent, and both the probability and fatality of wars and epidemics will be

[1] If the new laborers thrown yearly into the market should find no employment but in agriculture, their competition might so lower the money-price of labor as to prevent the increase of population from occasioning an effective demand for more corn; or, in other words, if the landlords and farmers could get nothing but an additional quantity of agricultural labor in exchange for any additional produce which they could raise, they might not be tempted to raise it.

considerably greater; and these causes will probably continue their operation till the population is sunk below the level of the food; and then the return to comparative plenty will again produce an increase, and, after a certain period, its further progress will again be checked by the same causes.[1]

But without attempting to establish these progressive and retrograde movements in different countries, which would evidently require more minute histories than we possess, and which the progress of civilization naturally tends to counteract, the following propositions are intended to be proved:

1. Population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence.

2. Population invariably increases where the means of subsistence increase, unless prevented by some very powerful and obvious checks.[2]

3. These checks, and the checks which repress the superior power of population, and keep its effects on a level with the means of subsistence, are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice, and misery.

The first of these propositions scarcely needs illustration. The second and third will be sufficiently established by a review of the immediate checks to population in the past and present state of society.

[1] Sir James Stuart very justly compares the generative faculty to a spring loaded with a variable weight (Polit. Econ., Vol. I, Bk. I, chap. iv, p. 20), which would of course produce exactly that kind of oscillation which has been mentioned. In the first book of his Political Economy, he has explained many parts of the subject of population very ably.

[2] I have expressed myself in this cautious manner, because I believe there are some instances where population does not keep up to the level of the means of subsistence. But these are extreme cases; and, generally speaking, it might be said that

1. Population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence.

2. Population always increases where the means of subsistence increase.

3. The checks which repress the superior power of population, and keep its effect on a level with the means of subsistence, are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice, and misery.

It should be observed that by an increase in the means of subsistence is here meant such an increase as will enable the mass of the society to command more food. An increase might certainly take place which in the actual state of a particular society would not be distributed to the lower classes, and consequently would give no stimulus to population.

2. GENERAL DEDUCTIONS FROM THE PRECEDING VIEW OF SOCIETY[1]

That the checks which have been mentioned are the immediate causes of the slow increase of population, and that these checks result principally from an insufficiency of subsistence, will be evident from the comparatively rapid increase which has invariably taken place, whenever, by some sudden enlargement in the means of subsistence, these checks have in any considerable degree been removed.

It has been universally remarked that all new colonies settled in healthy countries, where room and food were abundant, have constantly made a rapid progress in population. . . . Not to dwell on remote instances, the European settlements in America bear ample testimony to the truth of a remark that has never I believe been doubted. Plenty of rich land to be had for little or nothing is so powerful a cause of population as generally to overcome all obstacles. . . .

The English North American colonies, now the powerful people of the United States of America, far outstripped all the others in the progress of their population. To the quantity of rich land which they possessed in common with the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, they added a greater degree of liberty and equality. Though not without some restrictions on their foreign commerce, they were allowed the liberty of managing their own internal affairs. The political institutions which prevailed were favorable to the alienation and division of property. Lands which were not cultivated by the proprietor within a limited time were declared grantable to any other person. In Pennsylvania there was no right of primogeniture, and in the provinces of New England the eldest son had only a double share. There were no tithes in any of the states, and scarcely any taxes. And on account of the extreme cheapness of good land, and a situation favorable to the exportation of grain, a capital could not be more advantageously employed than in agriculture, which, at the same

[1] By T. R. Malthus. Adapted from An Essay on the Principle of Population, 9th edition, pp. 252–262. London, 1888.

time that it affords the greatest quantity of healthy work, supplies the most valuable produce to the society.

The consequence of these favorable circumstances united was a rapidity of increase almost without parallel in history. Throughout all the northern provinces the population was found to double itself in twenty-five years. The original number of persons which had settled in the four provinces of New England in 1643 was 21,200. Afterwards it was calculated that more left them than went to them. In the year 1760 they were increased to half a million. They had therefore all along doubled their number in twenty-five years. In New Jersey the period of doubling appeared to be twenty-two years, and in Rhode Island still less. In the back settlements, where the inhabitants applied themselves solely to agriculture, and luxury was not known, they were supposed to double their number in fifteen years. Along the seacoast, which would naturally be first inhabited, the period of doubling was about thirty-five years, and in some of the maritime towns the population was absolutely at a stand.[1] From the late census made in America it appears that, taking all the states together, they have still continued to double their numbers within twenty-five years; and as the whole population is now so great as not to be materially affected by the emigrations from Europe, and as it is known that in some of the towns and districts near the seacoast the progress of population has been comparatively slow, it is evident that in the interior of the country in general the period of doubling from procreation only must have been considerably less than twenty-five years.

The population of the United States of America, according to the fourth census in 1820, was 7,861,710. We have no reason

[1] Price, Observ. on Revers. Paym., Vol. I, pp. 282, 283, and Vol. II, p. 260. I have lately had an opportunity of seeing some extracts from the sermon of Dr. Styles, from which Dr. Price has taken these facts. Speaking of Rhode Island, Dr. Styles says that though the period of doubling for the whole colony is twenty-five years, yet that it is different in different parts, and within land is twenty and fifteen years. The population of the five towns of Gloucester, Situate, Coventry, West Greenwich, and Exeter was 5033, A.D. 1748, and 6986, A.D. 1755, which implies a period of doubling of fifteen years only. He mentions afterwards that the county of Kent doubles in twenty years, and the county of Providence in eighteen years.

to believe that Great Britain is less populous at present for the emigration of the small parent stock which produced these numbers. On the contrary, a certain degree of emigration is known to be favorable to the population of the mother country. It has been particularly remarked that the two Spanish provinces from which the greatest number of people emigrated to America became in consequence more populous.

Whatever was the original number of British emigrants which increased so fast in North America, let us ask, Why does not an equal number produce an equal increase in the same time in Great Britain? The obvious reason to be assigned is the want of food; and that this want is the most efficient cause of the three immediate checks to population, which have been observed to prevail in all societies, is evident from the rapidity with which even old states recover the desolations of war, pestilence, famine, and the convulsions of nature. They are then for a short time placed a little in the situation of new colonies, and the effect is always answerable to what might be expected. If the industry of the inhabitants be not destroyed, subsistence will soon increase beyond the wants of the reduced numbers; and the invariable consequence will be that population, which before perhaps was nearly stationary, will begin immediately to increase, and will continue its progress till the former population is recovered.

The fertile province of Flanders, which has been so often the seat of the most destructive wars, after a respite of a few years has always appeared as rich and populous as ever. The undiminished population of France, which has before been noticed, is an instance very strongly in point. . . . The effects of the dreadful plague in London in 1666 were not perceptible fifteen or twenty years afterwards. It may even be doubted whether Turkey and Egypt are upon an average much less populous for the plagues which periodically lay them waste. If the number of people which they contain be considerably less now than formerly, it is rather to be attributed to the tyranny and oppression of the governments under which they groan, and the consequent discouragements to agriculture, than to the losses which they sustain by the plague. The traces of the most destructive famines in China,

Indostan, Egypt, and other countries, are by all accounts very soon obliterated; and the most tremendous convulsions of nature, such as volcanic eruptions and earthquakes, if they do not happen so frequently as to drive away the inhabitants or destroy their spirit of industry, have been found to produce but a trifling effect on the average population of any state.

It has appeared from the registers of different countries, which have already been produced, that the progress of their population is checked by the periodical though irregular returns of plagues and sickly seasons. Dr. Short, in his curious researches into bills of mortality, often uses the expression "terrible correctives of the redundance of mankind";[1] and in a table of all the plagues, pestilences, and famines of which he could collect accounts, shows the constancy and universality of their operation.

The epidemical years in his table, or the years in which the plague or some great and wasting epidemic prevailed (for smaller sickly seasons seem not to be included) are 431,[2] of which 32 were before the Christian era.[3] If we divide therefore the years of the present era by 399, it will appear that the periodical returns of such epidemics, to some countries that we are acquainted with, have been on an average only at the interval of about four and one half years.

Of the 254 great famines and dearths enumerated in the table, 15 were before the Christian era,[4] beginning with that which occurred in Palestine in the time of Abraham. If, subtracting these 15, we divide the years of the present era by the remainder, it will appear that the average interval between the visits of this dreadful scourge has been only about seven and one half years.

How far these "terrible correctives to the redundance of mankind" have been occasioned by the too rapid increase of population, is a point which it would be very difficult to determine with any degree of precision. The causes of most of our diseases appear to us to be so mysterious, and probably are really so various, that it would be rashness to lay too much stress on any

[1] New Observ. on Bills of Mortality, p. 96.
[2] Hist. of Air, Seasons, etc., Vol. II, p. 366.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 202.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

single one; but it will not perhaps be too much to say that *among* these causes we ought certainly to rank crowded houses and insufficient or unwholesome food, which are the natural consequences of an increase of population faster than the accommodations of a country with respect to habitations and food will allow.

Almost all the histories of epidemics which we possess tend to confirm this supposition, by describing them in general as making their principal ravages among the lower classes of people. In Dr. Short's tables this circumstance is frequently mentioned;[1] and it further appears that a very considerable proportion of the epidemic years either followed or were accompanied by seasons of dearth and bad food.[2] In other places he also mentions great plagues as diminishing particularly the numbers of the lower or servile sort of people;[3] and in speaking of different diseases he observes that those which are occasioned by bad and unwholesome food generally last the longest.[4]

We know from constant experience that fevers are generated in our jails, our manufactories, our crowded workhouses, and in the narrow and close streets of our large towns — all which situations appear to be similar in their effects to squalid poverty; and we cannot doubt that causes of this kind aggravated in degree contributed to the production and prevalence of those great and wasting plagues formerly so common in Europe, but which now from the mitigation of these causes are everywhere considerably abated, and in many places appear to be completely extirpated.

Of the other great scourge of mankind, famine, it may be observed that it is not in the nature of things that the increase of population should absolutely produce one. This increase though rapid is necessarily gradual; and as the human frame cannot be supported even for a very short time without food, it is evident that no more human beings can grow up than there is provision to maintain. But though the principle of population cannot absolutely produce a famine, it prepares the way for one, and by

[1] Hist. of Air, Seasons, etc., Vol. II, pp. 206 *et seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 206 *et seq.* and 336.
[3] New Observ., p. 125.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

frequently obliging the lower classes of people to subsist nearly on the smallest quantity of food that will support life, turns even a slight deficiency from the failure of the seasons into a severe dearth, and may be fairly said therefore to be one of the principal causes of famine. Among the signs of an approaching dearth, Dr. Short mentions one or more years of luxuriant crops together;[1] and this observation is probably just, as we know that the general effect of years of cheapness and abundance is to dispose a great number of persons to marry, and under such circumstances the return to a year merely of an average crop might produce a scarcity. . . .

In all these cases how little soever force we may be disposed to attribute to the effects of the principle of population in the actual production of disorders, we cannot avoid allowing their force as predisposing causes to the reception of contagion, and as giving very great additional force to the extensiveness and fatality of its ravages. . . .

The passion between the sexes has appeared in every age to be so nearly the same that it may always be considered in algebraic language as a given quantity. The great law of necessity, which prevents population from increasing in any country beyond the food which it can either produce or acquire, is a law so open to our view, so obvious and evident to our understandings, that we cannot for a moment doubt it. The different modes which nature takes to repress a redundant population do not indeed appear to us so certain and regular; but though we cannot always predict the mode, we may with certainty predict the fact. If the proportion of the births to the deaths for a few years indicates an increase of numbers much beyond the proportional increased or acquired food of the country, we may be perfectly certain that unless an emigration take place, the deaths will shortly exceed the births, and that the increase which had been observed for a few years cannot be the real average increase of the population of the country. If there were no other depopulating causes, and if the preventive check did not operate very strongly, every country would without doubt be subject to periodical plagues and famines.

[1] Hist. of Air, Seasons, etc., Vol. II, p. 367.

The only true criterion of a real and permanent increase in the population of any country is the increase of the means of subsistence. But even this criterion is subject to some slight variations, which however are completely open to our observation. In some countries population seems to have been forced; that is, the people have been habituated by degrees to live almost upon the smallest possible quantity of food. There must have been periods in such countries when population increased permanently without an increase in the means of subsistence. China, India, and the countries possessed by the Bedoween Arabs, as we have seen in the former part of this work, appear to answer to this description. The average produce of these countries seems to be but barely sufficient to support the lives of the inhabitants, and of course any deficiency from the badness of the seasons must be fatal. Nations in this state must necessarily be subject to famines.

In America, where the reward of labor is at present so liberal, the lower classes might retrench very considerably in a year of scarcity without materially distressing themselves. A famine therefore seems to be almost impossible. It may be expected that in the progress of the population of America the laborers will in time be much less liberally rewarded. The numbers will in this case permanently increase without a proportional increase in the means of subsistence.

In the different countries of Europe there must be some variations in the proportion of the number of inhabitants, and the quantity of food consumed, arising from the different habits of living which prevail in each state. The laborers in the south of England are so accustomed to eat fine wheaten bread, that they will suffer themselves to be half starved before they will submit to live like the Scotch peasants.

They might perhaps in time, by the constant operation of the hard law of necessity, be reduced to live even like the lower classes of the Chinese, and the country would then with the same quantity of food support a greater population. But to effect this must always be a difficult, and every friend to humanity will hope an abortive, attempt.

I have mentioned some cases where population may permanently increase without a proportional increase in the means of subsistence. But it is evident that the variation in different states between the food and the numbers supported by it is restricted to a limit beyond which it cannot pass. In every country the population of which is not absolutely decreasing, the food must be necessarily sufficient to support and continue the race of laborers.

Other circumstances being the same, it may be affirmed that countries are populous according to the quantity of human food which they produce or can acquire; and happy according to the liberality with which this food is divided, or the quantity which a day's labor will purchase. Corn countries are more populous than pasture countries, and rice countries more populous than corn countries. But their happiness does not depend either upon their being thinly or fully inhabited, upon their poverty or their riches, their youth or their age, but on the proportion which the population and the food bear to each other.

This proportion is generally the most favorable in new colonies, where the knowledge and industry of an old state operate on the fertile unappropriated land of a new one. In other cases the youth or the age of a state is not in this respect of great importance. It is probable that the food of Great Britain is divided in more liberal shares to her inhabitants at the present period than it was two thousand, three thousand, or four thousand years ago. And it has appeared that the poor and thinly inhabited tracts of the Scotch Highlands are more distressed by a redundant population than the most populous parts of Europe.

If a country were never to be overrun by a people more advanced in arts, but left to its own natural progress in civilization, from the time that its produce might be considered as a unit to the time that it might be considered as a million, during the lapse of many thousand years, there might not be a single period when the mass of the people could be said to be free from distress, either directly or indirectly, for want of food. In every state in Europe since we have first had accounts of it, millions and millions of human existences have been repressed from this

simple cause, though perhaps in some of these states an absolute famine may never have been known.

Must it not then be acknowledged by an attentive examiner of the histories of mankind that in every age and in every state in which man has existed or does now exist,

The increase to population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence:

Population invariably increases when the means of subsistence increase,[1] unless prevented by powerful and obvious checks:

These checks, and the checks which keep the population down to the level of the means of subsistence, are moral restraint, vice, and misery?

In comparing the state of society which had been considered in this second book with that which formed the subject of the first,[2] I think it appears that in modern Europe the positive checks to population prevail less, and the preventive checks more, than in past times, and in the more uncivilized parts of the world.

War, the predominant check to the population of savage nations, has certainly abated, even including the late unhappy revolutionary contests, and since the prevalence of a greater degree of personal cleanliness, of better modes of clearing and building towns, and of a more equable distribution of the products of the soil from improving knowledge in political economy, plagues, violent diseases, and famines have been certainly mitigated, and have become less frequent.

With regard to the preventive check to population, though it must be acknowledged that that branch of it which comes under the head of moral restraint[3] does not at present prevail much among the male part of society; yet I am strongly disposed to believe that it prevails more than in those states which were first

[1] By an increase in the means of subsistence, as the expression is used here, is always meant such an increase as the mass of the population can command; otherwise it can be of no avail in encouraging an increase of people.

[2] Book I of the Essay treats "of the checks to population in the less civilized parts of the world and in past times," and Book II "of the checks to population in the different states of modern Europe."— Ed.

[3] The reader will recollect the confined sense in which I use this term.

considered; and it can scarcely be doubted that in modern Europe a much larger proportion of women pass a considerable part of their lives in the exercise of this virtue than in past times and among uncivilized nations. But, however this may be, if we consider only the general term which implies principally a delay of the marriage union from prudential considerations, without reference to consequences, it may be considered in this light as the most powerful of the checks which in modern Europe keep down the population to the level of the means of subsistence.

3. OF OUR FUTURE PROSPECTS RESPECTING THE REMOVAL OR MITIGATION OF THE EVILS ARISING FROM THE PRINCIPLE OF POPULATION[1]

Of Moral Restraint, and our Obligation to practice this Virtue

As it appears that in the actual state of every society which has come within our review the natural progress of population has been constantly and powerfully checked, and as it seems evident that no improved form of government, no plans of emigration, no benevolent institutions, and no degree or direction of national industry can prevent the continued action of a great check to population in some form or other, it follows that we must submit to it as an inevitable law of nature; and the only inquiry that remains is how it may take place with the least possible prejudice to the virtue and happiness of human society.

All the immediate checks to population which have been observed to prevail in the same and different countries seem to be resolvable into moral restraint, vice, and misery; and if our choice be confined to these three, we cannot long hesitate in our decision respecting which it would be most eligible to encourage.

In the first edition of this essay I observed that as from the laws of nature it appeared that some check to population must exist, it was better that this check should arise from a foresight

[1] By T. R. Malthus. Adapted from An Essay on the Principles of Population, 9th edition, pp. 389–422, 475–481. London, 1888.

of the difficulties attending a family and the fear of dependent poverty than from the actual presence of want and sickness. This idea will admit of being pursued farther; and I am inclined to think that from the prevailing opinions respecting population, which undoubtedly originated in barbarous ages, and have been continued and circulated by that part of every community which may be supposed to be interested in their support, we have been prevented from attending to the clear dictates of reason and nature on this subject.

Natural and moral evil seem to be the instruments employed by the Deity in admonishing us to avoid any mode of conduct which is not suited to our being, and will consequently injure our happiness. If we are intemperate in eating and drinking, our health is disordered; if we indulge the transports of anger, we seldom fail to commit acts of which we afterwards repent; if we multiply too fast, we die miserably of poverty and contagious diseases. The laws of nature in all these cases are similar and uniform. They indicate to us that we have followed these impulses too far, so as to trench upon some other law, which equally demands attention. The uneasiness we feel from repletion, the injuries that we inflict on ourselves or others in anger, and the inconveniences we suffer on the approach of poverty, are all admonitions to us to regulate these impulses better; and if we heed not this admonition, we justly incur the penalty of our disobedience, and our sufferings operate as a warning to others. . . .

An implicit obedience to the impulses of our natural passions would lead us into the wildest and most fatal extravagances, and yet we have the strongest reasons for believing that all these passions are so necessary to our being that they could not be generally weakened or diminished without injuring our happiness. The most powerful and universal of all our desires is the desire of food, and of those things — such as clothing, houses, etc. — which are immediately necessary to relieve us from the pains of hunger and cold. It is acknowledged by all that these desires put in motion the greatest part of that activity from which the multiplied improvements and advantages of civilized life are derived, and that the pursuit of these objects and the gratification

of these desires form the principal happiness of the larger half of mankind, civilized or uncivilized, and are indispensably necessary to the more refined enjoyments of the other half. We are all conscious of the inestimable benefits that we derive from these desires when directed in a certain manner, but we are equally conscious of the evils resulting from them when not directed in this manner — so much so that society has taken upon itself to punish most severely what it considers as an irregular gratification of them. And yet the desires in both cases are equally natural, and, abstractedly considered, equally virtuous. The act of the hungry man who satisfies his appetite by taking a loaf from the shelf of another is in no respect to be distinguished from the act of him who does the same thing with a loaf of his own, but by its consequences. From the consideration of these consequences we feel the most perfect conviction that if people were not prevented from gratifying their natural desires with the loaves in the possession of others, the number of loaves would universally diminish. This experience is the foundation of the laws relating to property, and of the distinctions of virtue and vice in the gratification of desires otherwise perfectly the same.

If the pleasure arising from the gratification of these propensities were universally diminished in vividness, violations of property would become less frequent; but this advantage would be greatly overbalanced by the narrowing of the sources of enjoyment. The diminution in the quantity of all those productions which contribute to human gratification would be much greater in proportion than the diminution of thefts, and the loss of general happiness on the one side would be beyond comparison greater than the gain of happiness on the other. When we contemplate the constant and severe toils of the greatest part of mankind, it is impossible not to be forcibly impressed with the reflection that the sources of human happiness would be most cruelly diminished if the prospect of a good meal, a warm house, and a comfortable fireside in the evening were not incitements sufficiently vivid to give interest and cheerfulness to the labors and privations of the day.

After the desire of food, the most powerful and general of our desires is the passion between the sexes, taken in an enlarged

sense. Of the happiness spread over human life by this passion very few are unconscious. Virtuous love, exalted by friendship, seems to be that sort of mixture of sensual and intellectual enjoyment particularly suited to the nature of man, and most powerfully calculated to awaken the sympathies of the soul, and produce the most exquisite gratifications. Perhaps there is scarcely a man who has once experienced the genuine delight of virtuous love, however great his intellectual pleasures may have been, who does not look back to that period as the sunny spot in his whole life, where his imagination loves most to bask, which he recollects and contemplates with the fondest regret, and which he would wish to live over again.

It has been said by Mr. Godwin, in order to show the evident inferiority of the pleasures of sense, "Strip the commerce of the sexes of all its attendant circumstances, and it would be generally despised." He might as well say to a man who admires trees, Strip them of their spreading branches and lovely foliage, and what beauty can you see in a bare pole? But it was the tree with the branches and foliage, and not without them, that excited admiration. . . .

It is a very great mistake to suppose that the passion between the sexes only operates and influences human conduct when the immediate gratification of it is in contemplation. The formation and steady pursuit of some particular plan of life has been justly considered as one of the most permanent sources of happiness; but I am inclined to believe that there are not many of these plans formed which are not connected in a considerable degree with the prospect of the gratification of this passion and with the support of children arising from it. The evening meal, the warm house, and the comfortable fireside would lose half their interest if we were to exclude the idea of some object of affection with whom they were to be shared.

We have also great reason to believe that the passion between the sexes has the most powerful tendency to soften and meliorate the human character, and keep it more alive to all the kindlier emotions of benevolence and pity. Observations on savage life have generally tended to prove that nations in which this passion

appeared to be less vivid, were distinguished by a ferocious and malignant spirit, and particularly by tyranny and cruelty to the sex. If indeed this bond of conjugal affection were considerably weakened, it seems probable either that the man would make use of his superior physical strength, and turn his wife into a slave, as among the generality of savages, or at best that every little inequality of temper, which must necessarily occur between two persons, would produce a total alienation of affection; and this could hardly take place without a diminution of parental fondness and care, which would have the most fatal effect on the happiness of society. . . .

Considering then the passion between the sexes in all its bearings and relations, and including the endearing engagement of parent and child resulting from it, few will be disposed to deny that it is one of the principal ingredients of human happiness. Yet experience teaches us that much evil flows from the irregular gratification of it; and though the evil be of little weight in the scale when compared with the good, yet its absolute quantity cannot be inconsiderable, on account of the strength and universality of the passion. It is evident however from the general conduct of all governments in their distribution of punishments, that the evil resulting from this cause is not so great and so immediately dangerous to society, as the irregular gratification of the desire of property; but placing this evil in the most formidable point of view, we should evidently purchase a diminution of it at a very high price by the extinction or diminution of the passion which causes it; a change which would probably convert human life either into a cold and cheerless blank or a scene of savage and merciless ferocity.

A careful attention to the remote as well as immediate effect of all the human passions and all the general laws of nature, leads us strongly to the conclusion that under the present constitution of things few or none of them will admit of being greatly diminished, without narrowing the sources of good more powerfully than the sources of evil. And the reason seems to be obvious. They are in fact the materials of all our pleasures as well as of all our pains; of all our happiness as well as of all

our misery; of all our virtues as well as of all our vices. It must therefore be regulation and direction that are wanted, not diminution or extinction. . . .

The fecundity of the human species is in some respects a distinct consideration from the passion between the sexes, as it evidently depends more upon the power of women in bearing children than upon the strength and weakness of this passion. It is a law however exactly similar in its great features to all the other laws of nature. It is strong and general, and apparently would not admit of any very considerable diminution without being inadequate to its object; the evils arising from it are incidental to those necessary qualities of strength and generality; and these evils are capable of being very greatly mitigated and rendered comparatively light by human energy and virtue. We cannot but conceive that it is an object of the Creator that the earth should be replenished; and it appears to me clear that this could not be effected without a tendency in population to increase faster than food; and as, with the present law of increase, the peopling of the earth does not proceed very rapidly, we have undoubtedly some reason to believe that this law is not too powerful for its apparent object. The desire of the means of subsistence would be comparatively confined in its effects, and would fail of producing that general activity so necessary to the improvement of the human faculties, were it not for the strong and universal effort of population to increase with greater rapidity than its supplies. If these two tendencies were exactly balanced, I do not see what motive there would be sufficiently strong to overcome the acknowledged indolence of man, and make him proceed in the cultivation of the soil. The population of any large territory, however fertile, would be as likely to stop at five hundred or five thousand, as at five millions or fifty millions. Such a balance therefore would clearly defeat one great purpose of creation; and if the question be merely a question of degree, a question of a little more or a little less strength, we may fairly distrust our competence to judge of the precise quantity necessary to answer the object with the smallest sum of incidental evil. In the present state of things we appear to have under our guidance a great power, capable of

peopling a desert region in a small number of years; and yet under other circumstances capable of being confined by human energy and virtue to any limits, however narrow, at the expense of a small comparative quantity of evil. The analogy of all the other laws of nature would be completely violated, if in this instance alone there were no provision for accidental failures, no resources against the vices of mankind, or the partial mischiefs resulting from other general laws. To effect the apparent object without any attendant evil, it is evident that a perpetual change in the law of increase would be necessary, varying with the varying circumstances of each country. But instead of this it is not only more consonant to the analogy of the other parts of nature, but we have reason to think that it is more conducive to the formation and improvement of the human mind, that the laws should be uniform and the evils incidental to it, under certain circumstances, left to be mitigated or removed by man himself. His duties in this case vary with his situation; he is thus kept more alive to the consequences of his actions; and his faculties have evidently greater play and opportunity of improvement, than if the evil were removed by a perpetual change of the law according to circumstances.

Even if from passions too easily subdued, or the facility of illicit intercourse, a state of celibacy were a matter of indifference, and not a state of some privation, the end of nature in the peopling of the earth would be apparently liable to be defeated. It is of the very utmost importance to the happiness of mankind that population should not increase too fast; but it does not appear that the object to be accomplished would admit of any considerable diminution in the desire of marriage. It is clearly the duty of each individual not to marry till he has a prospect of supporting his children; but it is at the same time to be wished that he should retain undiminished his desire of marriage, in order that he may exert himself to realize this prospect, and be stimulated to make provision for the support of greater numbers.

It is evidently therefore regulation and direction which are required with regard to the principle of population, not diminution or alteration. And if moral restraint be the only virtuous mode

of avoiding the incidental evils arising from this principle, our obligation to practice it will evidently rest exactly upon the same foundation as our obligation to practice any of the other virtues.

Whatever indulgence we may be disposed to allow to occasional failures in the discharge of a duty of acknowledged difficulty, yet of the strict line of duty we cannot doubt. Our obligation not to marry till we have a fair prospect of being able to support our children will appear to deserve the attention of the moralist, if it can be proved that an attention to this obligation is of most powerful effect in the prevention of misery; and that if it were the general custom to follow the first impulse of nature and marry at the age of puberty, the universal prevalence of every known virtue in the greatest conceivable degree, would fail of rescuing society from the most wretched and desperate state of want, and all the diseases and famines which usually accompany it.

Of the Effects which would result to Society from the Prevalence of Moral Restraint

One of the principal reasons which have prevented an assent to the doctrine of the constant tendency of population to increase beyond the means of subsistence, is a great unwillingness to believe that the Deity would by the laws of nature bring beings into existence, which by the laws of nature could not be supported in that existence. But if, in addition to that general activity and direction of our industry put in motion by these laws, we further consider that the incidental evils arising from them are constantly directing our attention to the proper check to population, moral restraint; and if it appear that by a strict obedience to the duties pointed out to us by the light of nature and reason, and confirmed and sanctioned by revelation, these evils may be avoided, the objection will, I trust, be removed, and all apparent imputation on the goodness of the Deity be done away.

The heathen moralists never represented happiness as attainable on earth but through the medium of virtue; and among their virtues prudence ranked in the first class, and by some was even considered as including every other. The Christian religion places

our present as well as future happiness in the exercise of those virtues which tend to fit us for a state of superior enjoyment; and the subjection of the passions to the guidance of reason, which, if not the whole, is a principal branch of prudence, is in consequence most particularly inculcated.

If, for the sake of illustration, we might be permitted to draw a picture of society in which each individual endeavored to attain happiness by the strict fulfillment of those duties which the most enlightened of the ancient philosophers deduced from the laws of nature, and which have been directly taught and received such powerful sanctions in the moral code of Christianity, it would present a very different scene from that which we now contemplate. Every act which was prompted by the desire of immediate gratification, but which threatened an ultimate overbalance of pain, would be considered as a breach of duty, and consequently no man whose earnings were only sufficient to maintain two children would put himself in a situation in which he might have to maintain four or five, however he might be prompted to it by the passion of love. This prudential restraint, if it were generally adopted, by narrowing the supply of labor in the market, would in the natural course of things soon raise its price. The period of delayed gratification would be passed in saving the earnings which were above the wants of a single man, and in acquiring habits of sobriety, industry, and economy, which would enable him in a few years to enter into the matrimonial contract without fear of its consequences. The operation of the preventive check in this way, by constantly keeping the population within the limits of the food though constantly following its increase, would give a real value to the rise of wages and the sums saved by laborers before marriage, very different from those forced advances in the price of labor or arbitrary parochial donations which, in proportion to their magnitude and extensiveness, must of necessity be followed by a proportional advance in the price of provisions. As the wages of labor would thus be sufficient to maintain with decency a large family, and as every married couple would set out with a sum for contingencies, all abject poverty would be removed from society, or would at least be confined to a very few

who had fallen into misfortunes against which no prudence or foresight could provide.

The interval between the age of puberty and the period at which each individual might venture on marriage must, according to the supposition, be passed in strict chastity, because the law of chastity cannot be violated without producing evil. The effect of anything like a promiscuous intercourse, which prevents the birth of children, is evidently to weaken the best affections of the heart, and in a very marked manner to degrade the female character; and any other intercourse would, without improper arts, bring as many children into the society as marriage, with a much greater probability of their becoming a burden to it.

These considerations show that the virtue of chastity is not, as some have supposed, a forced produce of artificial society, but that it has the most real and solid foundation in nature and reason, being apparently the only virtuous means of avoiding the vice and misery which result so often from the principle of population.

In such a society as we have been supposing it might be necessary for some of both sexes to pass many of the early years of life in the single state, and if this were general there would certainly be room for a much greater number to marry afterwards, so that fewer, upon the whole, would be condemned to pass their lives in celibacy. If the custom of not marrying early prevailed generally, and if violations of chastity were equally dishonorable in both sexes, a more familiar and friendly intercourse between them might take place without danger. Two young people might converse together intimately without its being immediately supposed that they either intended marriage or intrigue, and a much better opportunity would thus be given to both sexes of finding out kindred dispositions, and of forming those strong and lasting attachments without which the married state is generally more productive of misery than of happiness. The earlier years of life would not be spent without love, though without the full gratification of it. The passion, instead of being extinguished as it now too frequently is by early sensuality, would only be repressed for a time that it might afterwards burn with a brighter, purer,

and steadier flame, and the happiness of the married state, instead of only affording the means of immediate indulgence, would be looked forward to as the prize of industry and virtue, and the reward of a genuine and constant attachment.[1]

The passion of love is a powerful stimulus in the formation of character and often prompts to the most noble and generous exertions, but this is only when the affections are centered in one object, and generally when full gratification is delayed by difficulties.[2] The heart is perhaps never so much disposed to virtuous conduct, and certainly at no time is the virtue of chastity so little difficult to men as when under the influence of such a passion. Late marriages taking place in this way would be very different from those of the same name at present, where the union is too frequently prompted solely by interested views, and the parties meet not infrequently with exhausted constitutions and generally with exhausted affections. The late marriages at present are indeed principally confined to the men, of whom there are few, however advanced in life, who if they determine to marry do not fix their choice on a young wife. A young woman without fortune, when she has passed her twenty-fifth year, begins to fear, and with reason, that she may lead a life of celibacy, and with a heart capable of forming a strong attachment feels as each year creeps on her hopes of finding an object on which to rest her

[1] Dr. Currie, in his interesting observations on the character and condition of the Scotch peasantry, prefixed to his Life of Burns, remarks with a just knowledge of human nature that "in appreciating the happiness and virtue of a community there is perhaps no single criterion on which so much dependence may be placed as the state of the intercourse between the sexes. Where this displays ardor of attachment accompanied by purity of conduct, the character and the influence of women rise, our imperfect nature mounts in the scale of moral excellence, and from the source of this single affection a stream of felicity descends which branches into a thousand rivulets that enrich and adorn the field of life. Where the attachment between the sexes sinks into an appetite, the heritage of our species is comparatively poor, and man approaches to the condition of the brutes that perish" (Vol. I, p. 18).

[2] Dr. Currie observes that "the Scottish peasant in the course of his passion often exerts a spirit of adventure of which a Spanish cavalier need not be ashamed." It is not to be doubted that this kind of romantic passion which Dr. Currie says characterizes the attachment of the humblest people of Scotland, and which has been greatly fostered by the elevation of mind given to them by a superior education, has had a most beneficial influence on the national character.

affections gradually diminishing, and the uneasiness of her situation aggravated by the silly and unjust prejudices of the world. If the general age of marriage among women were later the period of youth and hope would be prolonged, and fewer would be ultimately disappointed.

That a change of this kind would be a most decided advantage to the more virtuous half of society we cannot for a moment doubt. However impatiently the privation might be borne by the men, it would be supported by the women readily and cheerfully, and if they could look forward with just confidence to marriage at twenty-seven or twenty-eight, I fully believe that if the matter were left to their free choice, they would clearly prefer waiting till this period to the being involved in all the cares of a large family at twenty-five. The most eligible age of marriage however could not be fixed, but must depend entirely on circumstances and situation. There is no period of human life at which nature more strongly prompts to a union of the sexes than from seventeen or eighteen to twenty. In every society above that state of depression which almost excludes reason and foresight, these early tendencies must necessarily be restrained; and if in the actual state of things such a restraint on the impulses of nature be found unavoidable, at what time can we be consistently released from it but at that period, whatever it may be, when in the existing circumstances of the society a fair prospect presents itself of maintaining a family?

The difficulty of moral restraint will perhaps be objected to this doctrine. To him who does not acknowledge the authority of the Christian religion I have only to say that after the most careful investigation this virtue appears to be absolutely necessary in order to avoid certain evils which would otherwise result from the general laws of nature. According to his own principles it is his duty to pursue the greatest good consistent with these laws, and not to fail in this important end, and produce an overbalance of misery by a partial obedience to some of the dictates of nature while he neglects others. The path of virtue, though it be the only path which leads to permanent happiness, has always been represented by the heathen moralists as of difficult ascent.

To the Christian I would say that the Scriptures most clearly and precisely point it out to us as our duty to restrain our passions within the bounds of reason, and it is a palpable disobedience of this law to indulge our desires in such a manner as reason tells us will unavoidably end in misery. The Christian cannot consider the difficulty of moral restraint as any argument against its being his duty, since in almost every page of the sacred writings man is described as encompassed on all sides by temptations which it is extremely difficult to resist; and though no duties are enjoined which do not contribute to his happiness on earth as well as in a future state, yet an undeviating obedience is never represented as an easy task.

There is in general so strong a tendency to love in early youth that it is extremely difficult at this period to distinguish a genuine from a transient passion. If the earlier years of life were passed by both sexes in moral restraint, from the greater facility that this would give to the meeting of kindred dispositions, it might even admit of a doubt whether more happy marriages would not take place, and consequently more pleasure from the passion of love, than in a state such as that of America, the circumstances of which allow of a very early union of the sexes. But if we compare the intercourse of the sexes in such a society as I have been supposing with that which now exists in Europe, taken under all its circumstances, it may safely be asserted that, independently of the load of misery which would be removed, the sum of pleasurable sensations from the passion of love would be increased in a very great degree.

If we could suppose such a system general, the accession of happiness to society in its internal economy would scarcely be greater than in its external relations. It might fairly be expected that war, that great pest of the human race, would under such circumstances soon cease to extend its ravages so widely and so frequently as it does at present.

One of its first causes and most powerful impulses was undoubtedly an insufficiency of room and food; and greatly as the circumstances of mankind have changed since it first began, the same cause still continues to operate and to produce, though in

a smaller degree, the same effects. The ambition of princes would want instruments of destruction if the distresses of the lower classes of people did not drive them under their standards. A recruiting sergeant always prays for a bad harvest and a want of employment, or in other words a redundant population.

In the earlier ages of the world when war was the great business of mankind, and the drains of population from this cause were beyond comparison greater than in modern times, the legislators and statesmen of each country, adverting principally to the means of offense and defense, encouraged an increase of people in every possible way, fixed a stigma on barrenness and celibacy, and honored marriage. The popular religions followed these prevailing opinions. In many countries the prolific power of nature was the object of solemn worship. In the religion of Mahomet, which was established by the sword, and the promulgation of which in consequence could not be unaccompanied by an extraordinary destruction of its followers, the procreation of children to glorify the Creator was laid down as one of the principal duties of man, and he who had the most numerous offspring was considered as having best answered the end of his creation. The prevalence of such moral sentiments had naturally a great effect in encouraging marriage, and the rapid procreation which followed was partly the effect and partly the cause of incessant war. The vacancies occasioned by former desolations made room for the rearing of fresh supplies, and the overflowing rapidity with which these supplies followed constantly furnished fresh incitements and fresh instruments for renewed hostilities. Under the influence of such moral sentiments, it is difficult to conceive how the fury of incessant war should ever abate.

It is a pleasing confirmation of the truth and divinity of the Christian religion, and of its being adapted to a more improved state of human society, that it places our duties respecting marriage and the procreation of children in a different light from that in which they were before beheld.

Without entering minutely into the subject, which would evidently lead too far, I think it will be admitted that if we apply the spirit of St. Paul's declarations respecting marriage to the

present state of society and the known constitution of our nature, the natural inference seems to be that, when marriage does not interfere with higher duties, it is right; when it does, it is wrong. According to the general principles of moral science, "the method of coming at the will of God from the light of nature is to inquire into the tendency of the action to promote or diminish the general happiness."[1] There are perhaps few actions that tend so directly to diminish the general happiness as to marry without the means of supporting children. He who commits this act therefore clearly offends against the will of God; and having become a burden on the society in which he lives, and plunged himself and family into a situation in which virtuous habits are preserved with more difficulty than in any other, he appears to have violated his duty to his neighbors and to himself, and thus to have listened to the voice of passion in opposition to his higher obligations.

In a society such as I have supposed, all the members of which endeavor to obtain happiness by obedience to the moral code derived from the light of nature, and enforced by strong sanctions in revealed religion, it is evident that no such marriages could take place; and the prevention of a redundant population in this way would remove one of the principal encouragements to offensive war, and at the same time tend powerfully to eradicate those two fatal political disorders, internal tyranny and internal tumult, which mutually produce each other.

Indisposed to a war of offense, in a war of defense such a society would be strong as a rock of adamant. Where every family possessed the necessaries of life in plenty, and a decent portion of its comforts and conveniences, there could not exist that hope of change, or at best that melancholy and disheartening indifference to it, which sometimes prompts the lower classes of people to say, "Let what will come, we cannot be worse off than we are now." Every heart and hand will be united to repel an invader when each individual felt the value of the solid advantages which he enjoyed, and a prospect of change presented only a prospect of being deprived of them.

[1] Paley, Moral Philosophy, Vol. I, Bk. II, chap. iv, p. 65.

As it appears therefore that it is in the power of each individual to avoid all the evil consequences to himself and society resulting from the principle of population by the practice of a virtue clearly dictated to him by the light of nature and expressly enjoined in revealed religion, and as we have reason to think that the exercise of this virtue to a certain degree would tend rather to increase than diminish individual happiness, we can have no reason to impeach the justice of the Deity because his general laws make this virtue necessary, and punish our offenses against it by the evils attendant upon vice and the pains that accompany the various forms of premature death. A really virtuous society such as I have supposed would avoid these evils. It is the apparent object of the Creator to deter us from vice by the pains which accompany it, and to lead us to virtue by the happiness that it produces. This object appears to our conceptions to be worthy of a benevolent Creator. The laws of nature respecting population tend to promote this object. No imputation therefore on the benevolence of the Deity can be founded on these laws which is not equally applicable to any of the evils necessarily incidental to an imperfect state of existence.

Of the Only Effectual Mode of improving the Condition of the Poor

He who publishes a moral code or system of duties, however firmly he may be convinced of the strong obligation on each individual strictly to conform to it, has never the folly to imagine that it will be universally or even generally practiced. But this is no valid objection against the publication of the code. If it were, the same objection would always have applied, we should be totally without general rules, and to the vices of mankind arising from temptation would be added a much longer list than we have at present of vices from ignorance.

Judging merely from the light of nature, if we feel convinced of the misery arising from a redundant population on the one hand, and of the evils and unhappiness, particularly to the female sex, arising from promiscuous intercourse, on the other, I do not

see how it is possible for any person who acknowledges the principle of utility as the great criterion of moral rules, to escape the conclusion that moral restraint, or the abstaining from marriage till we are in a condition to support a family, with a perfectly moral conduct during that period, is the strict line of duty; and when revelation is taken into the question, this duty undoubtedly receives very powerful confirmation. At the same time I believe that few of my readers can be less sanguine than I am in their expectations of any sudden and great change in the general conduct of men on this subject; and the chief reason why in the last chapter I allowed myself to suppose the universal prevalence of this virtue was that I might endeavor to remove any imputation on the goodness of the Deity, by showing that the evils arising from the principle of population were exactly of the same nature as the generality of other evils which excite fewer complaints, that they were increased by human ignorance and indolence, and diminished by human knowledge and virtue; and on the supposition that each individual strictly fulfilled his duty would be almost totally removed, and this without any general diminution of those sources of pleasure arising from the regulated indulgence of the passions, which have been justly considered as the principal ingredients of human happiness.

If it will answer any purpose of illustration, I see no harm in drawing the picture of a society, in which each individual is supposed strictly to fulfill his duties; nor does a writer appear to be justly liable to the imputation of being visionary, unless he make such universal or general obedience necessary to the practical utility of his system, and to that degree of moderate and partial improvement which is all that can rationally be expected from the most complete knowledge of our duties.

But in this respect there is an essential difference between that improved state of society which I have supposed in the last chapter and most of the other speculations on this subject. The improvement there supposed, if we ever should make approaches towards it, is to be effected in the way in which we have been in the habit of seeing all the greatest improvements effected, by a direct application to the interest and happiness of each individual.

It is not required of us to act from motives to which we are unaccustomed; to pursue a general good which we may not distinctly comprehend, or the effect of which may be weakened by distance and diffusion. The happiness of the whole is to be the result of the happiness of individuals, and to begin first with them. No coöperation is required. Every step tells. He who performs his duty faithfully will reap the full fruits of it, whatever may be the number of others who fail. This duty is intelligible to the humblest capacity. It is merely that he is not to bring beings into the world for whom he cannot find the means of support. When once this subject is cleared from the obscurity thrown over it by parochial laws and private benevolence, every man must feel the strongest conviction of such an obligation. If he cannot support his children, they must starve; and if he marry in the face of a fair probability that he shall not be able to support his children, he is guilty of all the evils which he thus brings upon himself, his wife, and his offspring. It is clearly his interest, and will tend greatly to promote his happiness, to defer marrying, till by industry and economy he is in a capacity to support the children that he may reasonably expect from his marriage; and as he cannot in the meantime gratify his passions without violating an express command of God, and running a great risk of injuring himself or some of his fellow creatures, considerations of his own interest and happiness will dictate to him the strong obligation to a moral conduct while he remains unmarried.

However powerful may be the impulses of passion, they are generally in some degree modified by reason. And it does not seem entirely visionary to suppose that, if the true and permanent cause of poverty were clearly explained and forcibly brought home to each man's bosom, it would have some and perhaps not an inconsiderable influence on his conduct; at least the experiment has never yet been fairly tried. Almost everything that has been hitherto done for the poor has tended, as if with solicitous care, to throw a veil of obscurity over this subject and to hide from them the true cause of their poverty. When the wages of labor are hardly sufficient to maintain two children, a man marries and has five or six; he of course finds himself miserably distressed.

He accuses the insufficiency of the price of labor to maintain a family. He accuses his parish for their tardy and sparing fulfillment of their obligation to assist him. He accuses the avarice of the rich who suffer him to want what they can so well spare. He accuses the partial and unjust institutions of society which have awarded him an inadequate share of the produce of the earth. He accuses perhaps the dispensations of Providence which have assigned to him a place in society so beset with unavoidable distress and dependence. In searching for objects of accusation, he never adverts to the quarter from which his misfortunes originate. The last person that he would think of accusing is himself, on whom in fact the principal blame lies except so far as he has been deceived by the higher classes of society. He may perhaps wish that he had not married, because he now feels the inconveniences of it; but it never enters into his head that he can have done anything wrong. He has always been told that to raise up subjects for his king and country is a very meritorious act. He has done this and yet is suffering for it; and it cannot but strike him as most extremely unjust and cruel in his king and country to allow him thus to suffer in return for giving them what they are continually declaring that they particularly want.

Till these erroneous ideas have been corrected, and the language of nature and reason has been generally heard on the subject of population, instead of the language of error and prejudice, it cannot be said that any fair experiment has been made with the understandings of the common people; and we cannot justly accuse them of improvidence and want of industry, till they act as they do now, after it has been brought home to their comprehension that they are themselves the cause of their own poverty; that the means of redress are in their own hands, and in the hands of no other persons whatever; that the society in which they live, and the government which presides over it, are without any *direct* power in this respect; and that however ardently they may desire to relieve them, and whatever attempts they may make to do so, they are really and truly unable to execute what they benevolently wish, but unjustly promise; that when the wages of labor will not maintain a family it is an

incontrovertible sign that their king and country do not want more subjects, or at least that they cannot support them; that, if they marry in this case, so far from fulfilling a duty to society, they are throwing a useless burden on it, at the same time that they are plunging themselves into distress, and that they are acting directly contrary to the will of God, and bringing down upon themselves various diseases, which might all, or the greater part, have been avoided if they had attended to the repeated admonitions which he gives by the general laws of nature to every being capable of reason.

Paley, in his Moral Philosophy, observes that "in countries in which subsistence is become scarce, it behoves the state to watch over the public morals with increased solicitude; for nothing but the instinct of nature, under the restraint of chastity, will induce men to undertake the labor, or consent to the sacrifice of personal liberty and indulgence, which the support of a family in such circumstances requires."[1] That it is always the duty of a state to use every exertion likely to be effectual in discouraging vice and promoting virtue, and that no temporary circumstances ought to cause any relaxation in these exertions, is certainly true. The means therefore proposed are always good; but the particular end in view in this case appears to be absolutely criminal. We wish to force people into marriage, when from the acknowledged scarcity of subsistence they will have little chance of being able to support their children. We might as well force people into the water who are unable to swim. In both cases we rashly tempt Providence. Nor have we more reason to believe that a miracle will be worked to save us from the misery and mortality resulting from our conduct in the one case than in the other.

The object of those who really wish to better the condition of the lower classes of society must be to raise the relative proportion between the price of labor and the price of provisions, so as to enable the laborer to command a larger share of the necessaries and comforts of life. We have hitherto principally attempted to attain this end by encouraging the married poor, and consequently increasing the number of laborers, and overstocking the

[1] Vol. II, chap. xi, p. 352.

market with a commodity which we still say that we wish to be dear. It would seem to have required no great spirit of divination to foretell the certain failure of such a plan of proceeding. There is nothing however like experience. It has been tried in many different countries and for many hundred years, and the success has always been answerable to the nature of the scheme. It is really time now to try something else. . . .

In an endeavor to raise the proportion of the quantity of provisions to the number of consumers in any country, our attention would naturally be first directed to the increasing of the absolute quantity of provisions; but finding that as fast as we did this the number of consumers more than kept pace with it, and that with all our exertions we were still as far as ever behind, we should be convinced that our efforts directed only in this way would never succeed. It would appear to be setting the tortoise to catch the hare. Finding therefore that from the laws of nature we could not proportion the food to the population, our next attempt should naturally be to proportion the population to the food. If we can persuade the hare to go to sleep, the tortoise may have some chance of overtaking her.

We are not however to relax our efforts in increasing the quantity of provisions, but to combine another effort with it, that of keeping the population, when once it has been overtaken, at such a distance behind as to effect the relative proportion which we desire, and thus unite the two grand *desiderata*, a great actual population and a state of society in which abject poverty and dependence are comparatively but little known, two objects which are far from being incompatible.

If we be really serious in what appears to be the object of such general research, the mode of essentially and permanently bettering the condition of the poor, we must explain to them the true nature of their situation, and show them that the withholding of the supplies of labor is the only possible way of really raising its price, and that they themselves being the possessors of this commodity have alone the power to do this.

I cannot but consider this mode of diminishing poverty as so perfectly clear in theory, and so invariably confirmed by the

analogy of every other commodity which is brought to market, that nothing but its being shown to be calculated to produce greater evils than it proposes to remedy can justify us in not making the attempt to put it into execution.

Objections to this Mode Considered

One objection which perhaps will be made to this plan is that from which alone it derives its value — a market rather understocked with labor. This must undoubtedly take place in a certain degree; but by no means in such a degree as to affect the wealth and prosperity of the country. But putting this subject of a market understocked with labor in the most unfavorable point of view, if the rich will not submit to a slight inconvenience necessarily attendant on the attainment of what they profess to desire, they cannot really be in earnest in their professions. Their benevolence to the poor must be either childish play or hypocrisy; it must be either to amuse themselves or to pacify the minds of the common people with a mere show of attention to their wants. To wish to better the condition of the poor by enabling them to command a greater quantity of the necessaries and comforts of life, and then to complain of higher wages, is the act of a silly boy who gives away his cake and then cries for it. A market overstocked with labor, and an ample remuneration to each laborer, are objects perfectly incompatible with each other. In the annals of the world they never existed together: and to couple them even in imagination betrays a gross ignorance of the simplest principles of political economy.

A second objection that may be made to this plan is the diminution of population that it would cause. It is to be considered however that this diminution is merely relative; and when once this relative diminution has been effected by keeping the population stationary while the supply of food has increased, it might then start afresh and continue increasing for ages with the increase of food, maintaining always nearly the same relative proportion to it. I can easily conceive that this country, with a proper direction of the national industry, might in the course of some centuries contain two or three times its present population, and yet

every man in the kingdom be much better fed and clothed than he is at present. While the springs of industry continue in vigor, and a sufficient part of that industry is directed to agriculture, we need be under no apprehensions of a deficient population; and nothing perhaps would tend so strongly to excite a spirit of industry and economy among the poor as a thorough knowledge that their happiness must always depend principally upon themselves; and that, if they obey their passions in opposition to their reason, or be not industrious and frugal while they are single to save a sum for the common contingencies of the married state, they must expect to suffer the natural evils which Providence has prepared for those who disobey its repeated admonitions.

A third objection which may be started to this plan, and the only one which appears to me to have any kind of plausibility, is that, by endeavoring to urge the duty of moral restraint on the poor, we may increase the quantity of vice relating to the sex.

I should be extremely sorry to say anything which could either directly or remotely be construed unfavorably to the cause of virtue; but I certainly cannot think that the vices which relate to the sex are the only vices which are to be considered in a moral question; or that they are even the greatest and most degrading to the human character. They can rarely or never be committed without producing unhappiness somewhere or other, and therefore ought always to be strongly reprobated; but there are other vices the effects of which are still more pernicious; and there are other situations which lead more certainly to moral offenses than the refraining from marriage. Powerful as may be the temptations to a breach of chastity, I am inclined to think that they are impotent in comparison of the temptations arising from continued distress. A large class of women and many men, I have no doubt, pass a considerable part of their lives consistently with the laws of chastity; but I believe there will be found very few who pass through the ordeal of squalid and hopeless poverty, or even of long-continued embarrassed circumstances, without a great moral degradation of character. . . .

When indigence does not produce overt acts of vice, it palsies every virtue. Under the continued temptations to a breach of

chastity, occasional failures may take place, and the moral sensibility in other respects not be very strikingly impaired; but the continued temptations which beset hopeless poverty, and the strong sense of injustice that generally accompanies it from an ignorance of its true cause, tend so powerfully to sour the disposition, to harden the heart, and deaden the moral sense, that generally speaking virtue takes her flight clear away from the tainted spot, and does not often return.

Even with respect to the vices which relate to the sex, marriage has been found to be by no means a complete remedy. Among the higher classes, our Doctors' Commons, and the lives that many married men are known to lead, sufficiently prove this; and the same kind of vice, though not so much heard of among the lower classes of people, is probably in all our great towns not much less frequent.

Add to this that abject poverty, particularly when joined with idleness, is a state the most unfavorable to chastity that can well be conceived. The passion is as strong, or nearly so, as in other situations; and every restraint on it from personal respect, or a sense of morality, is generally removed. There is a degree of squalid poverty in which, if a girl was brought up, I should say that her being really modest at twenty was an absolute miracle. Those persons must have extraordinary minds indeed, and such as are not usually formed under similar circumstances, who can continue to respect themselves when no other person whatever respects them. If the children thus brought up were even to marry at twenty, it is probable that they would have passed some years in vicious habits before that period. . . .

If on contemplating the increase of vice which might contingently follow an attempt to inculcate the duty of moral restraint, and the increase of misery that must necessarily follow the attempts to encourage marriage and population, we come to the conclusion not to interfere in any respect, but to leave every man to his own free choice and responsible only to God for the evil which he does in either way; this is all I contend for; I would on no account do more; but I contend that at present we are very far from doing this.

Among the lower classes of society, where the point is of the greatest importance, the poor laws afford a direct, constant, and systematical encouragement to marriage by removing from each individual that heavy responsibility which he would incur by the laws of nature for bringing beings into the world which he could not support. Our private benevolence has the same direction as the poor laws, and almost invariably tends to encourage marriage and to equalize as much as possible the circumstances of married and single men.

Among the higher classes of people the superior distinctions which married women receive, and the marked inattentions to which single women of advanced age are exposed, enable many men who are agreeable neither in mind nor person and are besides in the wane of life to choose a partner among the young and fair, instead of being confined as nature seems to dictate to persons of nearly their own age and accomplishments. It is scarcely to be doubted that the fear of being an old maid, and of that silly and unjust ridicule which folly sometimes attaches to this name, drives many women into the marriage union with men whom they dislike, or at best to whom they are perfectly indifferent. Such marriages must to every delicate mind appear little better than legal prostitutions, and they often burden the earth with unnecessary children, without compensating for it by an accession of happiness and virtue to the parties themselves.

Throughout all the ranks of society the prevailing opinions respecting the duty and obligation of marriage cannot but have a very powerful influence. The man who thinks that in going out of the world without leaving representatives behind him he shall have failed in an important duty to society, will be disposed to force rather than to repress his inclinations on this subject; and when his reason represents to him the difficulties attending a family he will endeavor not to attend to these suggestions, will still determine to venture, and will hope that in the discharge of what he conceives to be his duty he shall not be deserted by Providence.

In a civilized country such as England, where a taste for the decencies and comforts of life prevails among a very large class

of people, it is not possible that the encouragements to marriage from positive institutions and prevailing opinions should entirely obscure the light of nature and reason on this subject; but still they contribute to make it comparatively weak and indistinct. And till this obscurity is removed, and the poor are undeceived with respect to the principal cause of their poverty, and taught to know that their happiness or misery must depend chiefly upon themselves, it cannot be said that with regard to the great question of marriage we leave every man to his own free and fair choice.

Effects of the Knowledge of the Principal Cause of Poverty on Civil Liberty

It may appear, perhaps, that a doctrine which attributes the greatest part of the sufferings of the lower classes of society exclusively to themselves is unfavorable to the cause of liberty, as affording a tempting opportunity to governments of oppressing their subjects at pleasure and laying the whole blame on the laws of nature and the imprudence of the poor. We are not, however, to trust to first appearances; and I am strongly disposed to believe that those who will be at the pains to consider this subject deeply will be convinced that nothing would so powerfully contribute to the advancement of rational freedom as a thorough knowledge generally circulated of the principal cause of poverty, and that the ignorance of this cause, and the natural consequences of this ignorance, form at present one of the chief obstacles to its progress.

The pressure of distress on the lower classes of people, together with the habit of attributing this distress to their rulers, appears to me to be the rock of defense, the castle, the guardian spirit of despotism. It affords to the tyrant the fatal and unanswerable plea of necessity. It is the reason why every free government tends constantly to destruction, and that its appointed guardians become daily less jealous of the encroachments of power. It is the reason why so many noble efforts in the cause of freedom have failed, and why almost every revolution after long and painful sacrifices has terminated in a military despotism. While any

dissatisfied man of talents has power to persuade the lower classes of people that all their poverty and distress arise solely from the iniquity of the government, though, perhaps, the greatest part of what they suffer is unconnected with this cause, it is evident that the seeds of fresh discontents and fresh revolutions are continually sowing. When an established government has been destroyed, finding that their poverty is not removed, their resentment naturally falls upon the successors to power; and when these have been immolated without producing the desired effect, other sacrifices are called for, and so on without end. Are we to be surprised that under such circumstances the majority of well-disposed people, finding that a government with proper restrictions is unable to support itself against the revolutionary spirit, and weary and exhausted with perpetual change to which they can see no end, should give up the struggle in despair, and throw themselves into the arms of the first power which can afford them protection against the horrors of anarchy? . . .

Nothing would so effectually counteract the mischiefs occasioned by Mr. Paine's Rights of Man as a general knowledge of the real rights of man. What these rights are it is not my business at present to explain; but there is one right which man has generally been thought to possess, which I am confident he neither does nor can possess — a right to subsistence when his labor will not fairly purchase it. Our laws indeed say that he has this right, and bind the society to furnish employment and food to those who cannot get them in the regular market; but in so doing they attempt to reverse the laws of nature, and it is in consequence to be expected not only that they should fail in their object, but that the poor, who were intended to be benefited, should suffer most cruelly from the inhuman deceit thus practiced upon them.

The Abbé Raynal has said that "Avant toutes les loix sociales l'homme avoit le droit de subsister."[1] He might with just as much propriety have said that before the institution of social laws every man had a right to live a hundred years. Undoubtedly he had then and has still a good right to live a hundred years, nay

[1] Raynal, Hist. des Indes, Vol. X, s. x, p. 322, 8vo.

a thousand *if he can*, without interfering with the right of others to live; but the affair in both cases is principally an affair of power not of right. Social laws very greatly increase this power, by enabling a much greater number to subsist than could subsist without them, and so far very greatly enlarge *le droit de subsister*; but neither before nor after the institution of social laws could an unlimited number subsist; and before as well as since, he who ceased to have the power ceased to have the right.

If the great truths on these subjects were more generally circulated and the lower classes of people could be convinced that by the laws of nature, independently of any particular institutions except the great one of property, which is absolutely necessary in order to attain any considerable produce, no person has any claim of *right* on society for subsistence if his labor will not purchase it, the greatest part of the mischievous declamation on the unjust institutions of society would fall powerless to the ground. The poor are by no means inclined to be visionary. Their distresses are always real, though they are not attributed to the real causes. If these causes were properly explained to them, and they were taught to know what part of their present distress was attributable to government, and what part to causes totally unconnected with it, discontent and irritation among the lower classes of people would show themselves much less frequently than at present; and when they did show themselves would be much less to be dreaded. The efforts of turbulent and discontented men in the middle classes of society might safely be disregarded if the poor were so far enlightened respecting the real nature of their situation as to be aware that by aiding them in their schemes of renovation they would probably be promoting the ambitious views of others without in any respect benefiting themselves. . . . The most successful supporters of tyranny are without doubt those general declaimers who attribute the distresses of the poor, and almost all the evils to which society is subject, to human institutions and the iniquity of governments.

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Of our Rational Expectations respecting the Future Improvement of Society [1]

In taking a general and concluding view of our rational expectations respecting the mitigation of the evils arising from the principle of population, it may be observed that though the increase of population in a geometrical ratio be incontrovertible, and the period of doubling when unchecked has been uniformly stated in this work rather below than above the truth; yet there are some natural consequences of the progress of society and civilization, which necessarily repress its full effects. These are more particularly great towns and manufactures, in which we can scarcely hope, and certainly not expect, to see any very material change. It is undoubtedly our duty and in every point of view highly desirable, to make towns and manufacturing employments as little injurious as possible to the duration of human life; but after all our efforts it is probable that they will always remain less healthy than country situations and country employments, and consequently operating as positive checks will diminish in some degree the necessity of the preventive check.

In every old state it is observed that a considerable number of grown-up people remain for a time unmarried. The duty of practicing the common and acknowledged rules of morality during this period has never been controverted in theory, however it may have been opposed in practice. This branch of the duty of moral restraint has scarcely been touched by the reasonings of this work. It rests on the same foundation as before, neither stronger nor weaker. And knowing how incompletely this duty has hitherto been fulfilled, it would certainly be visionary to expect that in future it would be completely fulfilled.

The part which has been affected by the reasonings of this work is not therefore that which relates to our conduct during the period of celibacy, but to the duty of extending this period till we have a prospect of being able to maintain our children. And it is by no means visionary to indulge a hope of some favorable change in this respect; because it is found by experience

[1] This is the concluding chapter of the Essay. — Ed.

that the prevalence of this kind of prudential restraint is extremely different in different countries, and in the same countries at different periods.

It cannot be doubted that throughout Europe in general, and most particularly in the northern states, a decided change has taken place in the operation of prudential restraint, since the prevalence of those warlike and enterprising habits which destroyed so many people. In later times the gradual diminution and almost total extinction of the plagues, which so frequently visited Europe in the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, produced a change of the same kind. And in this country it is not to be doubted that the proportion of marriages has become smaller since the improvement of our towns, the less frequent returns of epidemics, and the adoption of habits of greater cleanliness. During the late scarcities it appears that the number of marriages diminished;[1] and the same motives which prevented many people from marrying during such a period, would operate precisely in the same way, if in future the additional number of children reared to manhood from the introduction of the cow-pox, were to be such as to crowd all employments, lower the price of labor, and make it more difficult to support a family.

Universally, the practice of mankind on the subject of marriage has been much superior to their theories; and however frequent may have been the declamations on the duty of entering into this state, and the advantage of early unions to prevent vice, each individual has practically found it necessary to consider of the means of supporting a family before he ventured to take so important a step. That great *vis medicatrix reipublicae*, the desire of bettering our condition, and the fear of making it worse, has been constantly in action, and has been constantly directing people into the right road in spite of all the declamations which tended to lead them aside. Owing to this powerful spring of health in every state, which is nothing more than an inference from the general course of the laws of nature irresistibly forced on each man's attention, the prudential check to marriage has increased in Europe; and it cannot be unreasonable to conclude

[1] 1800 and 1801.

that it will still make further advances. If this take place without any marked and decided increase of a vicious intercourse with the sex, the happiness of society will evidently be promoted by it; and with regard to the danger of such increase, it is consolatory to remark that those countries in Europe where marriages are the latest or least frequent, are by no means particularly distinguished by vices of this kind. . . . Experience seems to teach us that it is possible for moral and physical causes to counteract the effects that might at first be expected from an increase of the check to marriage; but allowing all the weight to these effects which is in any degree probable, it may be safely asserted that the diminution of the vices arising from indigence would fully counterbalance them; and that all the advantages of diminished mortality and superior comforts, which would certainly result from an increase of the preventive check, may be placed entirely on the side of the gains to the cause of happiness and virtue.

It is less the object of the present work to propose new plans of improving society than to inculcate the necessity of resting contented with that mode of improvement which already has in part been enacted upon as dictated by the course of nature, and of not obstructing the advances which would otherwise be made in this way.

It would be undoubtedly highly advantageous that all our positive institutions, and the whole tenor of our conduct to the poor, should be such as actively to coöperate with that lesson of prudence inculcated by the common course of human events; and if we take upon ourselves sometimes to mitigate the natural punishments of imprudence, that we could balance it by increasing the rewards of an opposite conduct. But much would be done if merely the institutions which directly tend to encourage marriage were gradually changed and we ceased to circulate opinions and inculcate doctrines which positively counteract the lessons of nature.

The limited good which it is sometimes in our power to effect is often lost by attempting too much, and by making the adoption of some particular plan essentially necessary even to a partial degree of success. In the practical application of the reasonings

of this work I hope that I have avoided this error. I wish to press on the recollection of the reader that though I may have given some new views of old facts, and may have indulged in the contemplation of a considerable degree of *possible* improvement that I might not shut out that prime cheerer hope, yet in my expectations of probable improvement and in suggesting the means of accomplishing it I have been very cautious. The gradual abolition of the poor laws has already often been proposed in consequence of the practical evils which have been found to flow from them, and the danger of their becoming a weight absolutely intolerable on the landed property of the kingdom. The establishment of a more extensive system of national education has neither the advantage of novelty with some nor its disadvantages with others to recommend it. The practical good effects of education have long been experienced in Scotland, and almost every person who has been placed in a situation to judge has given his testimony that education appears to have a considerable effect in the prevention of crimes,[1] and the promotion of industry, morality, and regular conduct. Yet these are the only plans which have been offered, and though the adoption of them in the modes suggested would very powerfully contribute to forward the object of this work and better the condition of the poor, yet if nothing be done in this way I shall not absolutely despair of some partial good resulting from the general effects of the reasoning. . . .

Among the higher and middle classes of society the effect of this knowledge will I hope be to direct without relaxing their efforts in bettering the condition of the poor; to show them what they can and what they cannot do; and that although much may be done by advice and instruction, by encouraging habits of prudence and cleanliness, by discriminate charity, and by any mode

[1] Mr. Howard found fewer prisoners in Switzerland and Scotland than in other countries, which he attributed to a more regular education among the lower classes of the Swiss and the Scotch. During the number of years which the late Mr. Fielding presided at Bow Street only six Scotchmen were brought before him. He used to say that of the persons committed the greater part were Irish. — Preface to Vol. III of the Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, p. 32.

of bettering the present condition of the poor which is followed by an increase of the preventive check; yet that without this last effect all the former efforts would be futile; and that in any old and well-peopled state to assist the poor in such a manner as to enable them to marry as early as they please and rear up large families, is a physical impossibility. This knowledge, by tending to prevent the rich from destroying the good effects of their own exertions and wasting their efforts in a direction where success is unattainable, would confine their attention to the proper objects, and thus enable them to do more good.

Among the poor themselves its effects would be still more important. That the principal and most permanent cause of poverty has little or no *direct* relation to forms of government or the unequal division of property; and that as the rich do not in reality possess the *power* of finding employment and maintenance for the poor, the poor cannot in the nature of things possess the *right* to demand them, are important truths flowing from the principle of population which when properly explained would by no means be above the most ordinary comprehensions. And it is evident that every man in the lower classes of society who became acquainted with these truths would be disposed to bear the distresses in which he might be involved with more patience; would feel less discontent and irritation at the government and the higher classes of society on account of his poverty; would be on all occasions less disposed to insubordination and turbulence; and if he received assistance either from any public institution or from the hand of private charity, he would receive it with more thankfulness, and more justly appreciate its value.

If these truths were by degrees more generally known (which in the course of time does not seem to be improbable from the natural effects of the mutual interchange of opinions), the lower classes of people as a body would become more peaceable and orderly, would be less inclined to tumultuous proceedings in seasons of scarcity, and would at all times be less influenced by inflammatory and seditious publications from knowing how little the price of labor and the means of supporting a family depend upon a revolution. The mere knowledge of these truths, even if

they did not operate sufficiently to produce any marked change in the prudential habits of the poor with regard to marriage, would still have a most beneficial effect on their conduct in a political light; and undoubtedly one of the most valuable of these effects would be the power that would result to the higher and middle classes of society of gradually improving their governments [1] without the apprehension of those revolutionary excesses, the fear of which at present threatens to deprive Europe even of that degree of liberty which she had before experienced to be practicable, and the salutary effects of which she had long enjoyed.

From a review of the state of society in former periods compared with the present, I should certainly say that the evils resulting from the principle of population have rather diminished than increased, even under the disadvantage of an almost total ignorance of the real cause. And if we can indulge the hope that this ignorance will be gradually dissipated, it does not seem unreasonable to expect that they will be still further diminished. The increase of absolute population, which will of course take place, will evidently tend but little to weaken this expectation, as everything depends upon the relative proportion between population and food, and not on the absolute number of people. In the former part of this work it appeared that the countries which possessed the fewest people often suffered the most from the effects of the principle of population; and it can scarcely be doubted that, taking Europe throughout, fewer famines and fewer diseases arising from want have prevailed in the last century than in those which preceded it.

On the whole, therefore, though our future prospects respecting the mitigation of the evils arising from the principle of population may not be so bright as we could wish, yet they are far from

[1] I cannot believe that the removal of all unjust grounds of discontent against constituted authorities would render the people torpid and indifferent to advantages which are really attainable. The blessings of civil liberty are so great that they surely cannot need the aid of false coloring to make them desirable. I should be sorry to think that the lower classes of people could never be animated to assert their rights but by means of such illusory promises as will generally make the remedy of resistance much worse than the disease which it was intended to cure.

being entirely disheartening, and by no means preclude that gradual and progressive improvement in human society, which before the late wild speculations on this subject was the object of rational expectation. To the laws of property and marriage, and to the apparently narrow principle of self-interest which prompts each individual to exert himself in bettering his condition, we are indebted for all the noblest exertions of human genius, for everything that distinguishes the civilized from the savage state. A strict inquiry into the principle of population obliges us to conclude that we shall never be able to throw down the ladder by which we have risen to this eminence; but it by no means proves that we may not rise higher by the same means. The structure of society in its great features will probably always remain unchanged. We have every reason to believe that it will always consist of a class of proprietors and a class of laborers; but the condition of each and the proportion which they bear to each other may be so altered as greatly to improve the harmony and beauty of the whole. It would indeed be a melancholy reflection that, while the views of physical science are daily enlarging so as scarcely to be bounded by the most distant horizon, the science of moral and political philosophy should be confined within such narrow limits, or at best be so feeble in its influence as to be unable to counteract the obstacles to human happiness arising from a single cause. But however formidable these obstacles may have appeared in some parts of this work, it is hoped that the general result of the inquiry is such as not to make us give up the improvement of human society in despair. The partial good which seems to be attainable is worthy of all our exertions, is sufficient to direct our efforts and animate our prospects. And although we cannot expect that the virtue and happiness of mankind will keep pace with the brilliant career of physical discovery; yet if we are not wanting to ourselves, we may confidently indulge the hope that to no unimportant extent they will be influenced by its progress and will partake in its success.

CHAPTER II

THE DECLINING BIRTH RATE

The decline in fertility as shown by corrected birth rates, 80. — Causes of the declining birth rate, 84. — The natural rate of population-increase in different countries, 94. — The effective desire for offspring, 96. — Spencer's theory of individuation, 100.

[It would be interesting to review the earlier critics of Malthus, but it would serve no essential purpose, interesting and curious as many of their ideas were. In the main they either combat his theory on theological grounds, aim their shafts at some non-essential part of it, or attempt to set up crudely supported theories of their own to demonstrate the baselessness of a fear of over-population. The first attempt to deal with the population problem, after Malthus, which has had any influence on present-day thought was that of Herbert Spencer, a theory based upon biological and physiological postulates. Spencer's theory is worthy of close attention, but it is without scientific proof. John Rae's sojourn and observations in Hawaii led him to emphasize a psychological factor — the desire for offspring — and its variability in the face of racial contacts, a matter also touched upon by Robert Louis Stevenson.[1]

The necessity for a restatement of the theory of population has been forced in recent years not only by the development of the social sciences, but by the declining birth rate, which Malthus did not and could not foresee. Not only has the ratio of births to total population fallen, but the actual fertility rate has decreased also. Nevertheless the death rate has declined so fast that the rate of natural increase is as high as, or higher than, at any time in the past hundred years. While the decrease in the birth rate

[1] The South Seas, chap. v.

calls for explanation, and while its bearing on the future of the population problem must be analyzed, it remains evident from the table of natural increase that the fundamental question of the relation of population to subsistence is before the future, as the past, for solution.]

4. THE DECLINE OF HUMAN FERTILITY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND OTHER COUNTRIES AS SHOWN BY CORRECTED BIRTH RATES[1]

In dealing with birth statistics one or the other of two objects may be desired: to ascertain the rate of natural increase of a community, or to determine its fertility. The first object is achieved by deducting the crude death rate from the birth rate as ordinarily stated. The statistics thus obtained are of great importance as indicating the results of the natural forces at work. But they deal with results only, and if the forces themselves are to be made an object of inquiry, a rearrangement of the facts and their statement in different terms from those of the crude birth and death rates are necessary. The corrected rate measures a force, the crude rate the result of the operation of this force. Thus in the case of death rates the inherent tendency to mortality is measured, not by the crude, but by the corrected death rate, the crude death rate stating the result of the tendency to death acting upon a population of given age and sex constitution. The Registrar-General's reports have accustomed us to the distinction for death rates, and we should not think of using crude death rates as an index of mortality in this sense. But for birth rates it is otherwise. The birth rate as ordinarily stated, which will be referred to henceforward as the crude birth rate, is still generally employed as the measure of the tendency of a population to increase by natural means, no other measure being in most cases readily available. That such use is often entirely misleading will be abundantly proved by numerous specific instances in the course of this paper.

[1] By Arthur Newsholme, M.D., and T. H. C. Stevenson, M.D. Adapted from the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. LXIX (March, 1906), pp. 34–87.

If a clue as to the future and an explanation of past experience is required, a method of stating the birth rate analogous to that by which corrected death rates are obtained is necessary. Such a birth rate should be an accurate measure of the tendency of the community to increase, just as the corrected death rate forms an accurate statement of its tendency to decrease. In other words, the corrected birth rate must be a measure of fertility, which, operative in a population of given constitution as to age, sex, and conjugal condition, produces as its result the crude birth rate. . . .[1]

It must be remembered that by the method of calculation adopted in this paper, the influences of differences in proportion

[1] The authors' description of their method of calculating corrected birth rates is given in the *Journal of Hygiene*, Vol. V, No. 2, April, 1905.

In order fairly to compare the fertility of two populations, or of the same population at different periods, it is necessary to take some community of known age, sex, and marital condition, find in said community the actual birth rate in each age group of married women of childbearing age, if we are seeking legitimate birth rates (or of all women of childbearing age, if we are seeking "total" birth rates), and to regard these rates by age groups as *standard fertility rates* for those groups. The authors chose the rates of Sweden in 1891 as the standard. Secondly, knowing the age, sex, and marital distribution of the population of England and Wales in 1901, they find for each age group of married women of childbearing age (15–20, 20–25, etc.) the number of children that *would* have been born in England and Wales had the women there had the same actual fertility, age for age, as those in Sweden in 1891. This gives a hypothetical legitimate birth rate, calculated on the whole population, of 34.91, and this rate the authors take as their *standard birth rate* with which other birth rates are compared. Thirdly, suppose we wish to compare the fertility of London women with those of England and Wales as a whole. In the same way a standard birth rate for London is calculated. It represents the birth rate London *would* have had, had London women in 1901 been of the same fertility as Swedish women in 1891. It turns out to be 36.95. The question is if London had had the same age, sex, and marital distribution of its population as had England and Wales, what *would its* crude birth rate have been? This is the "corrected birth rate" for which we are seeking. The ratio of the standard rate of England and Wales to that of London is $\frac{34.91}{36.95}$ or .9448. The standard rate of England and Wales, in other words, is only 94.48 per cent of that of London because London has an age, sex, and conjugal distribution of its population more favorable to childbearing than have England and Wales at large. It follows that if we multiply the actual recorded London rate by this "factor of correction" (.9448) we shall get a figure which represents the birth rate London would have had had its population been of the same age, sex, and conjugal distribution as that of England and Wales. Since London's crude birth rate in 1901 was 27.42, its corrected birth rate was 0.9448(27.42), or 25.91. The factor of correction is of course different for each community. — Ed.

of wives and in the ages of these wives has been eliminated, and we are thus enabled to separate between what we may call the *arithmetical* and the *pathological causes* of decline in the birth rate. France is the best instance of a pathological birth rate. The term ("natalité pathologique") is used by Dr. Jacques Bertillon, the head of the Statistical Bureau of the City of Paris France has rather a larger number of wives aged 15–45 than England and Wales per 1000 of total population. But its corrected legitimate birth rate is 29 per cent lower, and its total corrected birth rate 24 per cent lower than that of England and Wales. Ireland, on the other hand, has a low crude birth rate, which becomes one of the highest in Europe when correction is made for the fact that only 76.5 per 1000 of population, as compared with 117.0 for England and Wales, are wives at childbearing age, only 32.5 per cent of the women aged 15–45 being married, as compared with 46.8 per cent in England and Wales. . . .

In Table A the chief communities are set forth in the order of their total corrected birth rates in 1880 or 1881 and in 1901–1904.

At the earlier period, Germany, Belgium, and Norway headed the list. At the later period the position of Germany as a whole has receded, Ireland now preceding it. England and Wales is next lowest to France at both periods. If the countries be classified according to the percentage decline of total annual birth rate which has occurred during twenty-two years, New South Wales comes first with a decline of 32 per cent, Victoria next with a decline of 25 per cent, then Belgium with 24 per cent decline, Saxony 23 per cent, New Zealand 19 per cent, and England and Wales 18 per cent. The smallest declines occurred in Austria — 1 per cent, Norway and Sweden 6 per cent each, and Italy 9 per cent; Ireland showed an increase of 3 per cent.

Among the cities given in the table, the total birth rates of London, Berlin, and Dublin were nearly equal in 1881, the birth rates of Hamburg and Edinburgh being higher than these, and that of Paris very much lower. In 1903 Paris is still lowest, but Berlin is rapidly approximating to it; next comes Sidney and

Melbourne, then in order Hamburg, London and Edinburgh. The greatest decline among the cities was 34 per cent in Berlin; next came Paris with a decline of 28 per cent, followed by Edinburgh with a decline of 20 per cent, and London with a decline of 17 per cent. The earlier corrected birth rates for Melbourne and Sidney could not be calculated for lack of the necessary data.

TABLE A

Communities in Order of Total Corrected Birth Rate, 1880–1881	Corrected Birth Rate per 1000 of Population		Communities in Order of Total Corrected Birth Rate, 1901–1904	Corrected Birth Rate per 1000 of Population		Percentage Decline in Corrected Birth Rate	
	Total	Legitimate		Total	Legitimate	In total birth rate	In legitimate birth rate
Bavaria	45.49	39.55	Bavaria	40.37	35.59	−11	−10
Saxony	41.45	35.05	Austria	38.50	32.84	−1	±0
Belgium	40.76	38.06	Norway	37.79	35.62	−6	−5
German Empire	40.37	36.44	Sweden	36.19	32.90	−6	−7
Norway	40.12	37.59	Ireland	36.08	35.59	+3	+3
Prussia	39.87	36.54	Prussia	35.72	32.72	−10	−11
Scotland	39.29	36.47	*Dublin*	35.39	34.58	+10	+9
Austria	39.04	32.86	German Empire	35.34	32.01	−12	−12
Denmark	38.92	35.36	Italy	33.71	31.17	−9	−7
New South Wales	38.80	36.53	Scotland	33.38	31.65	−15	−13
Sweden	38.49	35.56	Denmark	33.12	29.94	−15	−15
Italy	36.89	33.40	Saxony	31.76	26.60	−23	−24
New Zealand	36.68	34.88	Belgium	31.01	28.85	−24	−24
Victoria	36.02	34.25	New Zealand	29.63	28.44	−19	−18
Ireland	35.17	34.59	England and Wales	28.41	27.29	−18	−17
Hamburg	34.98	31.35	*Edinburgh*	28.08	26.68	−20	−19
Edinburgh	34.97	32.93	Victoria	27.04	25.77	−25	−25
England and Wales	34.65	32.73	*London*	26.83	25.93	−17	−16
Berlin	33.11	28.26	New South Wales	26.47	24.61	−32	−33
Dublin	32.24	31.61	*Hamburg*	25.40	21.70	−27	−31
London	32.21	30.92	*Melbourne*	24.07	22.26		
France	25.06	22.73	*Sidney*	23.89	21.58		
Paris	23.27	16.46	*Berlin*	21.89	18.57	−34	−34
			France	21.63	19.29	−14	−15
			Paris	16.65	11.98	−28	−27

Causes of Decline of Birth Rate

The preceding detailed analysis of corrected birth statistics makes it practicable to draw certain conclusions on the subject. It must still be remembered that we are dealing with the problem of fertility, in the main that of married life, after arithmetical sources of incomparability have been removed.

It is clear that in the majority of countries for which corrected statistics could be calculated there has been a great decline in the corrected legitimate birth rate and an even greater decline in the corrected illegitimate birth rate. It is unfortunate that data enabling corrected statistics for Russia, the United States, and for Canada to be calculated could not be obtained. The French Catholic population of Canada are known to have an exceptionally high birth rate. The decline in the legitimate birth rate, shown in Table A, might be due either to an increased number of sterile marriages, or to smaller families. French, Danish, Swedish, Australian, and other statistics agree in showing that it is the latter phenomenon with which we are chiefly, if not solely concerned.[1] If the decline was due to physical degeneration affecting the reproductive powers, a decrease of fecundity, or, in other words, an increased number of sterile marriages, would be reasonably expected; this has not occurred. This fact at once raises the presumption that the fall in the birth rate is due to conditions within the control of the people, and is, as sometimes described, a form of social *felo-de-se*.

Urbanization. We have already compared urban and rural birth rates in 1881 and 1903, and compared 1881 with 1903.[2]

[1] In New South Wales * the fecund marriages per 1000 total marriages were:

At age	15	20	25	30	35	40	45
In period 1871–1880	987	972	948	897	801	576	275
In period 1891–1897	978	948	919	852	706	410	92
Percentage decline . .	0.9	2.5	3.1	5.0	11.9	28.8	66.5

* Report of Royal Commission on Decline of Birth Rate, etc., in New South Wales, Vol. I, p. 69. The decline in fecundity shown above is extremely small as compared with that in fertility.

[2] This part of the discussion is omitted.

The steady increase of urbanization of the population in every civilized country is not, *per se*, a cause of lowered birth rate. On any such supposition one cannot explain the relatively high birth rate of a large number of towns in 1881, and of Dublin and Belfast in 1903. This conclusion is confirmed by a comparison of the selected urban and rural counties of England and Wales in 1881 and 1903. In 1881 the selected urban counties had a relative corrected legitimate birth rate (figure of merit) represented by the figure 92.0, the selected rural counties a relative corrected birth rate represented by the figure 97.7.[1] Here was a material difference. In 1903 the corresponding figures were 77.9 and 80.3. Both now have a much reduced birth rate, *the decline of the rural being greater than that of the urban birth rate* (18 per cent as compared with 15 per cent).

The four last counties in the following table may be taken as further special examples having chiefly rural populations:

	Corrected Legitimate Birth Rate		Per Cent Reduction	
	1881	1903		
England and Wales . .	32.73	27.29	17	
London	30.92	25.91	16	
Bedfordshire	32.61	25.11	23	(Rural counties)
Berkshire	33.97	26.80	21	
Cornwall	35.46	25.11	29	
Rutland	36.39	26.04	28	

Summing up the evidence as to rural and urban birth rates in this country, it may be said that (1) rural birth rates have declined more than urban birth rates, and are approximating to the latter; (2) there is no essential reason why the urban should be lower than the rural birth rates.

The fact that in Germany the reduction of the birth rate is chiefly shown in its great cities, is an indication not that urbanization favors a low birth rate, but that the operative causes of a low birth rate have not yet affected the rural population of that country to any great extent.

[1] The "figure of merit" is a percentage of the Swedish rate of 1891, taken as a base (100). — Ed.

Industrial Conditions. These are difficult to separate from social conditions, to be considered later, but one or two indications may be mentioned in this connection. In 1881 the agricultural counties showed the highest fertility. In 1903 this difference had largely disappeared. A table, not here reproduced, was prepared showing that both great and small declines in birth rate have occurred among the counties which have the highest proportion of persons engaged in agriculture. In New Zealand the population is largely agricultural, but it now has a corrected total birth rate not much higher than that of England, and its corrected total birth rate has declined 19 per cent in the same twenty-two years in which that of England has declined 18 per cent. The excessively low birth rates of Huddersfield, Halifax and Bradford do not reasonably lend themselves to the suggestion that employment in the woolen and worsted industries is concerned in producing a low birth rate;[1] nor do the percentages of women industrially occupied in different counties vary with variations in the birth rate. The mining counties are, however, among those having the highest birth rate.

Race. According to the figures of 1881, Scotland, Bavaria, Belgium, Norway, Prussia, New South Wales, Sweden, Denmark, Saxony, and New Zealand all had corrected birth rates over the standard; while urban communities like Paris, Kensington, Bradford, Berlin, Huddersfield, etc., were far below the standard. There is no evidence of differences of race fertility among these civilized races, whatever may be the case among races for whom exact and corrected statistics are unattainable. In 1903 we cannot expect to be able to institute comparisons of race, for other causes of variation are evidently in overwhelming operation.

Religion. In 1881 there was no evidence of any connection between the manner of life involved in any religious persuasion and birth rate. Bavaria (113.3), Belgium (109.0), and Ireland

[1] Ethel M. Elderton, after an elaborate analysis of the data, arrives at a conflicting conclusion, that "the fall in the birth rate has been most marked where women are industrially employed." (Report on the English Birth Rate, Part I, England North of the Humber. Eugenics Laboratory Memoirs, XIX and XX (1914), p. 215). — Ed.

(99.1), which are chiefly Roman Catholic, may be set against Norway (107.7), Prussia (104.7), and Scotland (104.5).[1]

In 1902–1903 it is otherwise. The high fertility of French Catholic Canadians is well known, though exact statistics cannot be given here. Bavaria (101.9) and Ireland (101.9) have still birth rates over the standard, and are alone in this respect, excepting Norway (102.0). Italy (95.7 in 1881 and 89.3 in 1903) and France (65.1 in 1881 and 55.3 in 1903) are exceptions to the rule, but there is little doubt that in both these countries orthodox religious restraints have greatly diminished. Austria (94.1 in 1881 and 94.1 in 1901) remains stationary, and is the best example of constancy of corrected birth rate in a Roman Catholic country.

Social Conditions, including Poverty. The view usually taken is that fertility declines with increased prosperity. It undoubtedly is lower in the higher social strata, and diminishes in many communities with increase of prosperity. It may, however, be considered an open question whether this change is partly physiological or is entirely due to artificial means. In England, in Germany, and in other countries the birth rate has declined with general increase of social comfort. Ireland is the only country on our list in which with some probable increase of general welfare the birth rate has increased. The instance of Ireland is somewhat complicated, for in 1881 there was a much greater amount of assisted emigration than in 1903, and it is possible that the population withdrawn at the earlier period was more prolific than that left in Ireland. On the other hand, Ireland is a chiefly Roman Catholic country, in which preventive measures against childbearing are banned, and the birth rate represents in the main the true fertility of the country; while in Germany and in England the birth rate is the resultant of two forces, the relative magnitude of which is unknown, namely, natural fertility, and artificial measures against it. It is not unlikely that up to a certain point improvement in prosperity favors fertility, though beyond this it may act, to a limited extent, in the opposite direction. Taking countries as a whole, there cannot be said to be any direct

[1] These are "figures of merit." — ED.

relationship either in 1881 or in 1902–1903 between the degree of national prosperity and fertility. Norway and Ireland, both relatively poor countries, have a high fertility, but Bavaria and France, which are relatively more prosperous, have one a high and the other a low birth rate. The fact that in Bradford, Berlin, Huddersfield, Halifax, etc., as well as in Paris as early as 1881, a low birth rate was already experienced, shows that high industrial and general prosperity may be associated with a low birth rate. Instances of a similar kind are much more numerous in recent years. The cases of Hampstead, Kensington, and Bournemouth suggest an inverse relationship between fertility and prosperity. The greater decline of fertility in Huddersfield, Halifax, Burnley, Blackburn, and Bradford than in Bethnal Green, Glasgow, Manchester, or Leeds suggests that the skilled artisan class, which probably form a larger proportion of the population of the former towns than of the latter, are adding less to the population than the class of unskilled workers. But such statements must be regarded rather in the nature of surmise than entirely justified by the facts. The following study of metropolitan statistics gives more exact data for forming a judgment on this question.

Fertility of Groups of London Boroughs classified according to Social Position

In a paper read at the meeting of the International Statistical Institute at St. Petersburg, 1897, Dr. Jaques Bertillon gave the following statistics as to the annual births per 1000 women aged fifteen to fifty in different quarters of the undernoted cities:

TABLE B

Classification	Paris	Berlin	Vienna	London
Very poor quarters	108	157	200	147
Poor quarters	95	129	164	140
Comfortable quarters	72	114	155	107
Very comfortable quarters	65	96	153	107
Rich quarters	53	63	107	87
Very rich quarters	34	47	71	63
Average	80	102	153	109

Dr. Bertillon has since kindly supplied to one of us the following statement of the number of legitimate births per 1000 married women aged fifteen to fifty in Paris and Berlin:

TABLE C

Classification	Paris	Berlin
Very poor quarters	143	214
Poor quarters	128	198
Comfortable quarters	109	192
Very comfortable quarters	96	172
Rich quarters	94	145
Very rich quarters	65	121

In the following table we have made a similar calculation for London, substituting the more complete correction described in this paper for the method of correction used in Table B. The metropolitan boroughs have been divided into six groups, which generally resemble Dr. Bertillon's groups. The classification has been based on the average number of domestic servants to every 100 families as displayed by the census returns for 1901.

TABLE D. GROUPS OF METROPOLITAN BOROUGHS

	Number of Domestic Servants per 100 Families	Corrected Birth Rate, 1903			Relative Corrected Birth Rate, that of London being taken as 100	
		Legitimate	Illegitimate	Total	Legitimate	Illegitimate
Group 1	Under 10	30.78	0.78	31.56	118.8	85.7
Group 2	10–20	24.81	1.01	25.82	95.8	111.1
Group 3	20–30	24.90	0.73	25.63	96.1	80.2
Group 4	30–40	24.82	0.68	25.50	95.8	74.7
Group 5	40–50	23.62	1.74[1]	25.36	91.2	191.2
Group 6	Over 60	20.04	0.41	20.45	77.3	45.1
Total		25.91	0.91	26.82	100.0	100.0

Group 1. Census population, 1901 = 1,154,142, comprises Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, Bermondsey, Southwark, Poplar, Finsbury, and Stepney.

[1] The excessive illegitimate birth rate in Group 5 was due entirely to the high rate in Marylebone, in which is situated Queen Charlotte's Lying-in Hospital.

Group 2. Census population, 1901 = 1,996,825, comprises Battersea, Woolwich, Camberwell, Deptford, Islington, St. Pancras, Hackney, Lambeth, Fulham, Hammersmith.

Group 3. Census population, 1901 = 206,422, comprises Holborn, Greenwich, Stoke Newington.

Group 4. Census population, 1901 = 386,452, comprises Wandsworth, Lewisham, City of London.

Group 5. Census population, 1901 = 351,119, comprises Paddington, Marylebone, Chelsea.

Group 6. Census population, 1901 = 441,581, comprises Westminster, Kensington, Hampstead.

It will be observed that Groups 2, 3, 4, and 5, comprising 64.8 per cent of the total population of London, had a corrected total birth rate which only varied between 25.36 and 25.82. The two extreme groups show marked differences, the rich districts at one end of the scale having a corrected total birth rate of 20.45, and the very poor districts at the other end of the scale a corrected total birth rate of 31.56 per 1000 of population. The former of these birth rates affects 9.7 per cent, the latter 25.4 per cent of the total population of London.

The above facts suggest the conclusion that among the rich in London the prevention of childbearing is systematically and largely practiced, that among the very poor the practice is probably almost unknown, and that the mass of the population which lies between these two social extremes occupies an intermediate position in regard to such preventive measures.

Social Suicide

The last sentence anticipates the general conclusion to which an impartial view of the whole field of corrected facts seems to us inevitably to lead.

The decline of birth rate is not due to increased poverty.

It is associated with a general raising of the standard of comfort, and is an expression of the determination of the people to secure this greater comfort.

It is not caused by greater stress in modern life, but is a consequence of the greater desire for luxury. Possibly the raising of the age for leaving school, and allied changes as to work,

have aided in producing the result, by preventing children being an early source of profit. These and allied motives have made parents look round for the means of keeping their families within "prudent" limits. The gradual slackening of the religious restraints, which were formerly to a much greater extent associated with family life, have doubtless aided in making husbands and wives willing to utilize such preventive means as they have been able to discover. Increased education has helped in securing access to the necessary information, and the greater aggregation of populations in towns has doubtless supplied not only increased facilities for the communication of information on the subject, but also for the purchase of the necessary appliances. Many druggists are stated to make a large share of their income in this way.[1]

A marked impetus in this direction was given in England by notorious trials in 1877. The special experience of towns like Halifax, Huddersfield and Northampton implies, and is known to be associated with, a special local propagandism. What caused the earlier implication of France in this policy of short-sighted prudential selfishness it would be beyond the scope of this paper to discuss.

The examples already given indicate that the "gospel of comfort" has been widely adopted, and that it is becoming the practical ethical standard of a rapidly increasing number of civilized communities, both in this country and abroad. The selected rural counties in this country have now approximated to the urban counties. Prussia has not yet overtaken Berlin, but it is following its example. We have no hope that any nation — in the absence of strong and overwhelming moral influences to the contrary — will be permanently left behind in this race to decimate the race. We must look — failing the possibility indicated in the last sentence — for an increasing practice of the artificial prevention of childbearing, which, whatever may be said for exceptional instances, is at least difficult to justify when used merely as a supposed means towards increased social comfort. And with this we must look for a lower standard of moral outlook, a lowering of the ideal of married life, and a consequent deterioration of the

[1] See Report of New South Wales Royal Commission, p. 15.

moral, if not also of the physical nature of mankind. France has anticipated the rest of the world, and has thus come near the consummation of its social *felo-de-se*. But it is only a question of decades, in the absence of a great change in the moral standpoint of the majority of the people, before others follow in the same direction, possibly even at the same pace. The outlook is gloomy, and we cannot look with confidence to the help which is likely to come either from preaching or medical teaching.

What is the Bearing of the Preceding Facts on the Future Welfare of Mankind? It is by no means certain that children will be better reared because less numerous. Comparisons of infantile mortality are somewhat fallacious. Although it is true that infantile mortality is usually highest in the districts having a very high birth rate, this is probably due to the fact that such high birth rates occur in communities of low social position, and that the facts connoted by social position, and not the high birth rate, are the cause of the high infantile mortality. With the decreasing birth rate in England and Wales, there has been no reduction of infantile mortality.[1]

The fact that the birth rate is much smaller in higher than in lower social strata, has given rise to many Cassandra-like utterances. But there has always been a great difference between the two; and it is notorious that branches of the aristocracy have only been kept alive by engrafting from other social strata. There are, unfortunately, but few facts bearing on the question whether the reduction of the birth rate is greater in the higher than in the lower social strata. Between 1881 and 1903 the corrected legitimate birth rate of London declined 16 per cent, that of England and Wales 17 per cent, that of Kensington 19 per cent, of Brighton 20 per cent, and of Hampstead 36 per cent, which, if the examples are not exceptional, seems to indicate that the population is now being replenished in a higher proportion than formerly from the lower strata of society. Whether

[1] In 1879–1883 the infantile death rate in England and Wales averaged 139, in 1899–1903 it averaged 147, per 1000 births. In London the infantile death rate in 1879–1883 was 150 per 1000 births, and in 1899–1903 the same. [But since 1903 the decline in the infant death rate has been very appreciable. — Ed.]

this means that the less fit are now contributing a greater share to the general population than in the past is by no means certain. Very few would venture to assert that the line of intellectual ability or of physical endurance is horizontal and not oblique, or possibly almost perpendicular in relation to social position. It must be remembered that the contribution to the future population is not directly proportional to the birth rate. When correction is made for this fact, the position of the different social strata is considerably modified. Thus taking the six groups of population in London, which at the census of 1901 numbered 4,536,541, we find that the net addition to the population in Group 1 by excess of corrected birth rate over death rate is much less than the births alone would indicate, and is less than in Group 4 (see Table E). Group 6 is exceptional and relatively

TABLE E. GROUPS OF METROPOLITAN BOROUGHS[1]

	Crude Total Birth Rate	Corrected Total Birth Rate, 1903	Crude Death Rate	Factor of Correction	Corrected Death Rate, 1903	Corrected Natural Increase, that is, Excess of Corrected Birth Rate over Corrected Death Rate	Percentage of Total Population of London in Each Group
Group 1	34.97	31.56	18.41	1.0394	19.14	12.42	25.4
Group 2	38.32	25.82	14.43	1.0442	15.07	10.75	44.0
Group 3	25.99	25.63	14.56	1.0557	15.37	10.26	4.6
Group 4	25.88	25.50	12.07	1.0496	12.67	12.83	8.5
Group 5	25.17	25.36	14.82	1.0466	15.51	9.85	7.8
Group 6	18.24	20.45	12.99	1.1213	14.57	5.88	9.7

[1] This method of presenting the facts gives a statement in each case of what the natural increase in the population of England and Wales would be if the same fertility, marriage, and death rates prevailed in its population as in that of the group in question. The results are consequently comparable, and form the only proper basis for comparing the relative increments added to the population by such groups of districts. It may possibly be urged that marriage being a voluntary transaction, due credit should be given when instituting such a comparison to the group with the higher marriage rate for the increased number of births resulting from it. But it must be noted that (1) for the female domestics of Kensington and Hampstead as a class marriage is not a matter of choice, and that (2) although in, they are not of the district they inhabit, as they come from poorer districts, whose relative birth

small. Whether its contribution to the total result is much smaller than in the past must still be a matter of doubt, notwithstanding the instances already quoted; and meanwhile it is satisfactory to find that the contribution to the population furnished by the aggregate of the first four groups, constituting 82.5 per cent of the total population of London, is not at a much less rate than that furnished by the poorest group of all. It is unfortunate that, owing to changes of boundaries of metropolitan boroughs, etc., the facts for the same groups could not be ascertained for 1881.

5. THE NATURAL INCREASE OF POPULATION[1]

The table on page 95 gives for most of the countries of the world for which data are available the average annual excess of the birth rate over the death rate, by decades. It shows, for instance, that disregarding immigration and emigration there were in the German Empire, on the average, in each year from 1901 to 1910, 14.3 more births than there were deaths in each 1000 of the total population. In other words there were 1014.3 living people where there had been 1000 the year before.

rate would by their absence be rendered unduly high if age and sex were corrected for, just as their presence would render that of the richer groups unduly low. In the absence of any means of ascertaining what proportion of the deficiency in the marriage rate of richer districts is due to such inevitable avoidance of marriage, and what, if any, to greater voluntary avoidance, the only safe method appears to be to exclude the influence of variations in the marital conditions as well as in the age and sex constitution of the populations compared. This is done in the "corrected natural increase" as stated above.

[1] Adapted from R. Jaeckel: Die Geburten-, Heirats-, Sterbe-, und Geburtenüberschußziffern in den hauptsächlichsten Kulturstaaten der Welt, 1801–1911, Jahrbuch für National-Oekonomie, Vol. CIII, III, chap. xlviii, pp. 86–90. (July, 1914.) Similar tables can be consulted in the Annual Reports of the Registrar-General of England and Wales.

	1801 TO 1810	1811 TO 1820	1821 TO 1830	1831 TO 1840	1841 TO 1850	1851 TO 1860	1861 TO 1870	1871 TO 1880	1881 TO 1890	1891 TO 1900	1901 TO 1910
German Empire					9.3	8.9	10.3	11.9	11.7	13.9	14.3
Prussia			13.3	9.2	10.4	10.1	11.3	12.4	12.7	14.8	15.1
Bavaria				5.8	6.4	5.5	7.1	9.5	8.5	11.1	12.9
Saxony				10.0	10.9	12.5	12.4	13.8	13.8	15.5	13.8
Alsace-Lorraine					7.8	5.3	6.6	7.4	6.5	8.6	9.8
Austria			10.4	5.7	5.2	6.2	8.0	7.5	8.4	10.5	11.0
Hungary									11.5	10.7	11.1
France		5.7	5.8	4.2	4.1	2.4	2.7	1.7	1.8	0.7	1.2
England and Wales					10.2	11.9	12.7	14.0	13.4	11.7	11.8
Scotland							12.9	13.3	13.1	11.9	11.8
Ireland							9.7	8.1	5.4	4.8	5.9
Denmark	7.4	9.3	9.4	7.1	10.1	11.9	10.8	12.0	13.4	12.7	12.0
Sweden	3.0	7.6	11.0	8.7	11.5	11.1	11.2	12.2	12.2	10.7	10.6
Norway	2.3	8.7	14.4	9.4	12.6	15.8	12.9	14.0	13.9	14.0	12.9
Finland	4.4	11.0	13.3	5.2	12.0	7.2	2.2	14.8	13.9	12.5	13.2
Russia										15.1	
Bulgaria										13.4	18.5
Servia							13.9	6.2	19.8	14.7	15.6
Roumania							6.9	3.7	13.9	11.4	14.0
Greece							7.4	8.0			
Italy								7.0	10.5	10.8	11.1
Spain							7.1		4.5	5.3	9.2
Portugal									10.4	9.3	11.6
Holland					6.8	7.7	10.4	11.9	13.2	14.1	15.0
Belgium				7.6	6.1	7.6	8.3	9.8	9.6	10.1	9.7
Switzerland						5.3	7.2	7.3	7.3	9.1	10.2
Australian Federation							24.3	20.4	20.0	16.9	15.3
New South Wales							25.2	23.3	19.8	18.0	16.3
Victoria						19.1	24.4	18.3	16.3	14.6	12.7
Queensland							24.5	21.1	20.3	19.2	16.2
South Australia							27.0	22.4	22.9	17.0	14.7
West Australia							20.7	17.0	18.7	13.9	17.9
Tasmania							17.1	14.6	19.4	18.0	18.4
New Zealand							27.8	28.3	23.4	16.9	17.0
Chile									5.8	5.0	1.9
Uruguay									23.1	20.9	24.1
Japan									8.3	9.8	11.5
Connecticut						9.7	6.5	8.3	5.6	6.7	8.0
Massachusetts						10.9	6.3	6.1	5.9	8.4	9.3
Michigan								13.7	12.7	9.2	6.8
Vermont							5.3	6.1	3.4	4.4	4.8

6. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EFFECTIVE DESIRE FOR OFFSPRING[1]

The laws of population as expounded by Malthus will be found to fail. His error arises from the fact that he assimilates man to the inferior animals. This was also the practice of the elder Mirabeau, who maintained that wherever there was subsistence, the human species would multiply "like rats in a barn."

Now the nature of the two is different; and if you assume that two things of unlike nature obey the same laws, you are guilty of a rashness that almost infallibly vitiates your conclusions. The inferior animals are led by mere instinct, whereas man is guided by reason, by fancy, and by that changeful thing we call moral feeling. Moreover, man and the lower animals are different physically. With the latter the female admits the male only when she is in a condition to conceive; with man it is otherwise. There are still other important points of difference under this head which you will find set forth in the Memorabilia, where Socrates is enumerating the particulars of man's superiority. But the more significant differences are not those which are solely or chiefly physical; but those which are psychological and moral. Man is the child of art, phantasy, and of reason full of freaks.

The rapid depopulation of these islands [Hawaii] is, in itself, a curious circumstance, and highly interesting as connected with the probable fate of other rude nations, the mass of the earth, in fact, if subjected to similar influences. It is, moreover, a phenomenon which does not square with the Mirabeau-Malthusian doctrine. Subsistence is easily procured here, there being an abundance of vacant, fertile land, two hours daily labor on which would give every man ample support for a large family. Cattle, goats, and horses (the latter eaten by the natives and preferred

[1] By John Rae. From The Sociological Theory of Capital, edited by C. W. Mixter, pp. 354–358. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1905. The selection is taken originally from a manuscript written by Rae in the early sixties while he was living in the Hawaiian Islands, but the last three paragraphs are from his New Principles of Political Economy, Boston, 1834. Two rather more elaborate versions of Rae's final position on the subject of population may be found in the *Economic Journal*, March, 1902, pp. 111–120.

to beef), have been added to the resources of former times. One would expect, therefore, on Malthusian principles, an increase of population instead of this fearful diminution.

Vice is put down by Malthus as one of the checks to population; and here it is true of recent years that vice, in the form of drunkenness and licentiousness especially among young females, has greatly increased. But with Malthus vice is treated as specifically "a check" to the pressure of a growing population upon the means of subsistence, and arising out of that pressure. Here, as has just been observed, there is no pressure of population. Those other forms of vice and things analogous to vice, which are the positive checks of a growing population in straightened material circumstances—wars, epidemics, human sacrifice, infanticide, inconstant marriages, and intercourse between males, which last was formerly an established institution, have all since the coming of the missionaries been greatly lessened or done away with altogether.

The fact is that the Malthusian philosophy of population accounts for the vital phenomena of healthy societies only, not at all for that of sick societies, such as the one in these islands has become notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries,[1] and such as Rome was in the days of her decline.

A scientific theory which does not explain the totality of the phenomena with which it is concerned, is manifestly insufficient; at best, it may be half right.

A truly philosophical Essay on Population, fearlessly embracing the whole subject, might proceed thus. Man is an animal and more. Being an animal he must in each generation exercise his powers of propagation to the extent of somewhat more than reproducing himself, else accidents would diminish and ultimately destroy the race. He resembles the inferior animals also in this, that the act of propagation is attended with vehement pleasure. But he differs from them in this, that he knows the probable results of this act (which they do not), and in dread of these results may altogether refrain or take measures to negative them. He has

[1] See the article in the *Economic Journal* for the causes which Rae assigns for this social degeneration.

in short the capacity of diminishing his numbers by abstinence which his reason, either when on the right road or when a wandering, may teach him; or by other modes in which the appetite is abundantly gratified. For the reason that man is more than an animal, therefore, to increase, or to merely preserve, the numbers of any society, it is necessary that there exist an *effective desire of offspring*.[1]

This last in some respects coincides with the effective desire of accumulation, since if a man desire offspring he will generally effectively desire the means of supporting them (and advancing their position in the world). But it is, nevertheless, regulated by different principles. These are mainly certain sentiments pervading the society, and which we may term instincts of Society. There is great difficulty in assigning a cause for these instincts, much the same as that we experience in accounting for the instincts proper of animals. We may rest on this without going farther, that in any particular species of animal and in any particular society, they conduce to their respective well-being in some particular phase of their existence.[2]

But though in consequence of having been "hammered into the race," these social instincts respecting population are relatively permanent, they may, nevertheless, change. And thus it comes about that we tread on dangerous ground whenever we preach Malthusianism to any people. The peculiar nature of the human mind, rather excited to action by motives, than passively operated on by them, and molding, therefore, its energies to suit the course it adopts, occasions a difference between phenomena

[1] The reader may be surprised at first sight that in this summary Rae makes no mention of man's need for food, seeing that in so far as he is an animal, that is a manifest requirement. The reason for the omission is that Rae is dealing here primarily with the specific principles of human propagation, not with their combination with other principles ("diminishing returns," "invention," and the like) which have to do with wealth-production. In other words, throughout this Article he is concerned with setting forth not the complete doctrine of the actual multiplication of the human species but with the pure theory of population itself. — C. W. M.

[2] Rae believed that the strenuous warfare in which for many centuries the northern races of Europe were engaged, produced in them strong "instincts of society" respecting the desire for offspring and the sanctity of marriage, which still persist though threatened by modern conditions.

influenced by it and all others. Hence, according to the preponderating motive, and the course of action followed, the same powers and principles take opposite directions, and the will is able to draw to its purposes and make allies of those which would seem naturally opposed to it.

Thus in an intelligent and moral community, the vanity of the mother is gratified in the well-being of the child, and she prides herself in the proofs of her having been an affectionate and careful parent. In a vain and dissipated community, on the other hand, she would be ashamed of devoting her attention to the homely and unostentatious cares to which solicitude for the welfare of offspring prompts. In the one case, vanity excited parental affection, in the other it stifles it. The movement of the mind, in these instances, is somewhat analogous to that of those balances, in which the poise, if in the least inclining to one side or the other, hurries it down with a rapid and continually increasing preponderance.

This proneness in humanity to advance or recede with a speed accelerated by the subjugation of opposing motives, helps to afford an explanation of what I conceive to be one of the main causes of the decay of states.

[In the Article in the *Economic Journal* mentioned above, Rae goes more extensively than in this brief outline into the nature and causes of what he calls the "instincts of society" touching matters of marriage and procreation. He develops there at some length the idea that the effective desire of offspring depends not only upon individual psychology (as we ordinarily set bounds to that order of facts), but also upon a general hopeful, optimistic outlook on life pervading the whole social group. When a society gets on the downward road, and its members feel a sense of depression and lack of self-respect, men cease to breed. Under such circumstances there is no agreement between material circumstances and the propagation of the species. The effective desire of offspring means, of course, not merely the desire to bring children into the world, but the taking satisfaction in them, and the desire to rear them to maturity. On these points, and generally on the whole subject of the theory of population, powerful support is afforded Rae by Bagehot in his *Economic Studies*.

In one particular it seems to the Editor [C. W. M.], Rae is not altogether correct; and that is in the position he takes here and elsewhere with respect to the relation between the principle of the effective desire of offspring and the principle of the effective desire of accumulation. They may be often opposed

to each other. In a healthful society, indeed, for general sociological reasons, both will be strong; and in a sick society, on the other hand, both will be weak. But in a society which is neither wholly well or wholly sick (as is the state of most societies) a strong effective desire of accumulation with many individuals, or with certain sections of the society, may go along with a weak effective desire of offspring, and *vice versa*. Rae seems to have been led into this position, involving some degree of error, through his disposition to overemphasize social solidarity for the purpose of getting strong contrasts, as wholes, between the different communities.

But however this may be, it is certain that we cannot dogmatize for all times and places and classes in respect to population, in the Malthusian fashion. And it is also clear that in the principle of the effective desire of offspring we have the true center of gravity, so to speak, of this complex and difficult subject— the starting point for fresh and more fruitful studies. — C. W. M.]

7. THE LAW OF POPULATION BASED UPON THE OPPOSITION BETWEEN INDIVIDUATION AND GENESIS[1]

The forces preservative of race are two — ability in each member of the race to preserve itself, and ability to produce other members — power to maintain individual life, and power to generate the species. These must vary inversely. When, from lowness of organization, the ability to contend with external dangers is small, there must be great fertility to compensate for the consequent mortality; otherwise the race must die out. When, on the contrary, high endowments give much capacity of self-preservation, a correspondingly low degree of fertility is requisite. Given the dangers to be met as a constant quantity; then, as the ability of any species to meet them must be a constant quantity too, and as this is made up of the two factors — power to maintain individual life and power to multiply — these cannot do other than vary inversely: one must decrease as the other increases. . . .

The opposite side of this antagonism has also several aspects. Progress of organic evolution may be shown in increased bulk, in increased structure, in increased amount or variety of action, or in combinations of these; and under any of its forms this

[1] By Herbert Spencer. Condensed from Principles of Biology, Vol. II, pp. 401, 406–410, 479–508. D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1867.

carrying higher of each individuality, implies a correlative retardation in the establishment of new individualities.

Other things equal, every addition to the bulk of an organism is an augmentation of its life. Besides being an advance in integration it implies a greater total of activities gone through in the assimilation of materials; and it implies, thereafter, a greater total of the vital changes taking place from moment to moment in all parts of the enlarged mass. Moreover, while increased size is thus, in so far, the expression of increased life it is also, where the organism is active, the expression of increased ability to maintain life — increased strength. Aggregation of substance is almost the only mode in which self-preserving power is shown among the lowest types; and even among the highest, sustaining the body in its integrity is that in which self-preservation fundamentally consists — is the end which the widest intelligence indirectly is made to subserve. While, on the one hand, the increase of tissue constituting growth is conservative both in essence and in result; on the other hand, decrease of tissue, either from injury, disease, or old age, is in both essence and result the reverse. And if so, every addition to individual life thus implied, necessarily delays or diminishes the casting off of matter to form new individuals.

Other things equal, too, a greater degree of organization involves a smaller degree of that disorganization shown by the separation of reproductive gemmæ and germs. Detachment of portion or portions from what was previously a living whole, is a ceasing of coördination and is therefore essentially at variance with that establishment of greater coördination which is achieved by structural development. In the extreme cases where a living mass is continually dividing and subdividing, it is manifest that there cannot arise much physiological division of labor; since progress towards mutual dependence of parts is prevented by the parts becoming independent. Contrariwise, it is equally clear that in proportion as the physiological division of labor is carried far, the separative process must be localized in some comparatively small portion of the organism, where it may go on without affecting the general structure — must become relatively subordinate. The advance that is shown by greater heterogeneity, must be a hindrance

to multiplication in another way. For organization entails cost. That transfer and transformation of materials implied by differentiation, can be effected only by expenditure of force; and this supposes consumption of digested and absorbed food, which might otherwise have gone to make new organisms, or the germs of them. Hence, that individual evolution which consists in progressive differentiation, as well as that which consists in progressive integration, necessarily diminishes that species of dissolution, general or local, which propagation of the race exhibits.

In active organisms we have yet a further opposition between self-maintenance and maintenance of the race. All motion, sensible and insensible, generated by an animal for the preservation of its life is motion liberated from decomposed nutriment — nutriment which if not thus decomposed, would have been available for reproduction; or rather — might have been replaced by nutriment fitted for reproductive purposes, absorbed from other kinds of food. Hence in proportion as the activities increase — in proportion as, by its varied, complex, rapid, and vigorous actions, an animal gains power to support itself and to cope with surrounding dangers, it must lose power to propagate. If, of the force which the parent obtains from the environment, much is consumed in its own life, little remains to be consumed in producing other lives; and, conversely, if there is a great consumption in producing other lives, it can only be where comparatively little is reserved for parental life.

Hence, then, Individuation and Genesis are necessarily antagonistic. Grouping under the word Individuation all processes by which individual life is completed and maintained and enlarging the meaning of the word Genesis so as to include all processes aiding the formation and perfecting of new individuals; we see that the two are fundamentally opposed. Assuming other things to remain the same — assuming that environing conditions as to climate, food, enemies, etc., continue constant; then, inevitably, every higher degree of individual evolution is followed by a lower degree of race-multiplication, and *vice versa*. Progress in bulk, complexity, or activity, involves retrogress in fertility; and progress in fertility involves retrogress in bulk, complexity, or activity.

. . . We saw that a species cannot be maintained unless the power to preserve individual life and the power to propagate other individuals vary inversely. And here we have seen that, irrespective of an end to be subserved, these powers cannot do other than vary inversely.

Multiplication of the Human Race

As a matter of course, the inverse variation between Individuation and Genesis holds of man as of all other organized beings. His extremely low rate of multiplication we shall recognize as the necessary concomitant of his much higher evolution. And the causes of increase or decrease in his fertility, we shall expect to find in those changes of bulk, of structure, or of expenditure, which we have in all other cases seen associated with such effects.

In the absence of detailed proof that these parallelisms exist, it might suffice to contemplate the several communities between the reproductive function in human beings and other beings. I do not refer simply to the fact that genesis proceeds in a similar manner; but I refer to the similarity of the relation between the generative function and the functions that have for their joint end the preservation of the individual. In Man, as in other creatures that expend much, genesis commences only when growth and development are declining in rapidity and approaching their termination. Among the higher organisms in general, the reproductive activity, continuing during the prime of life, ceases when the vigor declines, leaving a closing period of infertility; and in like manner among ourselves, barrenness supervenes when middle age brings the surplus vitality to an end. So, too, it is found that in Man, as in beings of lower orders, there is a period at which fecundity culminates. At the commencement of the reproductive period, animals bear fewer offspring than afterwards; and towards the close of the reproductive period, there is a decrease in the number produced. In like manner, the fecundity of women increases up to the age of about twenty-five years; and continuing high with but slight diminution till after thirty, then gradually wanes. Once more, there is the fact that a too early bearing of

young produces on a woman the same injurious effects as on an inferior creature — an arrest of growth and an enfeeblement of constitution.

Considering these general and special parallelisms, we might safely infer that variations of human fertility conform to the same laws as do variations of fertility in general. But it is not needful to content ourselves with an implication. Evidence is assignable that what causes increase or decrease of genesis in other creatures, causes increase or decrease of genesis in Man. It is true that, even more than hitherto, our reasonings are beset by difficulties. So numerous are the inequalities in the conditions, that but few unobjectionable comparisons can be made. The human races differ considerably in their sizes, and notably in their degrees of cerebral development. The climates they inhabit entail on them widely different consumptions of matter for maintenance of temperature. Both in their qualities and quantities, the foods they live on are unlike; and the supply is here regular and there very irregular. Their expenditures in bodily action are extremely unequal; and even still more unequal are their expenditures in mental action. Hence the factors, varying so much in their amounts and combinations, can scarcely ever have their respective effects identified. Nevertheless there are a few comparisons, the results of which may withstand criticism.

The increase of fertility caused by a nutrition that is greatly in excess of the expenditure, is to be detected by contrasting populations of the same race, or allied races, one of which obtains good and abundant sustenance much more easily than the other. Three cases may be set down. [Two are here omitted — the Boors and the Kaffirs.] An instance is that of the French Canadians. "*Nous sommes terribles pour les enfants,*" observed one of them to Professor Johnston; who tells us that the man who said this "was one of fourteen children — was himself the father of fourteen and assured me that from eight to sixteen was the usual number of the farmers' families. He even named one or two women who had brought their husbands five-and-twenty, and threatened '*le vingt-sixième pour le prêtre.*'" From these large families, joined with the early marriages and low rate of

mortality, it results that, by natural increase, "there are added to the French-Canadian population of Lower Canada four persons for every one that is added to the population of England." Now these French Canadians are described by Professor Johnston as home-loving, contented, unenterprising; and as living in a region where "land and subsistence are easily obtained." Very moderate industry brings to them liberal supplies of necessaries; and they pass a considerable portion of the year in idleness. Hence the cost of Individuation being much reduced, the rate of Genesis is much increased. That this uncommon fertility is not due to any direct influence of the locality, is implied by the fact that along with the "restless, discontented, striving, burning energy of their Saxon neighbors" no such rate of multiplication is observed; while further south, where the physical circumstances are more favorable if anything, the Anglo-Saxons, leading lives of excessive activity, have a fertility below the average. And that the peculiarity is not a direct effect of race, is proved by the fact that in Europe, the rural French are certainly not more prolific than the rural English.

We conclude, then, that in the human race, as in all other races, such absolute or relative abundance of nutriment as leaves a large excess after defraying the cost of carrying on parental life, is accompanied by a high rate of genesis.[1]

[1] This is exactly the reverse of Mr. Doubleday's doctrine; which is that throughout both the animal and vegetal kingdoms, "overfeeding checks increase; whilst, on the other hand, a limited or deficient nutriment stimulates and adds to it." Or, as he elsewhere says — "Be the range of natural power to increase in any species what it may, the plethoric state invariably checks it, and the deplethoric state invariably develops it; and this happens in the exact ratio of the intensity and completeness of each state, until each state be carried so far as to bring about the actual death of the animal or plant itself."

I have space here only to indicate the misinterpretations on which Mr. Doubleday has based his argument.

In the first place, he has confounded normal plethora with what I have, in § 355, distinguished as abnormal plethora. The cases of infertility accompanying fatness, which he cites in proof that overfeeding checks increase, are not cases of high nutrition properly so called; but cases of such defective absorption or assimilation as constitutes low nutrition. In Chapter IX, abundant proof was given that a truly plethoric state is an unusually fertile state. It may be added that much of the evidence by which Mr. Doubleday seeks to show that among men, highly fed classes are infertile classes, may be outbalanced by counter-evidence. Many years ago Mr. Lewes pointed this out: extracting from a book

Evidence of the converse truth, that relative increase of expenditure, leaving a diminished surplus, reduces the degree of fertility, is not wanting.

To prove that much bodily labor renders women less prolific, requires more evidence than is obtainable. Some evidence, however, may be set down. De Boismont in France and Dr. Szukits in Austria, have shown by extensive statistical comparisons, that the reproductive age is reached a year later by women of the laboring class than by middle-class women; and while ascribing this delay in part to inferior nutrition, we may suspect that it is in part due to greater muscular expenditure. A kindred fact,

on the peerage, the names of 16 peers who had, at that time, 186 children; giving an average of 11.6 in a family.

Mr. Doubleday insists much on the support given to his theory by the barrenness of very luxuriant plants, and the fruitfulness produced in plants by depletion. Had he been aware that the change from barrenness to fruitfulness in plants, is a change from agamogenesis to gamogenesis — had it been as well known at the time when he wrote as it is now, that a tree which goes on putting out sexless shoots, is so producing new individuals; and that when it begins to bear fruit, it simply begins to produce new individuals after another manner — he would have perceived that facts of this class do not tell in his favor.

In the law which Mr. Doubleday alleges, he sees a guarantee for the maintenance of species. He argues that the plethoric state of the individuals constituting any race of organisms, presupposes conditions so favorable to life that the race can be in no danger; and that rapidity of multiplication becomes needless. Conversely, he argues that a deplethoric state implies unfavorable conditions — implies consequently, unusual mortality; that is — implies a necessity for increased fertility to prevent the race from dying out. It may be readily shown, however, that such an arrangement would be the reverse of self-adjusting. Suppose a species, too numerous for its food, to be in the resulting deplethoric state. It will, according to Mr. Doubleday, become unusually fertile, and the next generation will be more numerous rather than less numerous. For, by the hypothesis, the unusual fertility due to the deplethoric state, is the cause of undue increase of population. But if the next generation is more numerous while the supply of food has remained the same, or rather has decreased under the keener competition for it, then this next generation will be in a still more deplethoric state, and will be still more fertile. Thus there will go on an ever-increasing rate of multiplication, and an ever-decreasing supply of food, until the species disappears. Suppose, on the other hand, the members of a species to be in an unusually plethoric state. Their rate of multiplication, ordinarily sufficient to maintain their numbers, will become insufficient to maintain their numbers. In the next generation, therefore, there will be fewer to eat the already abundant food, which, becoming relatively still more abundant, will render the fewer numbers of the species still more plethoric, and still less fertile, than their parents. And the actions and reactions continuing, the species will presently die out from absolute barrenness.

admitting of a kindred interpretation, may be added. Though the comparatively low rate of increase in France is attributed to other causes, yet, very possibly, one of its causes is the greater proportion of hard work entailed on French women, by the excessive abstraction of men for nonproductive occupations, military and civil. The higher rate of multiplication in England than in continental countries generally, is not improbably furthered by the easier lives which English women lead.

That absolute or relative infertility is generally produced in women by mental labor carried to excess, is more clearly shown. Though the regimen of upper-class girls is not what it should be, yet, considering that their feeding is better than that of girls belonging to the poorer classes, while in most other respects, their physical treatment is not worse, the deficiency of reproductive power among them may be reasonably attributed to the overtaxing of their brains — an overtaxing which produces a serious reaction on the physique. This diminution of reproductive power is not shown only by the greater frequency of absolute sterility; nor is it shown only in the earlier cessation of childbearing; but it is also shown in the very frequent inability of such women to suckle their infants. In its full sense, the reproductive power means the power to bear a well-developed infant, and to supply that infant with the natural food for the natural period. Most of the flat-chested girls who survive their high-pressure education, are incompetent to do this. Were their fertility measured by the number of children they could rear without artificial aid, they would prove relatively very infertile.

An illustration will best clear up any perplexity as to the conditions which govern the relation between individuation and genesis. Let us say that the fuel burnt in the furnace of a locomotive steam engine, answers to the food which a man consumes; let us say that the produced steam expended in working the engine, corresponds to that portion of absorbed nutriment which carries on the man's functions and activities; and let us say that the steam blowing off at the safety valve, answers to that portion of the absorbed nutriment which goes to the propagation of the race. Such being the conditions of the case, several kinds of

variations are possible. All other circumstances remaining the same, there may be changes of proportion between the steam used for working the engine and the steam that escapes by the safety valve. There may be a structural or organic change of proportion. By enlarging the safety valve or weakening its spring, while the cylinders are reduced in size, there may be established a constitutionally small power of locomotion and a constitutionally large amount of escape-steam; and inverse variations so produced, will answer to the inverse variations between Individuation and Genesis which different types of organisms show us. Again, there may be a functional change of proportion. If the engine has to draw a considerable load, the abstraction of steam by the cylinders greatly reduces the discharge by the safety valve; and if a high velocity is kept up, the discharge from the safety valve entirely ceases. Conversely, if the velocity is low, the escape-steam bears a large ratio to the steam consumed by the motor apparatus; and if the engine becomes stationary the whole of the steam escapes by the safety valve. This inverse variation answers to that which we have traced between Expenditure and Genesis, as displayed in the contrasts between species of the same type but unlike activities, and in the contrasts between active and inactive individuals of the same species. But now beyond these inverse variations between the quantities of consumed steam and escape-steam that are structurally and functionally caused, there are coincident variations producible in both by changes in the quantity of steam supplied — changes that may be caused in several ways. In the first place, the fuel thrown into the furnace may be increased or made better. Other things equal, there will result a more active locomotion as well as a greater escape; and this will answer to that simultaneous addition to its individual vigor and its reproductive activity, caused in an animal by a larger quantity, or a superior quality, of food. In the second place, the steam generated may be economized. Loss by radiation from the boiler may be lessened by a covering of nonconducting substances; and part of the steam thus prevented from condensing, will go to increase the working power of the engine, while part will be added to the quantity blowing off. This variation corresponds to that

simultaneous addition to bodily vigor and propagative power, which results in animals that have to expend less in keeping up their temperatures. In the third place, by improvement of the steam-generating apparatus, more steam may be obtained from a given weight of fuel. A better-formed evaporating surface, or boiler plates which conduct more rapidly, or an increased number of tubes, may cause a larger absorption of heat from the burning mass or the hot gases it gives off; and the extra steam generated by this extra heat, will, as before, augment both the motive force and the emission through the safety valve. And this last case of coincident variation, is parallel to the case with which we are here concerned — the augmentation of individual expenditure and of reproductive energy, that may be caused by a superiority of some organ on which the utilizing or economizing of materials depends.

Manifestly, therefore, an increased expenditure for Genesis, or an increased expenditure for Individuation, may arise in one of two quite different ways — either by diminution of the antagonistic expenditure, or by addition to the store which supplies both expenditure; and confusion results from not distinguishing between these.

There is no reason to suppose that the laws of multiplication which hold of other beings, do not hold of the human being. On the contrary, there are special facts which unite with general implications, to show that these laws do hold of the human being. The absence of direct evidence in some cases where it might be looked for, we find fully explained when all the factors are taken into account. And certain seemingly adverse facts, prove, on examination, to be facts belonging to a different category from that in which they are placed, and harmonize with the rest when rightly interpreted.

The conformity of human fertility to the laws of multiplication in general, being granted, it remains to inquire what effects must be caused by permanent changes in men's natures and circumstances. Thus far we have observed how, by their extremely high evolution and extremely low fertility, mankind display the inverse variation between Individuation and Genesis, in one of its extremes. And we have also observed how mankind, like other

kinds, are functionally changed in their rates of multiplication by changes of conditions. But we have not observed how alteration of structure in Man entails alteration of fertility. The influence of this factor is so entangled with the influences of other facts which are for the present more important, that we cannot recognize it. Here, if we proceed at all, we must proceed deductively.

Human Population in the Future

No more in the case of Man than in the case of any other being, can we presume that evolution either has taken place, or will hereafter take place spontaneously. In the past, at present, and in the future, all modifications, functional and organic, have been, are, and must be immediately or remotely consequent on surrounding conditions. What, then, are those changes in the environment to which, by direct or indirect equilibration, the human organism has been adjusting itself, is adjusting itself now, and will continue to adjust itself? And how do they necessitate a higher evolution of the organism?

Civilization, everywhere having for its antecedent the increase of population, and everywhere having for one of its consequences a decrease of certain race-destroying forces, has for a further consequence an increase of certain other race-destroying forces. Danger of death from predatory animals lessens as men grow more numerous. Though, as they spread over the Earth and divide into tribes, men become wild beasts to one another, yet the danger of death from this cause also diminishes as tribes coalesce into nations. But the danger of death which does not diminish, is that produced by augmentation of numbers itself — the danger from deficiency of food. Supposing human nature to remain unchanged, the mortality hence resulting would, on the average, rise as human beings multiplied. If mortality, under such conditions, does not rise, it must be because the supply of food also augments; and this implies some change in human habits wrought by the stress of human needs. Here, then, is the permanent cause of modification to which civilized men are exposed. Though the intensity of its action is ever being mitigated

in one direction, by greater production of food; it is, in the other direction, ever being added to by the greater production of individuals. Manifestly, the wants of their redundant numbers constitute the only stimulus mankind have to obtain more necessaries of life: were not the demand beyond the supply, there would be no motive to increase the supply. And manifestly, this excess of demand over supply is perennial: this pressure of population, of which it is the index, cannot be eluded. Though by the emi gration that takes place when the pressure arrives at a certain intensity, temporary relief is from time to time obtained; yet, as by this process, all habitable countries must become peopled, it follows that in the end, the pressure, whatever it may then be, must be borne in full.

This constant increase of people beyond the means of subsistence, causes, then, a never-ceasing requirement for skill, intelligence, and self-control — involves, therefore, a constant exercise of these and gradual growth of them. Every industrial improvement is at once the product of a higher form of humanity, and demands that higher form of humanity to carry it into practice. The application of science to the arts, is the bringing to bear greater intelligence for satisfying our wants; and implies continued progress of that intelligence. To get more produce from the acre, the farmer must study chemistry, must adopt new mechanical appliances, and must, by the multiplication of processes, cultivate both his own powers and the powers of his laborers. To meet the requirements of the market, the manufacturer is perpetually improving his old machines, and inventing new ones; and by the premium of high wages incites artisans to acquire greater skill. The daily widening ramifications of commerce entail on the merchant a need for more knowledge and more complex calculations; while the lessening profits of the shipowner force him to build more scientifically, to get captains of higher intelligence, and better crews. In all cases, pressure of population is the original cause. Were it not for the competition this entails, more thought and energy would not daily be spent on the business of life; and growth of mental power would not take place. Difficulty in getting a living is alike the incentive to a higher

education of children, and to a more intense and long-continued application in adults. In the mother it induces foresight, economy, and skillful housekeeping; in the father, laborious days and constant self-denial. Nothing but necessity could make men submit to this discipline; and nothing but this discipline could produce a continued progression.

In this case, as in many others, Nature secures each step in advance by a succession of trials; which are perpetually repeated, and cannot fail to be repeated, until success is achieved. All mankind in turn subject themselves more or less to the discipline described; they either may or may not advance under it; but in the nature of things, only those who do advance under it eventually survive. For, necessarily, families and races whom this increasing difficulty of getting a living which excess of fertility entails, does not stimulate to improvements in production — that is, to greater mental activity — are on the high road to extinction; and must ultimately be supplanted by those whom the pressure does so stimulate. This truth we have recently seen exemplified in Ireland. And here, indeed, without further illustration, it will be seen that premature death, under all its forms and from all its causes, cannot fail to work in the same direction. For as those prematurely carried off must, in the average of cases, be those in whom the power of self-preservation is the least, it unavoidably follows that those left behind to continue the race, must be those in whom the power of self-preservation is the greatest — must be the select of their generation. So that, whether the dangers to existence be of the kind produced by excess of fertility, or of any other kind, it is clear that by the ceaseless exercise of the faculties needed to contend with them successfully, there is insured a constant progress towards a higher degree of skill, intelligence, and self-regulation — a greater coördination of actions — a more complete life.

The proposition at which we have thus arrived, is then, that excess of fertility, through the changes it is ever working in Man's environment, is itself the cause of Man's further evolution; and the obvious corollary here to be drawn, is that Man's further evolution so brought about, itself necessitates a decline in his fertility.

That future progress of civilization which the never-ceasing pressure of population must produce, will be accompanied by an enhanced cost of Individuation, both in structure and function; and more especially in nervous structure and function. The peaceful struggle for existence in societies ever growing more crowded and more complicated, must have for its concomitant an increase of the great nervous centers in mass, in complexity, in activity. The larger body of emotion needed as a fountain of energy for men who have to hold their places and rear their families under the intensifying competition of social life, is, other things equal, the correlative of larger brain. Those higher feelings presupposed by the better self-regulation which, in a better society, can alone enable the individual to leave a persistent posterity, are, other things equal, the correlatives of a more complex brain; as are also those more numerous, more varied, more general, and more abstract ideas, which must also become increasingly requisite for successful life as society advances. And the genesis of this larger quantity of feeling and thought, in a brain thus augmented in size and developed in structure, is, other things equal, the correlative of a greater wear of nervous tissue and greater consumption of materials to repair it. So that both in original cost of construction and in consequent cost of working, the nervous system must become a heavier tax on the organism. Already the brain of the civilized man is larger by nearly thirty per cent than the brain of the savage. Already, too, it presents an increased heterogeneity — especially in the distribution of its convolutions. And further changes like these which have taken place under the discipline of civilized life, we infer will continue to take place. But everywhere and always, evolution is antagonistic to procreative dissolution. Whether it be in greater growth of the organs which subserve self-maintenance, whether it be in their added complexity of structure, or whether it be in their higher activity, the abstraction of the required materials, implies a diminished reserve of materials for race-maintenance. And we have seen reason to believe, that this antagonism between Individuation and Genesis, becomes unusually marked where the nervous system is concerned, because of the costliness of nervous

structure and function. The apparent connection between high cerebral development and prolonged delay of sexual maturity has been pointed out; and the evidence went to show that where exceptional fertility exists there is sluggishness of mind, and that where there has been during education excessive expenditure in mental action, there frequently follows a complete or partial infertility. Hence the particular kind of further evolution which Man is hereafter to undergo, is one which, more than any other, may be expected to cause a decline in his powers of reproduction.

The higher nervous development and greater expenditure in nervous action, here described as indirectly brought about by increase of numbers, must not be taken to imply an intenser strain — a mentally laborious life. The greater emotional and intellectual power and activity above contemplated, must be understood as becoming, by small increments, organic, spontaneous and pleasurable. As, even when relieved from the pressure of necessity, large-brained Europeans voluntarily enter on enterprises and activities which the savage could not keep up even to satisfy urgent wants; so, their still larger-brained descendants will, in a still higher degree, find their gratifications in careers entailing still greater mental expenditures. This enhanced demand for materials to establish and carry on the psychical functions will be a constitutional demand. We must conceive the type gradually so modified, that the more developed nervous system irresistibly draws off, for its normal and unforced activities, a larger proportion of the common stock of nutriment; and while so increasing the intensity, completeness, and length of the individual life, necessarily diminishing the reserve applicable to the setting up of new lives — no longer required to be so numerous.

Though the working of this process will doubtless be interfered with and modified in the future, as it has been in the past, by the facilitation of living which civilization brings; yet nothing beyond temporary interruptions can so be caused. However much the industrial arts may be improved, there must be a limit to the improvement; while, with a rate of multiplication in excess of the rate of mortality, population must continually tread on the heels of production. So that though, during the earlier stages of

civilization, an increased amount of food may accrue from a given amount of labor; there must come a time when this relation will be reversed, and when every additional increment of food will be obtained by a more than proportionate labor: the disproportion growing ever higher, and the diminution of the reproductive power becoming greater.

There now remains but to inquire towards what limit this progress tends. So long as the fertility of the race is more than sufficient to balance the diminution by deaths, population must continue to increase. So long as population continues to increase, there must be pressure on the means of subsistence. And so long as there is pressure on the means of subsistence, further mental development must go on, and further diminution of fertility must result. Thus, the change can never cease until the rate of multiplication is just equal to the rate of mortality; that is, can never cease until, on the average, each pair has as many children as are requisite to produce another generation of childbearing adults equal in number to the last generation. At first sight, this would seem to imply that eventually each pair will rarely have more than two offspring; but a little consideration shows that this is a lower degree of fertility than is likely ever to be reached.

Supposing the Sun's light and heat, on which all terrestrial life depends, to continue abundant, for a period long enough to allow the entire evolution we are contemplating; there are still certain slow astronomic and geologic changes which must prevent such complete adjustment of human nature to surrounding conditions, as would permit the rate of multiplication to fall so low. As before pointed out,[1] during an epoch of twenty-one thousand years, each hemisphere goes through a cycle of temperate seasons and seasons extreme in their heat and cold — variations that are themselves alternately exaggerated and mitigated in the course of far longer cycles; and we saw that these caused perpetual ebbings and flowings of species over different parts of the Earth's surface. Further, by slow but inevitable geologic changes, especially those of elevation and subsidence, the climate and physical characters of every habitat are modified; while old habitats are destroyed and

[1] Vol. I, § 148.

new are formed. This, too, we noted[1] as a constant cause of migrations and of consequent alterations of environment. Now though the human race differs from other races in having a power of artificially counteracting external changes, yet there are limits to this power; and, even were there no limits, the changes could not fail to work their effects indirectly, if not directly. If, as is thought probable, these astronomic cycles entail recurrent glacial periods in each hemisphere, then, parts of the Earth that are at one time thickly peopled, will at another time, be almost deserted, and *vice versa*. The geologically caused alterations of climate and surface, must produce further slow redistributions of population; and other currents of people, to and from different regions, will be necessitated by the rise of successive centers of higher civilization. Consequently, mankind cannot but continue to undergo changes of environment, physical and moral, analogous to those which they have thus far been undergoing. Such changes may eventually become slower and less marked; but they can never cease. And if they can never cease, there can never arise a perfect adaptation of human nature to its conditions of existence. To establish that complete correspondence between inner and outer actions which constitutes the highest life and greatest power of self-preservation there must be a prolonged converse between the organism and circumstances that remain the same. If the external relations are being altered while the internal relations are being adjusted to them, the adjustment can never become exact. And in the absence of exact adjustment, there cannot exist that theoretically highest power of self-preservation with which there would coexist the theoretically lowest power of race-production.

Hence though the number of premature deaths may ultimately become very small, it can never become so small as to allow the average number of offspring from each pair to fall as low as two. Some average number between two and three may be inferred as the limit — a number, however, that is not likely to be quite constant, but may be expected at one time to increase somewhat and afterwards to decrease somewhat, according as variations in physical and social conditions lower or raise the cost of self-preservation.

[1] Vol. I, § 148.

Be this as it may, however, it is manifest that in the end, pressure of population and its accompanying evils will disappear; and will leave a state of things requiring from each individual no more than a normal and pleasurable activity. Cessation in the decrease of fertility implies cessation in the development of the nervous system; and this implies a nervous system that has become equal to all that is demanded of it — has not to do more than is natural to it. But that exercise of faculties which does not exceed what is natural, constitutes gratification. In the end, therefore, the obtainment of subsistence and discharge of all the parental and social duties, will require just that kind and that amount of action needful to health and happiness.

The necessary antagonism of Individuation and Genesis, not only, then, fulfills with precision the *a priori* law of maintenance of race, from Monad up to Man, but insures final attainment of the highest form of this maintenance — a form in which the amount of life shall be the greatest possible, and the births and deaths the fewest possible. This antagonism could not fail to work out the results we see it working out. The excess of fertility has itself rendered the process of civilization inevitable; and the process of civilization must inevitably diminish fertility, and at last destroy its excess. From the beginning, pressure of population has been the proximate cause of progress. It produced the original diffusion of the race. It compelled men to abandon predatory habits and take to agriculture. It led to the clearing of the Earth's surface. It forced men into the social state; made social organization inevitable; and has developed the social sentiments. It has stimulated to progressive improvements in production, and to increased skill and intelligence. It is daily thrusting us into closer contact and more mutually dependent relationships. And after having caused, as it ultimately must, the due peopling of the globe, and the raising of all its habitable parts into the highest state of culture — after having brought all processes for the satisfaction of human wants to perfection — after having, at the same time, developed the intellect into complete competency for its work, and the feelings into complete fitness for social life — after having done all this, the pressure of population, as it gradually finishes its work, must gradually bring itself to an end.

CHAPTER III

SOCIALISM AND POPULATION

Moral restraint under socialism, — an early English socialist's view, 118. — The economic independence of women as a check to population, 123. — The views of Malthus with regard to population-increase under socialism, 125. — Would socialism remove the institutional checks inherent in private property and competitive organization? 127. — The necessity for state pensions for mothers, 131.

[From the time of Malthus, orthodox economists have been unable to see the expediency of socialism, among other reasons because of their belief that socialism would weaken the prudential check and defeat its own ends in a flood of population. Socialists as a rule have not demonstrated either much inclination or much ability to meet this charge squarely, but the development of democracy, the increasing economic independence of woman, and society's revaluation of woman as a human being have furnished them with a powerful counterargument. Meanwhile some of them are advocating state pensions for all mothers, as an aid to economic independence. This proposal must not be confused with the philanthropic or charitable state aid given to widowed mothers.]

8. PRUDENTIAL RESTRAINT UNDER SOCIALISM[1]

If under the individual exertion and competition of equal or even partial security, the progress of improvement and consequent increase of comforts, would constantly tend to increase the prudential check, and limit the increase of numbers to the constantly

[1] By William Thompson. Adapted from An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth Most Conducive to Human Happiness, pp. 545–562. London, 1824.

increasing command of enjoyments; what would be the peculiar effects under that branch of equal security, which takes mutual coöperation for its mode of production, and equality for its rule of enjoyment?[1]

Let us suppose, then, that the state of the country in which these [socialist] communities exist, is merely stationary, and admits of no increase of population, of nothing more than the replacing by new births those who yearly cease to live. In such a state of things, in ordinary society, as we have seen, when the people live in comfort, the prudential check is called into full exertion, and is abundantly adequate to prevent an injurious increase of members, or such as would lessen those comforts: but when the circumstances of the people are wretched, it is not the prudential check that operates; prudence has no place amidst eternal want; breeding goes on as amongst the lower animals, till cold, nakedness, hunger, disease, seize on their victims and keep down the population by misery to the level of their wretched means of support. What then is the modification that would be presented in the use of the prudential check by means of the system of cooperation, reposing, as all industry must repose, under the shelter of security? First, abundant comforts and the habit of enjoying would beget an unwillingness to part with them as before. Next, superior information and extended sympathy would increase and justify this disinclination, from a view of the discomfort it would produce to the new sharers as well as to the old. True that the inconveniences of a large family would not under mutual cooperation press so heavily on the individual as under competition with the most perfect equal security; but a regard for the common welfare and common loss of comforts in which their own would be included, would soon become at least as powerful a curb, in such minds of coöperators, as the simple individual motive produces in the minds of competitors. Suppose this motive however, of the loss of general comforts, to be ever so much weakened, to be reduced to nothing, still no evil would arise from its absence; for the circumstances of the new communities form such a barrier around them in the way of population, as would seem almost

[1] That is, under socialism. — Ed.

to render superfluous the exercise of that prudence, with which, on this as on other occasions, they must be preëminently imbued.

The case supposed is, that the coöperating community cannot increase its numbers without decreasing its comforts by dividing them amongst a larger number, and that this numerical expansion of diminished enjoyment will not counterbalance the loss of its intensity to the smaller number. It is hardly possible to conceive any set of expedients better calculated to meet such a contingency, than those proposed for the coöperating communities.

There is no check or inconvenience from want felt by the married from inequalities as to numbers of children, all being equally educated and maintained at the common board: the peculiar inconvenience is simply that of the pain, trouble, and care, chiefly on the woman's side, of nourishing and attending children till two years old. From that age the peculiar trouble ceases. Many married persons in such communities, under such circumstances, would doubtless study the means of enjoying in the highest degree every pleasure of personal attachment, and even increasing those pleasures, without the necessity of a continual increase of births — an object, simple, reconcilable with the utmost delicacy, and demanding nothing but a mental effort from the party whom a new birth would most inconvenience. In agricultural districts of general society, where the capabilities of land and industry, and habits of the people, have been for a long time stationary, a marriage does not take place until an opening presents itself of succeeding to the occupation and establishment of old couples, or of those prematurely cut off by casualties. In such places, where the whole subject of overpopulation and its effects is brought within a narrow compass under the eye of the most simple, as in parts of Norway and Switzerland, we are told that they are perfectly understood, the prudential check is in the highest state of operation, comforts are not lessened by any tendency to breed beyond the means of support: and added to all this, early and tender attachments and domestic happiness and all the happiness that the sexes can render each other, are perhaps at their highest point. If such be the effect of having

the whole subject brought before the eye, under the system of competition, where the exertion of prudence on the part of every individual is requisite, the exertion of prudence on the part of the uninformed youth; what will be the effect of having the subject still more concentrated, of having the population concerns of a whole community more simple, clear, and less liable to chance, than those of any individual family, under the system of competition? What will be the effect of having the deliberative prudence of the whole community guiding, instructing, and if necessary supplying the place of the individual prudence of, the young, while at the same time that individual prudence, from previous education and completeness of the facts before it, cannot possibly make a false judgment; or if it err at all, must be with full perception of the circumstances necessary to the formation of a right judgment? Marriage would of course under these circumstances be late; later in proportion to the healthiness of the community; ten years perhaps later than where the circumstances of the society admitted of a pretty rapid increase.

There is a way, before alluded to, by which early marriages and universal healthiness, may coexist with a stationary population. Sexual, intellectual, and moral pleasures would be much increased thereby to the married parties. A mental effort on the side of refinement, not of grossness, is all the price necessary to be paid, and by only one party, for early marriages and mutual endearments, where the circumstances of society permit no increase of population. If this expedient of gentle exercise be not adopted, the risk of the evil — at whatever it may be estimated — of illicit intercourse, must be incurred. From the deplorable consequence of such intercourse, in the way of prostitution and all its miseries, the coöperating communities, as before shown, would, from their very organization, be altogether relieved. Women have as much command as men over the common property of the community, partake of the same education, and thus raising themselves to the same level, cast off at one bound their antiquated degradations and miseries, and at least double the happiness of both sexes by raising all their intercourse to that of intelligence and affection amongst equals.

So very trivial being the evils to be apprehended from the principle of population amongst the coöperating communities, even under the most unfavorable circumstances in which they can be placed; what, if any, are the evils to be apprehended from this principle when the circumstances are more favorable and admit of an increase of population more or less rapid?

What effects as to happiness would arise from the principle of population amongst coöperating communities in an advancing state of society, under the shield of equal security, or under representative systems approaching to equal security, limited only by the want of knowledge amongst the general society adopting such representative systems?

If in general society, such a state of things renders, even amongst individual competitors, the exercise of prudence as to marriage almost superfluous, how much more will it relieve particular individuals from the anxious cares of numerous children, where no increase of exertion or privation of comfort will press upon the parents of many children more than on those of a few! excepting always the additional pain of the first two years of the children's existence. Why should a father and mother be punished — in diminished comforts — for having large families? To prevent premature marriages? It can have no such effect. The average number of children is all that is or ought to be calculated upon; exceptions cannot form the general rule. Peculiar fecundity, altogether out of the power of calculation, generally occasions large families. The occupation of almost all the bloom and vigor of life of the mother, and the numerous casualties as to health attendant on a constant succession of children, are surely inconveniences enough to limit the desire to a moderate number without superadding comparative penury in the midst of general prosperity. If the society be advancing, and there be room for increased numbers without diminishing actual comforts to the general mass of productive laborers, why should they whom chance (causes which they could not calculate or control) has made most instrumental to this increase be more inconvenienced by it than the necessity of the case (physical or unavoidable moral causes) requires? The parents, particularly the mother, should

be assisted and relieved under such circumstances; their means should be increased, not diminished. Under individual competition such evils are perhaps unavoidable. No remedy, except in the way of insurance, and that very partial and wasteful, could be applied: while under mutual coöperation the evil is completely remedied by an insurance exempt from waste, the joint efforts of all providing for the whole of the children in whatever numbers born to particular individuals. From the greater part of the troubles and anxieties of excessive numbers of children parents are relieved; while all means of endearment by unrestricted communication are kept open to them.

Thus, as affects population, are the greatest benefits of early marriages secured by coöperation to all who think proper to contract them, while the evils arising occasionally from them are, by an invisible and unerring system of insurance, reduced to their lowest level, to those bars which nature has imposed. The great advantage of these coöperating communities over the same number of individuals acting by competition, particularly as regards population, is that the whole subject is always plainly before the eyes of the whole community; all gambling individual speculation is precluded; imprudence is rendered so palpable, and public opinion so strong, that there is a moral impossibility of the occurrence of imprudence: while all factitious love of wealth being removed, wherever a preponderance of happiness can be gained to all by early marriages and increasing numbers, beyond the evils of diminished comforts for all, there and there only will such marriages take place.

9. THE ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE OF WOMEN AS A CHECK TO POPULATION[1]

Before the eyes of both [Malthus and Godwin] there was growing up a power unobserved by either, but predestined to solve their problem. Commerce could never cheapen itself out of existence while population, varying with cheapness of food, kept up

[1] By C. L. James. From Anarchism and Malthus, pp. 28–30. Mother Earth Publishing Co., New York, 1910.

the struggle for existence: nor, though commerce which cannot do that teaches solidarity, could it prevent recurrence of those crises when the "eyeless I howls in darkness." But the increase of the prudential check on population has always kept up with, or rather it has gone before and been the source of, economic progress. Its increase has depended on that of hope, this on increase of liberty, increase of liberty on those "accidents" by which Providence has from time to time interfered to give men intent on enslaving each other and themselves another call to reflection. If, then, there be a tendency in the bourgeois system which brings liberty and hope to women; from that we may really hope revolutionary changes. For the female is the less amorous sex. The last proposition, which certainly does sound like a stock assertion, may have been unknown to both Malthus and Godwin. But no reader of Darwin can help knowing that it has been demonstrated by exhaustive application to every animal species and been found the clue to progress through heredity. Women have never chosen to breed food for gunpowder. They have submitted to do so only because they could not help themselves. Now there is in the bourgeois system a tendency, which by bringing liberty and hope to women, promises far more energetic restraint on propagation than the world has ever known, — a tendency which capitalists view with indifference; reactionaries and socialists, not infrequently with alarm; judicious friends of humanity, with unmixed satisfaction. The wages paid directly to women in the factories first afforded to proletarian women, unprotected by settlements or other contrivances of the rich, a means to live which was not easily taken from them. True to the maxim that it is not misery but hope which works improvement, they, who till now had been well enough content not to own themselves, became refractory the moment they had something to lose. The entire modern movement for the property rights of married women, equality of pay with men for all working women, opening of all the trades to women, political equality of the sexes, easy divorce, began with employment of women as breadwinners, which came in as a necessity of the bourgeois situation.

The Malthusian theory is the fatal objection to every form of socialism, even if called anarchism, which encourages man to think that he can enslave woman and escape the most righteous retribution of being a slave himself. It is the strongest possible argument for that kind of socialism or anarchism which proposes, through complete emancipation of women, to abolish the fundamental tyranny from whence all others spring.

10. HOW SECURE THE EXERCISE OF MORAL RESTRAINT UNDER SOCIALISM?[1]

It is a very superficial observation which has sometimes been made, that it is a contradiction to lay great stress upon the efficacy of moral restraint in an improved and improving state of society, according to the present structure of it, and yet to suppose that it would not act with sufficient force in a system of equality, which almost always presupposes a great diffusion of information and a great improvement of the human mind. Those who have made this observation do not see that the encouragement and motive to moral restraint are at once destroyed in a system of equality and community of goods.

Let us suppose that in a system of equality, in spite of the best exertions to procure more food, the population is pressing hard against the limits of subsistence, and all are becoming very poor. It is evidently necessary under these circumstances, in order to prevent the society from starving, that the rate at which the population increases should be retarded. But who are the persons that are to exercise the restraint thus called for, and either to marry late or not at all? It does not seem to be a necessary consequence of a system of equality that all the human passions should be at once extinguished by it; but if not, those who might wish to marry would feel it hard that they should be among the number forced to restrain their inclinations. As all would be equal and in similar circumstances, there would be no reason whatever why one individual should think himself obliged

[1] By T. R. Malthus. From An Essay on the Principle of Population, 9th edition, pp. 285–286. London, 1888.

to practice the duty of restraint more than another. The thing however must be done, with any hope of avoiding universal misery; and in a state of equality the necessary restraint could only be effected by some general law. But how is this law to be supported, and how are the violations of it to be punished? Is the man who marries early to be pointed at with the finger of scorn? is he to be whipped at the cart's tail? is he to be confined for years in a prison? is he to have his children exposed? Are not all direct punishments for an offense of this kind shocking and unnatural to the last degree? And yet if it be absolutely necessary in order to prevent the most overwhelming wretchedness, that there should be some restraint on the tendency to early marriages, when the resources of the country are only sufficient to support a slow rate of increase, can the most fertile imagination conceive one at once so natural, so just, so consonant to the laws of God and to the best laws framed by the most enlightened men, as that each individual should be responsible for the maintenance of his own children; that is, that he should be subjected to the natural inconveniences and difficulties arising from the indulgence of his inclinations and to no other whatever?

That this natural check to early marriages arising from a view of the difficulty attending the support of a large family operates very widely throughout all classes of society in every civilized state, and may be expected to be still more effective as the lower classes of people continue to improve in knowledge and prudence, cannot admit of the slightest doubt. But the operation of this natural check depends exclusively upon the existence of the laws of property and succession; and in a state of equality and community of property could only be replaced by some artificial regulation of a very different stamp, and a much more unnatural character. Of this Mr. Owen is fully sensible, and has in consequence taxed his ingenuity to the utmost to invent some mode by which the difficulties arising from the progress of population could be got rid of in the state of society to which he looks forward. His absolute inability to suggest any mode of accomplishing this object that is not unnatural,

immoral, or cruel in a high degree, together with the same want of success in every other person, ancient or modern, who has made a similar attempt, seem to show that the argument against systems of equality founded on the principle of population does not admit of a plausible answer even in theory. The fact of the tendency of population to increase beyond the means of subsistence may be seen in almost every register of a country parish in the kingdom. The unavoidable effect of this tendency to depress the whole body of the people in want and misery, unless the progress of the population be somehow or other retarded, is equally obvious; and the impossibility of checking the rate of increase in a state of equality, without resorting to regulations that are unnatural, immoral, or cruel, forms an argument at once conclusive against every such system.

11. PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE PRUDENTIAL CHECK[1]

Progress has been marked by a lowering of the general birth rate, a still greater lowering of the death rate, and an improvement in the arts which has enabled the increased population to live in greater comfort than before. But it has left certain parts of the population in a state where they are constantly on the verge of starvation. Is this to be regarded as a necessary incident of progress, or as an unnecessary evil which constitutes an indictment against the modern industrial system? Malthus holds the former view; the socialists the latter.

The successive points in the Malthusian theory may be summed up as follows:

1. A low death rate is a necessity for national prosperity. A high death rate (say 40 per 1000) means a low average duration of life (say twenty-five years), much disease, and little industrial efficiency.

2. Any excess of birth rate over death rate means increased population, and, in long-established communities, increased density of population. As long as this increase is accompanied by

[1] By Arthur T. Hadley. From Population and Capital. Publications of the American Economic Association, Vol. IX, 1894, pp. 557–566.

corresponding improvements in the arts of producing and utilizing food, it has no adverse effect; but when the increase of numbers is more rapid than this, it means less food per unit of labor, more disease, stoppage of accumulation of capital and of the progress which is dependent on such accumulations.

3. The physiological possibilities of the birth rate are so far in excess of any death rate which is consonant with social prosperity, that the improvement in the arts of food supply has not kept pace with this possible excess and cannot be expected to do so. This difference must therefore be reduced by "preventive" checks to lessen the birth rate. An individual who refuses to conform to this necessity has himself to blame for his poverty and that of his children, and must expect to see their numbers reduced by the positive checks of famine and disease.

The socialistic criticism of Malthus may without unfairness, and with great gain in perspicuity, be analyzed into two heads: (1) There is almost never, in civilized society, a present or immediate pressure of population upon subsistence. There is always food enough to go around, if it were only better distributed. (2) If such a distribution were made, there is no likelihood of a future pressure of population upon subsistence, because increased comfort is accompanied by a lower birth rate instead of a higher one.

The last point is erroneous. It is true that as society exists at present, high comfort and low birth rate are commonly associated, because comfort is made to depend upon prudence. Let the comfort be made independent of the exercise of prudence, as in the operation of the English poor law at the beginning of this century, and the birth rate tends to increase rather than diminish. It may not be exactly true, as some Malthusians would have us believe, that the low birth rate is the cause of the comfort; but it is much farther from the truth to assert that the comfort is the cause of the low birth rate. Both are the results of a common cause — the exercise of prudence, which gives high comfort and low birth rate to those who are capable of practicing it, while those who are incapable of so doing have at once a higher birth rate and lower level of comfort.

This line of thought enables us to explain satisfactorily a phenomenon which has been misunderstood by many of the opponents of Malthus, namely, that the fear of starvation does not lower the birth rate so much as the fear of losing caste. It is not that the desire of decencies in itself constitutes a greater preventive check to population than the need of subsistence; but that the need of subsistence is felt by all men alike, emotional as well as intellectual, while the desire of decencies stamps the man or the race that possesses it as having reached the level of intellectual morality. Ethical selection can therefore operate on the latter as it does not on the former. The intellectual man has possibilities of self-restraint which the emotional man has not. Give the intellectual man the chance to reap the benefit of such self-restraint and you will find reduced birth rate and increased comfort.

There are some cases under the existing social order where men who are capable of higher things multiply recklessly through sheer hopelessness. With men like this, a better distribution of the results of labor would doubtless operate not only to increase their productive efficiency but to contribute to their prudence in marrying, and thus to diminish the birth rate. But this result would be accomplished by assimilating the condition of the hopelessly poor to the normal condition of property owners, and would be dependent on the operation of those capitalistic motives which the majority of the opponents of Malthus so severely disapprove.

The more completely you give the prudent and efficient man control of the results of his labor, the more you localize the pressure of population upon subsistence, and confine the effects of this pressure to a few. Under such circumstances there is habitually that surplus of food on which the anti-Malthusian lays so much stress. But give the children of the shiftless the right to eat the substance of the efficient and prudent, and you will soon lose both the capital and the morality under which that capital has been created, — witness the history of the English poor law. The fund of national capital is placed at the mercy of the paupers, and the restraints which now limit the number of these paupers are taken away. Let this process be carried to an extreme, and

the localized pressure of population upon subsistence, now so familiar under the name of poverty, widens more and more until we have that general imminence of starvation characteristic of savage or half-savage races.

When the comfort of an individual is made dependent upon his foresight and prudence, and when the comfort of a group is made dependent on the existence of intellectual as distinct from emotional morality, we shall find prudent men and prudent races possessing high comfort and low birth rates. The history of civilization is in large measure a history of this development of prudence and comfort. Possibly some nations are carrying this conscious adaptation of means to ends a little too far for their own good. The waste of nerve power connected with the exercise of conscious prudence is a real evil, and if carried to an extreme may offset the gain attendant upon the possession and accumulation of capital. This is a fair point for socialistic criticism. But with the average man, the dangers of this extreme are less than those of the other. The evils of thinking too much and trusting Providence too little seem small in comparison with those which arise from trusting Providence for everything and not thinking at all. Doubtless Malthus made a mistake in giving too much countenance to the idea that preventive checks must be conscious. But his socialist critics make a greater mistake in holding that such checks are automatic. The truth would seem to be that such checks are for the most part institutional. The modern family and the modern law of capital have acted as a powerful system of preventive checks to population. The apparently automatic and often nonconscious operation of these checks must not blind us to the historical power which has established and perpetuated them.

To hope — as do the socialistic critics of the Malthusian theory — that the average character of a people will remain unchanged when the institutions under which this character has developed are radically modified or abolished, is a fatuous delusion.

12. THE NECESSITY FOR STATE PENSIONS FOR MOTHERS[1]

The conclusion which the present writer draws from the declining birth rate is one of hope, not of despair. It is something to discover the cause of the phenomenon. Moreover, the cause is one that we can counteract. If the decline in the birth rate had been due to physical degeneracy, whether brought about by "urbanization" or otherwise, we should not have known how to cope with it. But a deliberately volitional interference, due chiefly to economic motives, can at any moment be influenced partly by a mere alteration of the economic conditions, partly by the opportunity for the play of the other motives which will be thereby afforded.

What seems indispensable and urgent is to alter the economic incidence of childbearing. Under the present social conditions the birth of children in households maintained on less than three pounds a week (and these form four fifths of the nation) is attended by almost penal consequences. The wife is incapacitated for some months from earning money. For a few weeks she is subject to a painful illness, with some risk. The husband has to provide a lump sum for the necessary medical attendance and domestic service. But this is not all. The parents know that for the next fourteen years they will have to dock themselves and their other children of luxuries and even of some of the necessaries of life, just because there will be another mouth to feed. To four fifths of all the households in the land each succeeding baby means the probability of there being less food, less clothing, less house room, less recreation, and less opportunity for advancement for every member of the family. Similar considerations appeal even more strongly to a majority of the remaining 20 per

[1] By Sidney Webb. From The Decline in the Birth Rate (Fabian Tract No. 131. The Fabian Society, London, 1907). Reprinted in the *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. LXIX. Mr. Webb set out to ascertain the real cause of "race suicide." Partly on statistical evidence, partly on the basis of answers to questionnaires sent out to about three hundred married people "who could be relied upon to give frank and truthful answers to a detailed interrogatory," he arrived at the conclusion that the "decline of the birth rate is principally, if not entirely, the result of deliberate volition in the regulation of the marriage state," that is, of neo-Malthusian practices. That part of his article here reprinted gives his proposal for the removal of the economic penalty on people who have children.

cent of the population, who make up the "middle" and professional classes. Their higher standard of life, with its requirements in the way of culture and refinement, and with the long and expensive education which it demands for their children, makes the advent even of a third or fourth child — to say nothing of the possibility of a family of eight or twelve — a burden far more psychologically depressing than that of the wage-earner. In order that a due number of children may be born, and that they may be born rather of the self-controlled and foreseeing members of each class than of those who are reckless or improvident, we must alter the balance of considerations in favor of the child-producing family.

The question is whether we shall be able to turn round with sufficient sharpness and in time. For we have unconsciously based so much of our social policy — so many of our habits, traditions, prejudices, and beliefs — on the assumption that the growth of population is always to be reckoned with, and even feared, that a genuine realization of the contrary position will involve great changes. There are thousands of men thinking themselves educated citizens to-day to whose whole system of social and economic beliefs the discovery will be as subversive as was that announced by Copernicus. We may at last understand what the modern economist means when he tells us that the most valuable of the year's crops, as it is the most costly, is not the wheat harvest or the lambing, but the year's quota of adolescent young men and women enlisted in the productive service of the community; and that the due production and best possible care of this particular product is of far greater consequence to the nation than any other of its occupations. Infant mortality, for instance — that terrible and quite needless slaughter within the first twelve months of one seventh of all the babies that are born — is already appealing to us in a new way, though it is no greater than it was a generation ago. We shall suddenly remember, too, that one third of all the paupers are young children; and we may then realize that it is, to the community, of far more consequence how it shall bring up this quarter of a million children over whom it has complete power than the exact degree of hardness with which it may choose to treat the adults. Instead of turning out

the children to tramp with the father or beg with the mother, whenever these choose to take their discharge from the workhouse, which is the invariable practice to-day, we should rather jump at the chance of "adopting" these unfortunate beings in order to make worthy citizens of them. Half of the young paupers, moreover, are widows' children, bereft of the breadwinner. For them the community will have to arrange to continue in some form or another the maintenance which the father would have provided, had he lived. Above all, we must encourage the thrifty, foreseeing, prudent, and self-controlled parents to remove the check which, often unwillingly enough, they at present put on their natural instincts and love of children. We must make it easier for them to undertake family responsibilities. For instance, the argument against the unlimited provision of medical attendance on the childbearing mother and her children disappear. We may presently find the leader of the Opposition, if not the Prime Minister, advocating the municipal supply of milk to all infants, and a free meal on demand (as already provided by a farseeing philanthropist at Paris) to mothers actually nursing their babies. We shall, indeed, have to face the problem of the systematic endowment of motherhood, and place this most indispensable of all professions upon an honorable economic basis. The feeding of all the children at school appears in a new light, and we come, at a stride, appreciably nearer to that not very far distant article in the education code making obligatory in the time-table a new subject — namely, "12 to 1 P.M., table manners (materials provided)." There would be no greater encouragement to parentage in the best members in the middle and upper artisan classes than a great multiplication of maintenance scholarships for secondary, technical, and university education.

Such a revolution in the economic incidence of the burden of childbearing would leave the way open to the play of the best instincts of mankind. To the vast majority of women, and especially to those of fine type, the rearing of children would be the most attractive occupation, if it offered economic advantages equal to those, say, of school teaching or service in the post office. At present it is ignored as an occupation, unremunerated, and in no

way honored by the state. Once the production of healthy, moral, and intelligent citizens is revered as a social service and made the subject of deliberate praise and encouragement on the part of the government, it will, we may be sure, attract the best and most patriotic of the citizens. Once set free from the overwhelming economic penalties with which it is at present visited, the rearing of a family may gradually be rendered part of the code of the ordinary citizen's morality. The natural repulsion to interference in marital relations will have free play. The mystic obligations of which the religious-minded feel the force will no longer be confronted by the dead wall of economic necessity. To the present writer it seems that only by some such "sharp turn" in our way of dealing with such problems can we avoid race deterioration, if not race suicide.

CHAPTER IV

EUGENICS

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[Until recently the population problem has been discussed too much as if population were of unvarying potential quality, no matter how much its quantity might change. If we are to regard the well-being of a whole people as the right aim of both individual and social endeavor, if we recognize that the material basis of this well-being lies in the power of man, within the limits set by natural laws, to utilize natural forces and materials in the most efficient and economical way, and if the psychical content of life derived from this material basis depends upon the intellectual, moral, and æsthetic sensitiveness of individual men and women, then it must be evident at once that a scientific study of the economy and efficiency of a population, in the largest sense, must include not only a study of the quantitative relation between a people and its natural resources, but a careful consideration also of the physical and mental qualities of the individuals, the families, and the stocks which compose the aggregate population.]

13. THE PROGRESS OF EUGENICS[1]

The idea of a conscious selective improvement of the human breed is not new. Like many another stimulating thought it was clearly uttered long before the time when its fresh expression

[1] By James A. Field. Adapted from the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November, 1911, pp. 2–46, 61–67.

found the popular mind in the ready and impressionable state which makes possible a far-reaching thought movement. Twenty-three hundred years ago the political dialogues of Plato outlined a policy of controlling marriage selection and parentage for the general good of society; and declared that the statesman who would advance the welfare of his citizens should, like the fancier of birds, or dogs, or horses, take care to breed from the best only.[1] Plato's project was too fantastic for his time. In following centuries the laws of the Roman Empire, the doctrines of the Church, and the policies of mercantilist states, in so far as they took cognizance of population problems, kept count in terms of soldiers, or souls, or laboring and taxpaying subjects, and for the most part overlooked the inborn differences of men. Even at the beginning of the last century, when the discussion of population problems reached a development quite unprecedented, the quality of the population was still almost ignored in the prevailing concern about questions of mere numbers.

The present eugenics movement may be traced back definitely to the decade beginning with the year 1865, and more generally to the thought-reaction which followed the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859. The new biological doctrines inevitably drew attention to the selective significance of inborn differences, in human beings as in other living forms. Nor was the existence of such differences among men likely to be overlooked by the reactionary adherents of a waning aristocratic régime, confronted with the growing prominence of the masses, whose influence was enlarging with their new accession of political privilege and with the more gradual course of industrial change. The stress which Darwin had laid on the cumulative selection of qualities transmitted by heredity put an end to that placid indifference with which the unequal increase of different social classes had been regarded. Even more positively it dispelled the illusions of those who had rejoiced in the relative infertility of the well-to-do, hailing it either as the sign of prudence in at least some places, or as a providential compensation of the hardships of poverty by vouchsafing to the poor an untroubled career of procreation.

[1] Republic, 459; Laws, 773; and elsewhere.

The specific starting point of the eugenics literature is to be recognized in two articles on "Hereditary Talent and Character," written by Francis Galton and published in *Macmillan's Magazine* for June and August, 1865. Impressed by the plasticity of the physical forms of animals under the breeder's selection, Galton here announced his purpose of showing, more pointedly than had been attempted before, that the mental qualities of men are equally under control. He not only repudiated the prevalent view that sons of great men are usually stupid: he went on to show by a mass of biographical evidence how strikingly the frequent occurrence of able sons of able men indicates that mental qualities, quite as much as physical traits, are subject to the principles of natural inheritance. Doubtless, the son of an eminent man may be favored by superior opportunities. Advantageous associations, as well as inherited capacity, may aid his career. All this Galton was quite willing to admit. But he did not regard established position as the chief reason for the recurrence of talent in distinguished families; and to make his argument more conclusive he avoided the examples of statesmen and generals, who might be thought particularly the creatures of privilege, and sought his facts "in the more open fields of science and literature."[1] His inferences from these facts were eagerly hopeful. "How vastly would the offspring be improved," he exclaims, "supposing distinguished women to be commonly married to distinguished men, generation after generation, according to rules, of which we are now ignorant, but which a study of the subject would be sure to evolve."[2] "If a twentieth part of the cost and pains were spent in measures for the improvement of the human race that is spent on the improvement of the breed of horses and cattle, what a galaxy of genius might we not create."[3] He expressed the belief that if the importance of race improvement were recognized, and if the theory of heredity were understood, some way would be found to carry the improvement into effect.[4]

[1] *Macmillan's Magazine*, Vol. XII, p. 161.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 164.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 165.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 320.

Four years later these preliminary sketches developed into a book, — *Hereditary Genius*, published in 1869. The main thesis, that great ability is hereditary, is here substantially unaltered; supported, now, by abundant genealogical material, which nearly fills the book with pedigrees of judges, statesmen, the English peerage, commanders, literary men, men of science, poets, musicians, painters, divines, the senior classics of Cambridge, — even oarsmen and wrestlers, as examples of the ability of the muscles rather than of the mind. The natural consequence of the more careful method of inquiry and exposition he adopted in this book is a more guarded attitude with reference to putting into practice, for ends of social reform, the principles just restated and reaffirmed. Yet the enthusiasm of the magazine articles may well have been less eloquently convincing of the possibility of such reform than the book's impressive chapter on Influences that Affect the Natural Ability of Nations.[1] For in this the appeal is not merely to fanciful influences which might be exerted, but to the actual modifications of human quality which stand recorded in history, or work themselves out in the commonplace happenings of our own every day. Celibacy of the intellectual classes is condemned anew; the cloisters and nunneries of the Middle Ages and the academic celibacy of present times alike are proved apt means to the elimination of superior intellect. The irreparable debasement of type which followed the course of the Inquisition in Spain — a topic already touched upon by Lyell in his *Principles of Geology*[2] — yields a germane and telling argument. Less dramatic though perhaps more important is the lesson drawn from the fact that the social group or nation within which the interval between generations is relatively long will be outnumbered and overcome, through mere inferiority of increase.

Galton's first essays in the subject he was later to call eugenics had greatly expanded. They had in fact grown to the magnitude of a masterwork, which has served as a point of departure for

[1] This chapter has been reprinted in Carver, Sociology and Social Progress, pp. 631–646. Ginn and Company, 1905. — Ed.

[2] 10th edition, Vol. II, p. 489, 1868.

his own later writings and for most of the work of others in the field which he had thus marked out.

A second pioneer of eugenics was William Rathbone Greg, already for years a well-known writer on economic and political subjects. Philanthropic in sympathies and fair in presentation, Greg was chiefly distinguished by an attitude of keen prophetic criticism of the tendencies of his time, and felt a probably undue concern at the increase of democratic and popular influence in public affairs. So it was that he became aware of the menace of adverse selective influences working through the unequal rates of increase of different elements in the population, and wrote, quite independently of Galton, a brilliant article, "On the Failure of 'Natural Selection' in the Case of Man,"[1] which, with slight alteration, became the chapter on Non-Survival of the Fittest in a subsequent book,—*Enigmas of Life*.[2] For races and nations, he argued, the principle of the survival of the fittest holds good; but as regards individuals "the indisputable effect of the state of social progress and culture we have reached . . . is to counteract and suspend the operation of that righteous and salutary law. . . ."[3] We keep alive the weak and defective; by our institution of property we subsidize and perpetuate the incompetency which may inherit but could not produce. The rich and the poor, disadvantaged by opposite extreme circumstances of excess and privation, propagate freely. The prudent members of the intermediate class, "most qualified and deserving to continue the race are precisely those who do so in the scantiest measure."[4] In a noteworthy passage Greg outlines a Utopian reversal of prevailing conditions:

> A republic is *conceivable* in which paupers should be forbidden to propagate; in which all candidates for the proud and solemn privilege of continuing an untainted and perfecting race should be subjected to a pass or a competitive examination, and those only be suffered to transmit their names and families to future generations who had a pure, vigorous, and well-developed constitution to transmit.

However, Greg was no Utopian. Hope was from within.

[1] *Fraser's Magazine*, September, 1868.
[2] London, 1872.
[3] *Fraser's Magazine*, September, 1868, p. 356.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 360–361

We can only trust to the slow influences of enlightenment and moral susceptibility, percolating downwards and in time permeating all ranks. We can only watch and be careful that any other influences we do set in motion shall be such as, when they work at all, may work in the right direction.

In 1873 Galton was heard from again. In an essay on "Hereditary Improvement," printed in *Fraser's Magazine*, he maintained "that it is feasible to improve the race of man by a system which shall be perfectly in accordance with the moral sense of the present time."[1] As the foundation of this system he aimed "to build up . . . a sentiment of caste among those who are naturally gifted," and thus, within each existing social group, to draw together in the solidarity of a new and exclusive class consciousness the individuals of greatest merit for what he now tentatively called "viriculture."[2] The achievement of this result must come gradually. Galton did not expect his scheme "to flourish until the popular belief shall have waxed several degrees warmer."[3] But intelligence and a religious sense of duty were alike urgent that a beginning be made.

I propose as the first step, and the time is nearly ripe for it, that some society should undertake three scientific services: the first, by means of a moderate number of influential local agencies, to institute *continuous* inquiries into the facts of human heredity; the second, to be a center of information on heredity for breeders of animals and plants; and the third, to discuss and classify the facts that were collected.[4]

Primary reliance was thus placed on the increase and diffusion of scientific knowledge with the confident expectation that if once the populace were convinced of the import of heredity, "quite as many social influences as are necessary will become directed to obtain the desired end."[5]

Thus far the forerunners of eugenics had been Englishmen; but in this same year 1873 an important contribution came from

[1] *Fraser's Magazine*, N.S., Vol. VII, January, 1873, p. 116.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 119. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 123. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 124.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 125. At the close of the article Galton unluckily indulged in a vision of the ultimate results of his project. His picture of a class of the praised and privileged fit, superposed on a population of the rejected, is one which we may rejoice to believe impossible, as well as unjustified by an intelligent interpretation of the forces which he would set at work. If this forecast be ignored, the article agrees in large measure with the best eugenic opinion of the present day.

the Continent in the *Histoire des sciences et des savants*[1] by a distinguished Swiss botanist, the younger Alphonse de Candolle. This book, like *Hereditary Genius*, is based on the results of an inquiry into the relationships of eminent men. But De Candolle confined his attention to men of science, and took for his criterion of eminence membership in the leading honorary scientific societies. Cases of the close relationship of these scientists he found strikingly frequent. Yet his conclusions were not altogether in accord with the conclusions of Galton; in fact, at first sight they seem flatly contradictory. To heredity, properly speaking, he attributed little effect except in the case of the mathematical sciences.[2] He was less convinced of the inheritance of genius than Galton had been. In fact, he expressly criticized the extreme conclusions which Galton drew.[3] Yet he believed sufficiently in the heredity of human qualities to consider the possibility of improvement by artificial selection and to remark the appearances of degeneration due to selective causes like war, medicine, and unequal increase of rich and poor, which conserve the worse rather than the better types. But although he thus discussed artificial selection, he conceived it to be for practical purposes nonexistent or illusory: marriages of the unfit can hardly be prevented; or, if they are in form prevented, they are likely to give way to illegitimacy. The influence of law or of religion he did not deny, but he classed it with the factors of natural, and not of artificial, selection. Thus, though he seemed inclined to belittle both the power of heredity and the means by which others hoped it might be made preponderatingly a power for good, his skepticism in each case was less extreme in reality than in appearance.

The reaction of De Candolle's views upon the work of Galton was immediate and unmistakable. Characteristically Galton set about further investigations of his own. Convinced that a more minute study of the antecedents of scientific men would

[1] Histoire des sciences et des savants depuis deux siècles suivie d'autres études sur des sujets scientifiques, en particulier sur la sélection dans l'espèce humaine. Geneva, 1873.

[2] Cf. pp. 107–108. This and subsequent citations refer to the first edition.

[3] Cf. *e.g.* pp. 243, 281, 380.

establish the superior importance of heredity as contrasted with education, he sent a searching questionnaire to one hundred and eighty scientists of reputation. The results of his study of more than a hundred replies were published the following year in his book entitled *English Men of Science: their Nature and Nurture*.[1] The result, in Galton's mind, was further affirmation of the supremacy of nature over nurture[2] — of inheritance over training — so far as the two are separable. "I am confident," he wrote in the preface, "that one effect of the evidence here collected will be to strengthen the utmost claims I ever made for the recognition of the importance of hereditary influence."[3]

One decade had produced all these writings. Clearly, the beginnings of eugenics were congenial to the thought of that period. Yet what was written seems to have been often, as in the cases of Darwin and Greg, an episode, brilliant but without direct continuance, in the course of other work. Apparently demonstration of selective influences reacting on the quality of the population seemed for the time rather to stimulate the new taste for biological speculation than to appeal strongly to persons practically concerned with human degeneracy or with measures of human improvement. "Popular feeling was not then ripe to accept even the elementary truths of hereditary talent and character, upon which the possibility of Race Improvement depends. Still less was it prepared to consider dispassionately any proposals for practical action."[4] Even Galton, whose long span of consistent intellectual activity is the closest link between that early outburst of eugenic ideas and the reawakened eugenic movement of the present, "laid the subject wholly to one side for many years."[5]

The interim between 1874 and 1901 was, however, too prolonged to pass without some new evidence of Galton's interest in

[1] London, 1874.

[2] "Nature is all that a man brings with himself into the world; nurture is every influence from without that affects him after his birth" (p. 12). The distinction between nature and nurture had already been made in the article of 1873 on Hereditary Improvement, p. 116.

[3] Pp. vi–vii.

[4] Galton, Memories of My Life, p. 310.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 310.

eugenics. During this period he published, among other works, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development* (1883), and *Natural Inheritance* (1889). Each has an important bearing on his later writing.

The *Inquiries into Human Faculty* gave eugenics its name.

> . . . We greatly want a brief word to express the science of improving stock, which is by no means confined to questions of judicious mating, but which, especially in the case of man, takes cognizance of all influences that tend in however remote a degree to give to the more suitable races or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable than they otherwise would have had. The word *eugenics* would sufficiently express the idea; it is at least a neater word and a more generalized one than *viriculture*, which I once ventured to use.[1]

Nor was this coining of a term the only conspicuous contribution to eugenics which the book contained. For Galton here considered, in a passage more interesting for its doubts than for its conclusions, the menace of loss of stamina through close breeding of human strains;[2] and he maintained the possibility of some system of marks for ancestral and personal merit, on the basis of which endowments, portions, or adoption might be made available for persons of meritorious stock.[3] Finally,[4] he foreshadowed the religious sanction for eugenic conduct which has characterized some of his most recent statements of eugenic principles.[5]

Natural Inheritance was essentially a study of the general biological principles of heredity. It dealt not so much with eugenics as with the foundations of eugenics. But it has left a lasting mark on subsequent eugenic discussion because of the new lengths to which it carried the mathematical method of analysis in heredity problems — the method which, outlined in *Hereditary Genius* and latterly elaborated by the biometricians, has involved its followers with the followers of Mendel in a spirited and possibly momentous controversy.

[1] Inquiries into Human Faculty, p. 24, note.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 305–307.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 327 ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 337.
[5] Cf. especially, Sociological Papers, London, 1904, p. 50, and 1905, pp. 52–53

A reawakening of interest in eugenics was heralded, on the eve of the present century, by Professor Karl Pearson's vigorous lecture on "National Life from the Standpoint of Science,"[1] delivered at Newcastle, November 19, 1900. The message of this lecture was primarily the answer which recent studies of heredity had given to those who concerned themselves with problems of national welfare: the nation is an organism in struggle to survive, and its success in that struggle depends on the strong increase of the best elements of its population. The truth was put bluntly, in an attempt to impress it upon the newly sensitive minds of the British people, aroused at that time, by the course of events, to a questioning of the state of their national power.

The time, indeed, appears to have been unusually favorable to the reception and spread of such teachings. The shock of the reverses in South Africa, by which, throughout England, spirits "were depressed in a manner probably never before experienced by those of our countrymen now living"[2] was "more or less directly"[3] the reason for Professor Pearson's choice of his topic. "I have endeavored to place before you a few of the problems which, it seems to me, arise from a consideration of some of our recent difficulties in war and in trade."[4] England, in manufacture and commerce as in war, had shown "a want of brains in the right place."[5] But lack of physique as well as lack of brain was causing apprehension, as evidenced later by the appointment (September 2, 1903) of an Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration "to make a preliminary inquiry into the allegations concerning the deterioration of certain classes of the population as shown by the large percentage of rejections for physical causes of recruits for the Army and by other evidence, especially the Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland)" — which had been created the year before. Subsequently the Committee was further instructed "to indicate generally the causes of such physical deterioration as does exist

[1] Part of this now famous lecture has been reprinted in Carver, Sociology and Social Progress, pp. 392–409. Ginn and Company, 1905. — Ed.

[2] National Life from the Standpoint of Science, p. 9. London, 1901.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 13. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 60. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

in certain classes, . . . and to point out the means by which it can be most effectually diminished." Probably the public had been prepared for notions of degeneracy in some parts of the population by the epoch-making investigations of Charles Booth in London — investigations which were just then culminating, after a duration of more than a decade. Finally, it was not without significance that the school of biologists who stood for quantitative studies by means of the technique of modern mathematical statistics, and among whom Galton was a recognized leader, signalized their growing solidarity and influence by establishing in October, 1901, their journal *Biometrika*, which, from the time of its initial number, has published many articles bearing more or less directly upon eugenics.

In this same month of October, 1901, Galton delivered the Huxley Lecture of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and returned to the field of eugenics by taking as his subject for the lecture "The Possible Improvement of the Human Breed, under the Existing Conditions of Law and Sentiment." He echoed on this occasion the opinions which had marked his earlier utterances, putting them, however, in the mathematical form of his intervening work. He laid, as usual, special stress on the importance of increasing the productivity of the best stock, rather than repressing the worst; and he outlined, conservatively, possible means to that end, in economic aid, honors, and a sort of religious enthusiasm.[1]

Since this Huxley Lecture, partly because of the receptivity of the public mind, partly no doubt through the collaboration of able scientists in allied studies, eugenics has made progress. "Now," wrote Galton, in his autobiography (1908), "I see my way better, and an appreciative audience is at last to be had, though it be small." To this audience he repeatedly addressed himself: the extent of his activity during his last ten years quite precludes any attempt at this point to give each of his publications separate mention. Three papers only, delivered and discussed before the Sociological Society, are chosen for special comment here.

[1] *Nature*, Vol. LXIV, pp. 663–664; also, Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1901, p. 534.

The first of these papers, read May 16, 1904, bore the title: "Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope, and Aims." "Eugenics," as then defined, "is the science which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of a race; also with those that develop them to the utmost advantage."[1] But in what followed, as in most discussions of eugenics, only the improvement of inborn qualities was considered. "The aim of eugenics is to bring as many influences as can be reasonably employed, to cause the useful classes in the community to contribute *more* than their proportion to the next generation.[2] To the question thence arising — what influences can be reasonably employed? — came the answer which has taken rank as an authoritative scheme of eugenic activity.[3]

The course of procedure that lies within the functions of a learned and active Society, such as the Sociological may become, would be somewhat as follows:

1. Dissemination of a knowledge of the laws of heredity so far as they are surely known, and promotion of their farther study. Few seem to be aware how greatly the knowledge of what may be termed the *actuarial* side of heredity has advanced in recent years. . . .

2. Historical inquiry into the rates with which the various classes of society (classified according to civic usefulness)[4] have contributed to the population at various times, in ancient and modern nations. There is strong reason for believing that national rise and decline is closely connected with this influence. It seems to be the tendency of high civilization to check fertility in the upper classes, through numerous causes, some of which are well known, others are inferred, and others again are wholly obscure. . . .[5]

3. Systematic collection of facts showing the circumstances under which large and thriving families have most frequently originated; in other words, the *conditions* of Eugenics.[6] . . .

[1] Sociological Papers, 1904, p. 45. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 47. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 47–50.

[4] Galton was careful, and for the most part more than ordinarily successful, in maintaining the distinction between superior classes in a eugenic sense and the conventional "upper classes" whose position is a matter of wealth or social pretensions. But the distinction is difficult to keep clear. For example, Galton's assumption that ability is satisfactorily measured by attainment would in many cases identify ability with the possession of wealth or station. [Cf. Loria, "The Psycho-Physical Élite and the Economic Élite," pp. 167–173 of this volume. — Ed.]

[5] "The latter class are apparently analogous to those which bar the fertility of most species of wild animals in zoölogical gardens." — Sociological Papers, 1904, p. 48.

[6] A thriving family, tentatively defined, "is one in which the children have gained distinctly superior positions to those who were their classmates in early life. Families may be considered 'large' that contain not less than three adult male children." — Sociological Papers, 1904, p. 48.

4. Influences affecting Marriage [*i.e.*, the influences of social sanction or disapproval, which might be turned to the service of eugenics]. . . .

5. Persistence in setting forth the national importance of Eugenics. There are three stages to be passed through. *Firstly* it must be made familiar as an academic question, until its exact importance has been understood and accepted as a fact; *Secondly* it must be recognized as a subject whose practical development deserves serious consideration; and *Thirdly* it must be introduced into the national conscience, like a new religion. . . . I see no impossibility in Eugenics becoming a religious dogma among mankind, but its details must first be worked out sedulously in the study. Over-zeal leading to hasty action would do harm. . . . The first and main point is to secure the general intellectual acceptance of Eugenics as a hopeful and most important study. Then let its principles work into the heart of the nation, who will gradually give practical effect to them in ways that we may not wholly foresee.

After nearly a year[1] Galton again addressed the Sociological Society; not, as before, to outline a eugenic system, but rather, in the light of his maturer reflection, to revise the former emphasis and to suggest paths of further work. Under the title of "Studies in National Eugenics," in indicating some of the work to be done, he touched newly on an old project:

In some future time, dependent on circumstances, I look forward to a suitable authority issuing Eugenic certificates to candidates for them. They would imply a more than an [sic] average share of the several qualities of at least goodness of constitution, of physique, and of mental capacity.[2]

But the idea to which he gave most prominence, and which received most attention during the discussion, was that of "Restrictions in Marriage."[3] By all sorts of folk customs, marriage relations throughout the world are restricted and controlled as social expediency directs. Monogamy, endogamy, exogamy, the Australian marriage usages, taboo, the prohibited degrees, celibacy — all demonstrate "how powerful are the various combinations of immaterial motives upon marriage selection, how they may all become hallowed by religion, accepted as custom, and enforced by law."[4] "The proverbial 'Mrs. Grundy' has enormous influence in checking the marriages she considers indiscreet."[5] As for the

[1] February 14, 1905.
[2] Sociological Papers, 1905, p. 17.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–13.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 51. This remark, from Galton's reply to criticism, was apparently written after the original session.

religious sanction, Galton was moved by the discussion to append in the published report a specific note on "Eugenics as a Factor in Religion."[1] Thus the imperiousness of social convention and the moral enthusiasm of religious belief, two motives that are always with us, are given emphatic recognition as potential forces of great promise for eugenic reform.

With these parting instructions and renewed expressions of hopefulness, Galton's active efforts for eugenics may be said to have ended. Almost until his death, which occurred January 17, 1911, he continued to lend the cause the support of his steady interest; and on one or two occasions he consented to speak in public, despite his advanced age of nearly ninety years. But his main work was done. He had been given the rare experience of foreseeing and announcing a new branch of knowledge in advance of his generation, and yet, though he had made his announcement in middle age, of living to see a subsequent generation overtake his idea and gratefully adopt it. He created eugenics, named it, and formally defined it, as "the study of agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations, either physically or mentally."[2] By his own achievements, by the kindling influence of his enthusiasm, and by the final gift of his main fortune, he has insured that the science he founded shall go on.

Of the recent developments in eugenic research, that which most closely links itself with Galton's inquiries is the work of Professor Karl Pearson and his associates. By profession Pearson is a mathematician. Since 1896 he has occupied the chair of Applied Mathematics and Mechanics at University College, London. But an interest in philosophical problems and especially in the theory of evolution turned his attention to the mathematical aspects of various biological phenomena,[3] and, not surprisingly, to

[1] Sociological Papers, 1905, pp. 52–53.

[2] Memories of My Life, p. 321. A later definition will be found in the form of a note to page 3 of Sociological Papers, 1905: "Eugenics may be defined as the science which deals with those social agencies that influence, mentally or physically, the racial qualities of future generations."

[3] For early examples of Pearson's work in such subjects, cf. The Chances of Death and Other Studies in Evolution (1897); especially Vol. I.

the methods of study which Galton's *Natural Inheritance* had proposed. In a series of Mathematical Contributions to the Theory of Evolution he considered and revised the Galtonian Law of Ancestral Heredity, and greatly elaborated the theory of frequency curves and correlation methods, extending their applications to cases where the impossibility of exact quantitative measurement had previously made them inapplicable, and devising safeguards against biased errors in observation. Then, with the new refinements of this "biometric" method at his command, he proceeded to an estimate of the influence of heredity on human traits. Preliminary investigation of the inheritance of certain tangible characters of animals had provided a measure of the degree in which such characters are inherited, expressed in correlation coefficients indicating the resemblance between parent and progeny, or between two individuals of common parentage. In the first of two articles, published in 1903, "On the Laws of Inheritance in Man," [1] Professor Pearson concluded that the inheritance of physical characters in man is more marked than had been supposed: is in fact as strong as in other animals. More impressive still was the conclusion of the second article, dealing with mental and moral qualities, and showing them to be inherited in the same degree as physical traits. To be sure, the subject of this study offered peculiar difficulties; and the method adopted — a study of fraternal resemblance as evidenced by the reports of schoolteachers — is open to serious question on grounds of bias in the collection of the data. Yet, after allowance for fallacy and error, the result of the inquiry remained too striking to be longer ignored, and still further shifted the burden of proof toward those who denied the transmissibility of mental endowments.

Eugenic investigation took on added definiteness about a year after the publication of these papers, through the generous interest of Francis Galton, who gave to the University of London funds to maintain a fellowship for the promotion of the study of "national eugenics." From The Francis Galton Laboratory for National Eugenics then organized has come an increasing output of interesting and often important studies. In 1911 the will

[1] *Biometrika*, Vol. II, pp. 357–462, and Vol. III, pp. 131–190.

of Sir Francis Galton bequeathed some £45,000 to the University of London "for the establishment and endowment of a professorship — to be known as 'The Galton Professorship of Eugenics,' with a laboratory or office and library attached thereto." The will further makes this statement of what the Galton professor is to do:

1. Collect materials bearing on Eugenics.
2. Discuss such materials and draw conclusions.
3. Form a Central Office to provide information, under appropriate restrictions, to private individuals and to public authorities concerning the laws of inheritance in man, and to urge the conclusions as to social conduct which follow from such laws.
4. Extend the knowledge of Eugenics by all or any of the following means, namely: — (*a*) professorial instruction; (*b*) occasional publications; (*c*) occasional public lectures; (*d*) experimental or observational work which may throw light on eugenic problems.

In accordance with the founder's wish, Pearson has been chosen as the first Galton Professor.

The publications of the Eugenics Laboratory are for the most part comprised in two series: The Eugenics Laboratory Memoirs and the Eugenics Laboratory Lecture Series. A third series, nominally distinct, — the Studies in National Deterioration, published as Drapers' Company Research Memoirs by the Department of Applied Mathematics of University College — presents the results of similar inquiries conducted in the Biometric Laboratory, often by members of the Eugenics Laboratory Staff. Yet another series, Questions of the Day and of the Fray, also published by the Department of Applied Mathematics, has been inaugurated. However, a more intelligible statement of what has been accomplished can be made if the publications be for the moment regarded as falling into three groups, namely: (1) compilations of mere material for the study of human inheritance; (2) intensive and technical studies of special eugenic problems; and (3) general statements of the conclusions reached, in simple form for popular information.

The first group consists of those issues of the Eugenics Memoirs which are known collectively as The Treasury of Human Inheritance. These are designed to make available, in standardized, scientific form, without attempt at interpretation or anything

controversial, "published and unpublished family pedigrees, illustrating the inheritance in man of mental and physical characters, of disease and of abnormality." The parts thus far issued contain pedigrees of diabetes insipidus, split-foot, polydactylism, brachydactylism, tuberculosis, deaf-mutism, legal ability, angioneurotic œdema, hermaphroditism, insanity, commercial ability, harelip, cleft palate, and congenital cataract. The evidence thus gathered affords important data, not only for followers of the Galton-Pearson school, but for all who perceive that the progress of eugenics depends on a further knowledge of the facts.

The second group — detailed reports of special studies — comprises most of the Eugenics Memoirs, and the Studies in National Deterioration. Here, perhaps, should also be placed the Questions of the Day and of the Fray, which up to the present have mainly served to carry on a controversy that recent memoirs on the influence of parental alcoholism provoked. Apart from these polemics, fourteen [1] Memoirs and Studies have appeared, dealing with such subjects, among others, as tuberculosis, insanity, the inheritance of the phthisical and insane diatheses, the relative effect of heredity and environment on eyesight, the effect of home conditions on the physique and intelligence of children, and the inheritance of ability.

The third group is coincident with the Eugenics Laboratory Lecture Series. To persons who wish to learn the gist of the results embodied in the more abstruse memoirs, but who are not so critical-minded or so mathematically trained as to grapple with their technicalities, these lectures carry the message of the Laboratory on the paramount import of heredity in human improvement or degeneration. "All human qualities are inherited in a marked and probably equal degree." [2] Sweepingly this is enunciated, as a foundation principle of eugenics; "good and bad physique, the liability to and the immunity from disease, the moral characters and the mental temperament" [3] — all, so far as they

[1] Twenty-two at the end of 1915. — Ed.

[2] Pearson, The Groundwork of Eugenics, p. 20.

[3] Pearson, The Scope and Importance to the State of the Science of National Eugenics, p. 33.

are not acquired characters, are included in the claim. Environmental factors, on the contrary, exert an influence of altogether subordinate importance:

I will not dogmatically assert that environment matters not at all; phases of it may be discovered which produce more effect than any we have yet been able to deal with. But I think it quite safe to say that the influence of environment is not one fifth that of heredity, and quite possibly not one tenth of it.[1]

Hence, clearly, attempts at the alleviation or cure of human disabilities should look much more to human nature and much less to the external conditions of the *milieu* than has been usual; and should especially beware of such changes in law or social custom as, by slackening or perverting biological selection, more than undo the direct benefits they have sought to accomplish. Hence, too, that notoriously adverse selection due to the restricted birth rate fundamentally menaces the racial quality of the future; the more particularly since researches have shown that the neurotic, the insane, the tuberculous, and the criminal are more frequent among the elder-born members of families, and thus constitute an abnormally large proportion of the descendants of persons who have had exceptionally small families.[2] The advance of the science of medicine and the spread of education could make but poor headway against a steady running-out of the stock which they are called on to restore.

The philanthropist looks to hygiene, to education, to general environment, for the preservation of the race. It is the easy path, but it cannot achieve the desired result. These things are needful tools to the efficient, and passable crutches to the halt; but . . . there is no hope of racial purification in any environment which does not mean selection of the germ.[3] . . . Selection of parentage is the sole effective process known to science by which a race can continually progress.[4]

The conclusions announced by the Galton Laboratory have frequently been called in question. Authoritative biological opinion,

[1] Pearson, Nature and Nurture, p. 27.

[2] Cf. Pearson, The Problem of Practical Eugenics, p. 19. [This conclusion, like others of the Pearson school, has been seriously questioned by a number of statisticians and medical men. It cannot as yet be considered as scientifically established. — Ed.]

[3] The Scope and Importance . . . of National Eugenics, p. 39.

[4] The Groundwork of Eugenics, p. 20.

supported by quite different methods of research, has, to be sure, agreed in assigning much greater weight to heredity than to surrounding conditions. But the findings of Professor Pearson and his collaborators have challenged prevalent opinion so often as to plunge the authors in controversy. In particular, the studies dealing with the effects of parental alcoholism upon children have provoked much hostile comment. Obviously, the assertion that no marked influence on the physique and mentality of the child is produced by alcoholism of the parents discredits much of the best-meant effort now devoted to social betterment, and seems nothing less than high treason to the zealots of the temperance cause. Sentimental protest against such a finding was inevitable. In this instance the temper of the protests had doubtless been exacerbated by irritation at the mathematical treatment which characterizes all the work of the Eugenics Laboratory, and makes the published results nearly or quite unintelligible to persons unfamiliar with the manner of analysis and statement there employed. The criticism which results from prejudice and misunderstanding is, of course, negligible. There remains, however, a valid ground for objection to the assumptions of the actuarial method in itself. To make this more clear it will be necessary to outline a different interpretation of the phenomena of heredity, for purposes of comparison.

According to the Mendelian school, a cardinal principle of heredity is to be recognized in the segregation of alternative characters. The effect of this principle is that the so-called unit characters are, in heredity, indivisible. A given unit character either appears completely or wholly fails to appear in the bodily make-up of an individual. Thus, for example, either a man is color-blind or he is not, much as a person is either male or female. In so far as inheritance is in this way alternative the intermediate blending of unit characteristics is precluded. The disciple of Mendel therefore conducts his investigations "in such a way that the only possible answer is a direct 'Yes' or a direct 'No.'"[1]

The "actuarial" study of heredity, on the other hand, rests on an altogether different assumption. The Galtonian analysis, and

[1] W. Bateson, The Methods and Scope of Genetics, p. 20.

the formulæ of Professor Pearson which have developed and emended it, are based on the view that the traits of an individual are not alternative unit characters, but variations of greater or less degree in either direction from an intermediate normal type; and that, if a large number of cases be studied together, the distribution of observed variations about the mean will exemplify the "normal frequency" computed according to the theory of probabilities. Consequently the investigator at the Galton Laboratory does not ask questions to be answered by "yes" or "no." He asks, "to what extent?" and expresses his answer numerically in a coefficient of correlation.

Theoretically, then, if the Mendelian formulation is right, the actuarial method is wrong. Between two alternative unit characters a mean, in the sense of an actual intermediate type, does not exist. In such a case the biometricians' concept of deviations from the normal has no justification in fact. If proof of the incompatibility of the two interpretations were needed, it might be found in the reluctance of Professor Pearson to accept the almost conclusive evidence adduced by experimenters of the other school. In practice, to be sure, the actuarial procedure may yield results broadly corresponding to the conclusions of the Mendelians; especially where the mass of data is large or the characters studied, being in reality complex groups of undistinguished unit characters, yield collective results which partake of the nature of averages. But correlation methods afford at best a blind and clumsy way of dealing with unit characters. If the unit-character theory continues to gain ascendancy, as now seems likely, the authority of the biometricians will decline, and the value of the publications which have thus far issued from the Galton Laboratory will decline with it. Yet even though the actuarial method be supplanted, it will have served a useful purpose by its example of quantitative work, inadequately conceived but rigorously carried out, at a time when the scientific pretensions of eugenics had still to be established.

Hardly more than a decade has yet elapsed since the rediscovery of Mendel's writings gave a new impulse to the experimental study of heredity. In the course of the search for fresh

biological testimony in support of Mendel's views not a little evidence has been derived from inquiries into the transmission of human traits. The general literature of Mendelism has given some attention to unit-character inheritance in man. But thus far the task of systematic eugenic investigation based on Mendelian principles has been largely left to American scientists.

Although the eugenics movement, under that name, is but a newcomer in America, the course of our earlier thinking and writing on social problems was not without its significant contributions to the subject of race improvement. The investigations of hereditary criminality carried on by Robert L. Dugdale, in 1874 and 1875, and summarized in his world-famous little book, *The Jukes*,[1] must rank among the most fruitful studies of degeneracy which have yet been made. Later, McCulloch's *Tribe of Ishmael* assembled more evidence of similar purport. Dr. Amos Warner's illuminating chapter on Charity as a Factor in Human Selection, published in his *American Charities* nearly twenty years ago, dates back to a period when, in his own words, there was "almost no literature bearing directly on the subject." Since then the debt of eugenics to scientific philanthropy in the United States has continued to grow. The proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction and of the American Prison Association have contained, from the times of Dugdale and McCulloch and Warner to the present day, interesting evidences of human heredity. Another branch of inquiry has sprung from the suggestion of Dr. Alexander Graham Bell's *Memoir upon the Formation of a Deaf Variety of the Human Race* (1883), which was followed by Dr. Fay's exhaustive work on *Marriages of the Deaf in America*, and supported by Dr. Bell's endowment of the Volta Bureau, at Washington, for the collection of information concerning deaf-mutes. From biological beginnings, revealed in a chapter or two of *Footnotes to Evolution*, Dr. David Starr Jordan developed the eugenic message of *The*

[1] 4th edition, 1910. Comparable to "The Jukes" are two monographs published by the Eugenics Record Office: The Nam Family, 1912, and The Hill Folk, 1912.—Ed.

Blood of the Nation and *The Human Harvest.* Latterly, Dr. Woods, in his *Mental and Moral Heredity in Royalty*, has produced a valuable book after the manner of Galton's earlier studies. On the other side, Professor Ward's *Applied Sociology*, weaving its author's social philosophy and the conclusions of Alfred Odin's *Genèse des grands hommes* into a remarkable protest against the physical determinism of heredity as expressed in Galton's work, glowingly affirms the power of society to develop latent genius by the fostering social environment of education. Such are a few conspicuous examples of pioneer eugenic thought in this country. With them should be mentioned the little-known project of Mr. Loring Moody, of Boston, who, in 1881 or 1882, proposed to establish an Institute of Heredity, and, by means of a school with lectures and a library, to diffuse "knowledge on the subject of improving our race by the laws of physiology."[1] This plan, however, was frustrated by Mr. Moody's death, and the organized dissemination of eugenic instruction which it contemplated long remained unrealized.

A new phase of eugenics in this country began in 1906 with the appointment of the Committee on Eugenics of the American Breeders' Association.[2] The latter society had been formed in 1903, by scientific breeders of animals and plants, to promote the study of heredity in its bearings upon their methods. When, with the purpose of organizing this study, the Association determined to appoint a comprehensive system of committees, it recognized the applications of heredity to human well-being by naming a Committee on Eugenics. Some persons, to be sure, felt at that time that a wholly independent organization would be more appropriate. The American Breeders' Association consequently authorized its eugenics committee to sever itself from the parent society if that course should be deemed best. But the opinion prevailed that the serious study of human heredity would be promoted by close alliance with investigators in related fields; and that in so far as sentimental adherents might be frightened away by distaste for so frank an analogy between the breeding of

[1] The details of this project have been communicated to the Eugenics Record Office.

[2] Now the American Genetic Association. — Ed.

men and the breeding of cattle, the effect on the ultimate usefulness of the committee would be more salutary than otherwise. Accordingly, for three or four years the Committee on Eugenics continued to exist, with a growing membership and a slowly widening sphere of activity. Then, in July, 1910, it was raised to the rank of Eugenics Section, coördinate with the Plant Section and Animal Section of the original constitution, and permitted to form committees of its own. The committees at present organized are concerned with the heredity, respectively, of the feeble-minded, of insanity, of epilepsy, of criminality, and of deaf-mutism. Each committee has its chairman and its secretary, experts in the special subject. The chairman of the Eugenics Section as a whole is David Starr Jordan; and the secretary is Dr. Charles B. Davenport, director of the Department of Experimental Evolution of the Carnegie Institution, at Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, where the work of the section virtually centered until the Eugenics Record Office was founded in order more definitely to centralize and supplement the activities of the several committees.

The Eugenics Record Office was opened in October, 1910, in a building of its own at Cold Spring Harbor, on land adjoining the experiment station of the Carnegie Institution. This proximity permits of close touch between the investigators of human inheritance and the biological experimenters, and makes it possible for Dr. Davenport to direct the work of both. But the Record Office is none the less distinct, as it is maintained by special funds from contributors interested in the cause, and manned by its own staff.

The main work of the Record Office is the collection of family pedigrees revealing the presence of some trait or defect the inheritance of which is to be studied. Inasmuch as these pedigrees are analyzed not in masses and by averages, but individually according to Mendelian principles of descent, it is important that each should, if practicable, comprise the history of a wide family connection through several generations, with all possible detail that might bear on the subject of inquiry. The data for such compilations are secured partly by correspondence, in the form of standardized "Records of Family Traits," and partly through the field

workers of the Record Office or of coöperating hospitals, asylums, and other institutions. Once secured, the material is recorded in genealogical charts, with the aid of conventional symbols showing at a glance not only degrees of relationship, but also legitimacy; sex; cause of death; bad habits, diseases, or defects such as alcoholism, habitual wandering, criminality, sexual immorality, tuberculosis, syphilis, epilepsy, feeble-mindedness, insanity, paralysis, neurotic condition, deafness, blindness; or, if the information establishes it, normality. The completed records are kept on file in a fireproof room at Cold Spring Harbor, and made particularly accessible by an elaborate system of catalogue references to families, localities, characteristics, and the like. As evidence accumulates it is published in the form of Eugenic Record Office Bulletins, Memoirs, and Reports.

Thus far the researches of the Record Office have centered mainly about the heredity of mental disease and deficiency. The field workers have delved in the family histories of certain isolated, inbred, and degenerate communities in New York and New England. The striking lesson which these inquiries already foreshadow is not all that is gained. During the summer months the staff of the Record Office directs the training of a class in eugenic field work, conducting its students through isolated districts where the feeble-minded are found living in hovels, and more particularly through establishments for the insane and feeble-minded. There the students, confronted with patients and histories of patients, see with their own eyes a telling demonstration of the cost, in misery and care, caused by the breeding of tainted stocks. More than that, the students and their methods are themselves seen by the persons in charge of hospitals and asylums, who are thus often convinced of the value, for their own purposes and for the public good, of such a tracing back of the ailments which they treat. The directors of the Eugenics Record Office have met with hearty coöperation at such institutions; and it is most gratifying to hear that more than one State has taken steps to support in some measure the scientific economy of an investigation which may lead to a momentous reduction of the burden of caring for the mentally unsound.

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The practical application of eugenic principles lies mostly in the future, when there shall be more certain knowledge of the true principles to apply. But in the meantime, as knowledge grows, opportunity is given at least for partial and temporary remedial measures, to check the apparent degenerative tendencies that contemporary economic and social conditions create. Moreover, if an ultimate policy of race improvement is to be elaborated, there must be a working hypothesis of the task to be accomplished. For both these reasons eugenists must look toward the problem of practical eugenic procedure, and consider in particular, though it be only provisionally, the distinction between positive and negative, or, in the happier terms of Mr. Crackanthorpe, constructive and restrictive, eugenics.[1] Is the eugenic ideal more attainable by promoting the increase of superior stock and thus cultivating high ability, or by checking the propagation of the inferior, and so eliminating the congenitally unfit?

It has been maintained that positive and negative eugenics are one and the same process, viewed from opposite sides: that the relative increase of the better is the relative decrease of the worse. However true this may be as an abstraction, it is not necessarily so significant in its application to actual conditions. We cannot divide all of mankind sharply into sheep and goats and deal with either half in its entirety. Practically, eugenics is likely always to have to concentrate its efforts on the comparatively few who are manifestly good or notoriously bad — working at the fringes of the population and leaving untouched a great residuum of mediocrity. And since these two conspicuous fringes may be of very different extent, very unequally distinguishable from the general stuff of society, and very unlike in their amenability to control, it is by no means clear that the reformer can work, at his pleasure, upon either the top or the bottom with the same result.

For several reasons restrictive eugenics offers at present the greater promise of a beneficial outcome. A number of human defects, easily recognized and apparently nearly or quite unit characters in inheritance, are by common assent heavy burdens to

[1] Cf. Eugenics Education Society, Second Annual Report, pp. 7–8.

the individual whom they afflict and the community in which he lives. Insanity, deaf-mutism, serious congenital defects of vision, epilepsy, hæmophilia, would be grave disabilities in any state of society which we may reasonably foresee. The feeble-minded, already anachronisms of evolution, must presumably become more and more tragic laggards as intellectual development goes on. On the other hand, the positive virtues of the future are not so obvious and simple. Energy, versatility, a nervous organization sensitive but not fragile, strong parental instinct, altruism — such have been suggested as eugenic ideals; but they, like the still more general desiderata of ability and health, are not so much unit characters as complexes and coördinations of qualities which our present understanding of heredity would find baffling and intractable.[1] Galton himself was not unaware of these perplexities;[2] though he made but a lame attempt to evade them by contending that "conflicting ideals . . . alternative characters . . . are wanted to give fullness and interest to life."[3] His conclusion that "the aim of Eugenics is to represent each class or sect by its best specimens; that done, to leave them to work out their common civilization in their own way,"[4] scatters the difficulty, but does not meet it. Indeed, it adds to the previous confusion an impossible suggestion of a society compounded of as many subraces as there are recognizable virtues.

Aside from these obstacles, the realization of constructive or positive eugenics awaits the coming of the eugenic conscience. Legislation, as we know it, can decree "Thou shalt not" and execute its decrees against unfit parenthood by segregation of defectives; it is nearly powerless to enforce "Thou shalt." Even conscience could more easily master the primeval impulse that actuates human increase than create parental instinct where it did not already exist. Voluntary celibacy induced by a sense of eugenic duty is undeniably an unfortunate and perverse expedient. It almost surely aggravates the infertility of the thinking classes,

[1] Cf. the trenchant chapter on The Problem of the Birth Supply in H. G. Wells's "Mankind in the Making."

[2] Cf. "Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope and Aims," Sociological Papers, 1904, p. 45. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 46. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

and further weakens the spirit of nothing venture, nothing have, which national vigor and natural selection require. Nevertheless, where it is practiced it does accomplish the extinction of defective stock. Therein it is more effectual than the opposite manifestation of duty is likely to be. For the vital human qualities will not be found to thrive in the atmosphere of a family life which is merely conscientious.

Whatever the cogency of this reasoning, the preponderance of eugenic writers advocate the adoption of restrictive rather than constructive eugenics, believing that thus indirectly a result really more constructive will be achieved. In fact, before the eugenics movement had begun to make headway, many a worker among the criminal, degenerate, or diseased, had observed the nemesis that follows them from one generation to another, and had become persuaded that for the good of society and the rescue of unborn posterity such blighted lines of descent should be cut off. A concrete result of this conviction is to be seen in the restrictive marriage laws of a number of the American States, and several foreign countries, designed to prevent the marriage of persons afflicted with epilepsy, feeble-mindedness, or other specified defects or diseases. A motley literature, for the most part marked by advocacy of radical remedies, has been another result. An extreme example of such writings is W. D. McKim's *Heredity and Human Progress*, the author of which, satisfied "that heredity is the fundamental cause of human wretchedness," and without faith in the adequacy of systematic segregation to root out the evils he describes, argues for Nature's method of elimination by means of "a *gentle, painless death*," from carbonic acid gas asphyxiation, "restricting the plan, however, to the *very* weak and the *very* vicious," — idiots, imbeciles, most epileptics, insane or incorrigible criminals, and others who for one grave cause or another are now supported or detained by the State.[1] Saner and altogether more impressive is the argument of Dr. Rentoul's earnest book, *Race Culture; or, Race Suicide?* in favor of surgical sterilization of degenerates and defectives. The operation of vasectomy, which Dr. Rentoul first proposed as a eugenic

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 188.

measure some years ago, and to which the name of "Rentoul's operation" is not infrequently applied, has already assumed importance as a practical measure. Sterilization, by this or some other method, has been legalized as a preventive of the procreation of the imbecile, insane, and criminal in Indiana (1907), California (1909, amended in 1913), Connecticut (1909), and New Jersey (1911).[1] The results of this striking experiment are thus far regarded as favorable, though experience has been too brief and too limited to warrant a final judgment.[2]

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A review of what has been accomplished in the field of eugenics during the last decade clearly reveals that most of the solid writing and of the really scientific and useful work has come from biologists. The competent student of economic and social questions has rendered comparatively little aid. Perhaps until now his abstention from the discussion has been wise. Experts were not needed to repeat the memorable suggestion that a civilization which should acquire control over the qualities of the human breed might thereby control human welfare also. That suggestion, vital in itself, has been readily enough kept alive by the conviction of the inexpert that anything is the better for tinkering; and in the meantime the biologists, called upon to answer in terms of the laws of heredity whether such modification of mankind is possible, have been coming more and more to the conviction that whoever can determine marriage selection in the present will determine, within large limits, the physique and intellect of the future, and will become in a new sense the maker of history. But in proportion as the biologist foreshadows the physical possibilities of heredity and selection, the want grows for wisdom with which

[1] At the end of 1913 the following states, in addition to those above mentioned, had sterilization statutes: Washington, 1909 (applies to rapists only), Nevada, 1912 (applies only to rapists and "habitual criminals"); Iowa, 1911; New York, 1912; North Dakota, 1913; Michigan, 1913; Kansas, 1913; Wisconsin, 1913. Oregon passed a law in 1913, but the people revoked it by referendum a few months later. — Ed.

[2] For a thorough critical study of the existing sterilization statutes and their operation, and for a proposed model law, see Bulletin No. 10 B of the Eugenics Record Office, "The Legal, Legislative, and Administrative Aspects of Sterilization" (1914), especially chaps. vi, vii, viii. — Ed.

to utilize them. What sort of history, then, is best worth the making? What sort of history does it lie within our power to bring to pass? Is this momentous marriage selection, from motives half rational, half mystical, in their veneration of the continuance of life, to prevail in spite of popular ignorance and passion? Or, leaving this question of practicability for experience to decide, is it after all sensible to burden the present generation with concern for generations of the future whose needs we can hardly foretell; and, in subservience to the science of the day, to repudiate instinct older than all human experience by "falling in love intelligently"?[1] We have need of a social philosophy to tell us how far eugenic reforms are reasonable and worth while.

Even in its broadly biological aspects eugenics is involved in the long-standing demarcation dispute over the respective jurisdictions of man's artificial control and the unmodified course of natural evolution. Less than twenty years ago one of the greatest of biologists, writing on this very subject, declared in no uncertain terms his disbelief in the practice of artificial selection, as a means of human betterment, by reformers who would eliminate the weak and unfortunate, and "on whose matrimonial undertakings the principles of the stud have the chief influence."[2] Knowledge has grown, no doubt, since *Evolution and Ethics* was written, and new discoveries have gone far to discredit Huxley's belittlement of the potency of human selective agencies. The details of the biological mechanism by which changes are effected have become far better known. More dubious is the question how much advance has been made toward a wise guidance of such agencies. For Huxley, there was "no hope that mere human beings will ever possess enough intelligence to select the fittest."[3] Possibly the social consciousness of a people is an abler guide than he recognized. Perhaps, although the fittest state of society is beyond our perception, we may achieve by means of eugenic selection a succession of experimental changes which seem to us for the better. But still the order of nature decrees that eugenic experiments made in haste are repented at leisure. The

[1] Cf. Davenport, Eugenics, chap. i, § 3.

[2] Huxley, Evolution and Ethics, Prolegomena, p. 37.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

eugenist who modifies the race type in the present predetermines for better or worse the mental and physical endowment of distant posterity. In the final analysis, eugenics, like other attempts at lasting reform, must move with the stream of processes which preceded human intervention and limit it still.

Yet in such a stream a steered course may well be better than mere drifting. Traits that have shown themselves the constant sources of weakness and suffering for generations, or through successive culture epochs, seem authoritatively marked by the protest of nature as proper for extirpation. When, on the other hand, physical organs or mental capacities of fundamental importance in modern life show signs of failing under the burden of the civilization which has been built like a superstructure upon them, the continuance of the present manner of civilization demands a strengthening of these, its organic foundations. So much may be hazarded, in generalization, touching the cases in which eugenic initiative is compatible with natural selection. But the eugenist in action must always proceed with the caution of one who reckons with the inscrutable.

If the task of eugenics were to establish a new aristocracy of inborn ability, the prospect of success would be less obscure. The historical institutions of ruling castes and hereditary nobilities have shown that the special capacity which in one generation after another can seize and retain for itself special opportunity has long been competent to raise the family line of its possessors above their less favored fellow men. Now modern biology, from a new standpoint and with new significance, reasserts the privilege of birth. It is not surprising, therefore, that writers from Galton down, arguing for the eugenic selection which shall perpetuate and intensify exceptional ability, have virtually proposed an aristocratic social order of a novel kind. But every preferment of the abler members of a community is tantamount to a degradation of the less gifted. To create an exclusive caste founded on eugenic superiority would be to intensify the unhappiness of such persons as are already inferior. The principle of the survival of the fittest normally involves wholesale sacrifice of the unfit; but such unmitigated rigor of selection does not commend itself as a humane

method of social amelioration. Nor is the temper of the times favorable to aristocracies of any sort. It calls for a general betterment of the whole mass of mankind.

Can eugenics bring to pass this universal improvement? Probably many a devoted follower of the cause has assumed that if its benefits can be realized by any they might be extended to all. Such was the vision of Greg:

> Every damaged or inferior temperament might be eliminated, and every special and superior one be selected and enthroned, till the human race, both in its manhood and its womanhood, became one glorious fellowship of saints, sages and athletes; till we were all Blondins, all Shakespeares, Pericles', Socrates', Columbuses, and Fénelons.[1]

But to hold such opinions is to ignore the relativity of success, and to miss the very meaning of eminence. In a world of Blondins a tight-rope walker would command no profit or applause. A world of great teachers would lack for pupils to be taught. The unknown continent which every one had found could hardly immortalize its multitudinous discoverers. Nor could any one master dramatist make mankind his audience so long as all clamored with equal right for hearing. Unfortunately, too often we overlook, in our projects of reform, the comparative character of individual attainments and individual happiness. We bemoan the rarity of greatness, forgetting how largely the exceptional individuals whom we call great are great because they are exceptional. If, then, we are to elevate a whole community, we must work by a standard free from the element of invidiousness; for no social reform can achieve a general improvement of men's positions relative to the positions of their fellow men.[2]

Apparently then, eugenic selection is concerned not with the conditions of eminence but with the conditions of efficiency. It must work for the internal efficiency which we roughly call sanity and a good constitution, and for the external efficiency which enables an individual, regardless of the comparative efficiency of

[1] Enigmas of Life, p. 112.

[2] It is interesting to note that this fact, so often ignored in contemporary discussions of eugenics, was emphasized by Mr. Lawson Tait more than forty years ago, with reference to the passage from Greg cited in the text. Cf. *Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science*, Vol. XLVII, p. 112.

other individuals, to make steady progress in forcing his non-human surroundings into conformity with his needs. Doubtless the distinctions here implied are indefinite. For instance, the personal advantage of health and strength is diminished if equal physical vigor becomes the common possession of all. Unusual prowess in exploiting external physical resources — that is to say exceptional economic success — has notoriously been among the most potent causes of inequality. Yet in a civilization which already ministers, by palliatives, to ill health; and in which the distributed burden of caring for the incompetent almost certainly drags more heavily on those who are stronger than would the potential competition which incompetency now holds in check — in such a civilization, the promise of gain to come from the eradication of feeble-mindedness, or insanity, or the proneness to consumption, would outweigh any new stress of circumstances which it might involve. And with this alleviation of the miseries from within might come augmented economic efficiency, not of the few, but of the many: a general and continuous advance in those characteristics of body and mind which make for man's larger control of heretofore reluctant gifts of nature.

If this sketching of the possibilities is even roughly true it calls again for the verdict of the biologist. Already he has shown reason to believe that factors of health and disease act in heredity with a simplicity and directness which permit of intelligent control. It is now to be seen whether the constructive economic virtues may similarly be resolved in terms of tractable unit characters, and how far they may be reënforced with social solidarity capable of binding over to the service of the common welfare the industrial aggressiveness which might otherwise only aggravate the antagonisms of economic life. The future of eugenics thus depends still on the progress of sober, discriminating research in heredity. The time for applied eugenics, except in the restriction of obvious and serious disabilities, has hardly come.

But it is by no means only the biologist whose judgment is required. Again and again, in the light of biological discoveries a more adequate answer must be sought to that crucial question the significance of which the biologists have mostly failed to

comprehend: granting that by rational marriage selection certain recombinations of human characteristics can be effected at will, what eugenic policy promises the maximum increase of human welfare? To aid in answering that question the economist is needed. For health and strength and intellect work out the good or ill fortunes of their possessors according to the ways of economic civilization, and not by process of brute struggle for existence. Eugenics is not mere biology. The problems of eugenics are problems of human society.

14. THE PSYCHO-PHYSICAL ÉLITE AND THE ECONOMIC ÉLITE[1]

No one is more inclined than I am to praise and promote the efforts of the eugenists to develop a better and more perfect humanity, but I am of opinion that this work cannot be accomplished with the necessary success unless the particular sphere in which it is intended to operate is first exactly defined.

As I understand the matter, it is expedient to distribute men according to their physical and mental capacities, and to encourage marriage exclusively amongst those who are best endowed physically and morally, and that individuals who are physically and morally inferior should be excluded from marriage as far as possible. But this plan encounters the gravest practical difficulties, since it is not easy to grade men according to their capacities. Let us ignore that which relates to physical qualities, which can be subjected to a fairly satisfactory valuation. Very different is the case as regards mental and moral qualities, since a dynamometer of intellect has not yet been discovered. It is true some efforts have been made to classify scholars according to the results gained in their examinations, and Galton has worked on this plan, observing the distinctions of the graduates of the University of Cambridge. But this method is very fallible and uncertain, because often those first in the schools appear

[1] By Achille Loria. From Problems in Eugenics; Papers Communicated to the First International Eugenics Congress, pp. 179–183. The Eugenics Education Society, London, 1912.

perfect imbeciles in life. Some men can be judged from their works — but these are always a small minority, and, besides, this method of judging is very difficult and uncertain, because it varies with the inclinations and tastes of the judge. And it must be noted that many men, and these often the best, do not leave behind them literary and scientific productions. Hence, there are many men who, though endowed with a most choice intellect, do not leave any visible trace behind them.

In view of these formidable difficulties, the idea naturally arises of inferring the physical and mental aptitudes of individuals from their social or economic position, or from their income, which is easily estimated by methods accessible to all. And so many propose to assume that the economic élite may be regarded as the index and product of the psycho-physical élite. If we take a very numerous mass of men and arrange them according to their income, we find ourselves, it is affirmed, in face of a very positive classification which will be able to serve as a safe and easy guide in our task of eugenics.

Assuming, in fact, that the position of individuals in this classification is an index of their position in the hierarchy of aptitudes, we should seek to promote marriages in the most elevated classes and to prevent, as far as possible, marriages of the inferior classes. It is important to note that this policy coincides in substance with that advised by Malthus, who wished that individuals of the superior classes should marry, and that those of the inferior classes should not marry. He, indeed, advised this course in order to prevent the excess of population over the means of subsistence, while the eugenists recommend it in order to prevent the propagation of degenerates. But the result is substantially the same.

But all these proposals arise from the idea that there is a very strict analogy between the economic élite and the psycho-physical élite, and that the former can be correctly inferred and substituted for the other. Now, that is precisely what I deny. The economic élite is not at all the product of the possession of superior qualities, but is simply the result of the blind struggle of the incomes, which brings to the top those who originally possess a larger

income through reasons which may be absolutely independent of the possession of superior capacity. This is a thesis which I have fully developed in my "Economic Synthesis" (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1911)[1] by a series of proofs which it is not possible to sum up here. I shall confine myself to briefly summing up the point of my thought. Let us suppose, by a hypothesis far removed from the facts, that all individuals are endowed with equal psycho-physical aptitudes, but that, at the beginning of the period of observation, they are divided into groups furnished with a different average income, which naturally does not exclude some disparity amongst the individuals possessing that income. This divergence amongst the average incomes of the various groups, as of the individuals in each group, can easily exist, even assuming that their individual capacities were identical, since it can arise simply from the possession of more fertile land, or more generally from property situated in more favorable physical conditions. Now, amongst these individuals thus furnished with diverse incomes, there breaks forth a furious economic struggle, which is carried on with methods of violence, fraud, and monopoly, and has as its result the ascent of the conquerors to a sphere of superior income, and the descent of the conquered into a sphere of inferior income. So, as the intensity of the struggle is in direct relation to the amount of income, it will be greater in the spheres of superior incomes, hence in these spheres there will be the greater number of income-holders who will be cast down.

Therefore, supposing that at the beginning of the period of observation the various groups contained an equal number of income-holders, or that the entire number of the income-holders of various grades presented the figure of a square, the struggle amongst the income-holders would gradually bring about a progressive thinning of the spheres of the superior income-holders, and hence transform the original square into a pyramid. Now, those who come to find themselves at the summit of this pyramid do not find themselves there through the possession of superior capacity, but solely by the blind influence of the struggle amongst the income-holders. It may certainly be said it is possible that

[1] English translation, London, 1914.

some of them are equipped with superior mental capacity, but it may also be possible that the large majority of them are composed of degenerates, and that no section of them excludes this class.

The history of great fortunes goes to show that most often great patrimonies are created, not so much by supreme genius, as by shameful and iniquitous practices.

The historical family of De Lazareff in Russia has for head of the race an Indian slave, a guardian in the temple of Siva, who one night steals one of the colossal diamonds forming the eyes of the god, and with this flies into Russia, where he sells the precious gem to Catherine for a million and a half roubles. And Myers, in his recent work upon great fortunes, has endeavored to show how the property of American millionaires has frequently been obtained by means of frauds and the most odious defalcations. Besides, if the founders of great fortunes should by chance be gifted with superior capacity, it is certain that their descendants should be wanting in these, because with regard to them that law of "return to the mean," which Galton has successfully established, would apply. Thus, at any given moment, economic superiority is by no means an index of superior psycho-physical aptitudes, whether because many of those who now possess that position do not acquire it by virtue of the possession of elevated mental capacity, or because all the others who have inherited these positions from preceding possessors are completely devoid of such aptitudes. Thus, economic superiority cannot in any case be assumed to be the measure or reflection of psycho-physical superiority.

But we can have an experimental proof of this conclusion, observing conjugal selection, as it is practiced to-day, and its results. And, in fact, conjugal selection at the present day is carried on precisely according to the principle which we contest, because, regularly, individuals belonging to the upper economic classes marry exclusively amongst themselves. Now, if individuals belonging to this class were truly the privileged depositories of superior aptitudes, clearly their offspring ought to show these aptitudes in marked degree, and, therefore, should present the

most wonderful results. Now, on the contrary, the very opposite takes place, and it is exactly marriages of class and caste which furnish the most deplorable results. Fahlbeck, in his authoritative work upon "Swedish Nobility," has shown how caste marriages prevailing amongst them produce a progressive degeneration, which manifests itself by frequent celibacy, much delayed marriage of the male sex, the large and increasing proportion of sterile marriages, the small and decreasing fecundity (now 15.4 per cent) always less than the death rate, the increasing number of female births, the increasing mortality of youths under 20 years of age, the deaths of the children before that of the parents, which gradually tends to cause the extinction of the stock. As a consequence of that, 70 per cent of the original noble families are now extinct, and notwithstanding the continual ennobling of bourgeois families, the number of noble families does not increase or very often declines. And Fahlbeck takes care to add that all this applies precisely to the whole wealthy class, of which the nobility is only a fragment.

But the same law of "return to the mean" which operates so inexorably in the circle of the upper classes, seems to me to be an ultimate proof of the absolute separation of psycho-physical superiority and eminence in the social scale. Let us take some individuals who are all possessed of a superior income, and therefore — according to the hypothesis which we dispute — of a mental quality above the average. If, now, these individuals marry, their children will inherit in marked degree their superior qualities, and hence will preserve, if not raise, the superior average of their stock, nor give cause for any phenomenon of regression, exception being made of the exceptional qualities of an extraordinarily gifted progenitor, which we can here completely ignore. Thus, if the caste selection were really a eugenic selection, it ought to preserve the superior average in the descendants and never give occasion for descent from it. But, on the contrary, these selected marriages give rise not only to a regression from the extraordinary qualities of some progenitor of the family, but precisely to a regression from the superior average to a fall into mediocrity.

Now, all this clearly cannot be understood or explained unless it is understood that the economically superior classes are not psychically superior classes, and on that account capable of producing a progeny superior to an indifferent average. If marriages included in this class gave origin to truly select offshoots, there would be in this fact an indication of the mental superiority of the progenitors. But if, on the contrary, these marriages gave origin to a degenerate offspring, it seems to me that such a fact throws a sufficiently unfavorable light upon the qualities of the progenitors, and that it destroys the theories that the economic élite are identical with the élite of thought and virtue.

With all this, naturally we do not wish to assert the opposite conclusion — that the economically superior classes are always inferior psychically and *vice versa* — a position which is disproved by the most elementary experience. More modestly affirming the absolute independence between the superiority of income and the superiority of intellect, we believe that we scrupulously attain to the proof from actual fact, which affords the clearest evidence of this independence.

And this conclusion seems to us the only one which can inspire a decisive and rational line of conduct to the existing eugenics movement. In fact, if we admit that a superiority of income indicates by itself a psycho-physical superiority, we must conclude that the conjugal selection which takes place to-day in the circle of class is at present conformable to eugenic principles and altogether excludes any practical propaganda to effect it. Do we desire, on the contrary, to accept the opposite affirmation, according to which psycho-physical eminence would be exclusively met with in the inferior classes? Well, then, in such a case we should be obliged to applaud the conjugal selection which is practiced to-day, which, accelerating the extinction of the superior classes, removes from the theater of life degenerate individuals and finally secures the survival of well-balanced and vigorous popular elements.

Thus any theory which recognizes the existence of a relation, direct or indirect, between psycho-physical superiority and economic superiority leads fatally to a eugenic nihilism and destroys all practical action. But, on the contrary, when one recognizes

(what is, besides, consistent with the facts) the absolute independence of psycho-physical and economical superiority, a precise field of action is open to eugenic policy. It is requisite to proceed to a minute and positive examination of individual characters, which must be directly ascertained and not inferred from the fantastic criterion of their economic position, and it is necessary to take care, by means of wise institutions, so that marriages may take place exclusively amongst the most select class, physically and mentally. This will certainly be a difficult task, and one demanding assiduous collective labor; and we are convinced that only this conscientious effort can lead to positive results, and such as will throw light upon our practical action.

15. THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF HEREDITARY FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS[1]

[Most attempted investigations into the hereditability of mental traits have been open to grave criticism because, if for no other reason, they have failed to isolate the hereditary influence from the influences of environment. Dr. Goddard's investigation of the ancestry of the feeble-minded girl "Deborah Kallikak," at the Vineland, New Jersey, Training School for Feeble-minded Girls and Boys, comes perhaps as near as it is possible to come in separating the effects of nature and nurture, and it is for that reason chosen for presentation here.

Deborah's ancestry was traced back to Martin Kallikak Sr. "When he was a boy of fifteen," says Dr. Goddard, "his father died, leaving him without parental care or oversight. Just before attaining his majority the young man joined one of the numerous military companies that were formed to protect the country at the beginning of the Revolution. At one of the taverns frequented by the militia he met a feeble-minded girl by whom he became the father of a feeble-minded son. This child was given, by its mother, the name of its father in full, and thus has been handed down to posterity the father's name and the mother's mental

[1] By H. H. Goddard. Adapted from The Kallikak Family, pp. 18, 29, 33–42, 50–69. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1912.

capacity. This illegitimate boy was Martin Kallikak Jr., and from him have come four hundred and eighty descendants. One hundred and forty-three of these, we have conclusive proof, were or are feeble-minded, while only forty-six have been found normal. The rest are unknown or doubtful.

"Martin Sr., on leaving the Revolutionary Army, straightened up and married a respectable girl of good family, and through that union has come another line of descendants of radically different character. These now number four hundred and ninety-six in direct descent. All of them are normal people. In this family and its collateral branches we find nothing but good representative citizenship."]

Chart I shows the line of descent of the Kallikak family from their first colonial ancestor. It was Martin who divided it into a bad branch on one hand and a good branch on the other. Each of these branches is traced through the line of the eldest son down to a person of the present generation. On the bad side it ends with Deborah Kallikak, an inmate of the Training School at Vineland, on the good side with the son of a prominent and wealthy citizen of the same family name, now resident of another State.

Chart II shows the children of Martin Sr. by his wife and by the nameless feeble-minded girl, and also the children of Martin Jr.

Then follow Charts III to VI and A to F,[1] giving in detail each of these two branches, the upper series being the normal family, the descendants of Martin Kallikak Sr. through his wife: the lower is the bad family, his descendants through the nameless feeble-minded girl who was not his wife.

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS

Individuals are represented by squares and circles, the squares being males, the circles, females. Black squares and circles (with a white "F") mean feeble-minded individuals; N means normal persons.

The clear squares or circles indicate that the mentality of the person is undetermined.

[1] Only about half of the original charts are here reproduced. — Ed.

"d. inf." means died in infancy.

A horizontal or slightly oblique line connects persons who are mated. Unless otherwise indicated, they are supposed to have been legally married.

The symbols dependent from the same horizontal line are for brothers and sisters.

A vertical line connecting this horizontal line with an individual or with a line connecting two individuals, indicates the parent or parents of the fraternity.

Letters placed around the symbol for an individual are as follows: A — Alcoholic, meaning decidedly intemperate, a drunkard; B — Blind; C — Criminalistic; D — Deaf; E — Epileptic; I — Insane; Sy — Syphilitic; Sx — Sexually immoral; T — Tuberculous.

A short vertical line dependent from the horizontal fraternity line indicates a child whose sex is unknown. An F at the end of the line indicates that such child was feeble-minded.

N? or F? indicates that the individual has not been definitely determined, but, considering all the data, it is concluded that on the whole, the person was probably normal or feeble-minded, as the letter signifies.

A small d. followed by a numeral means died at that age; b. means born, usually followed by the date.

A single figure below a symbol indicates that the symbol stands for more than one individual — the number denoted by the figure, *e.g.* a circle with a "4" below it, indicates that there were four girls in that fraternity, represented by that one symbol.

The Hand indicates the child that is in the Institution at Vineland, whose family history is the subject of the chart.

A black horizontal line under a symbol indicates that that individual was in some public institution at state expense.

The fact that the parents were not married is indicated either by the expression "unmarried" or by the word "illegitimate," placed near the symbol for the child.

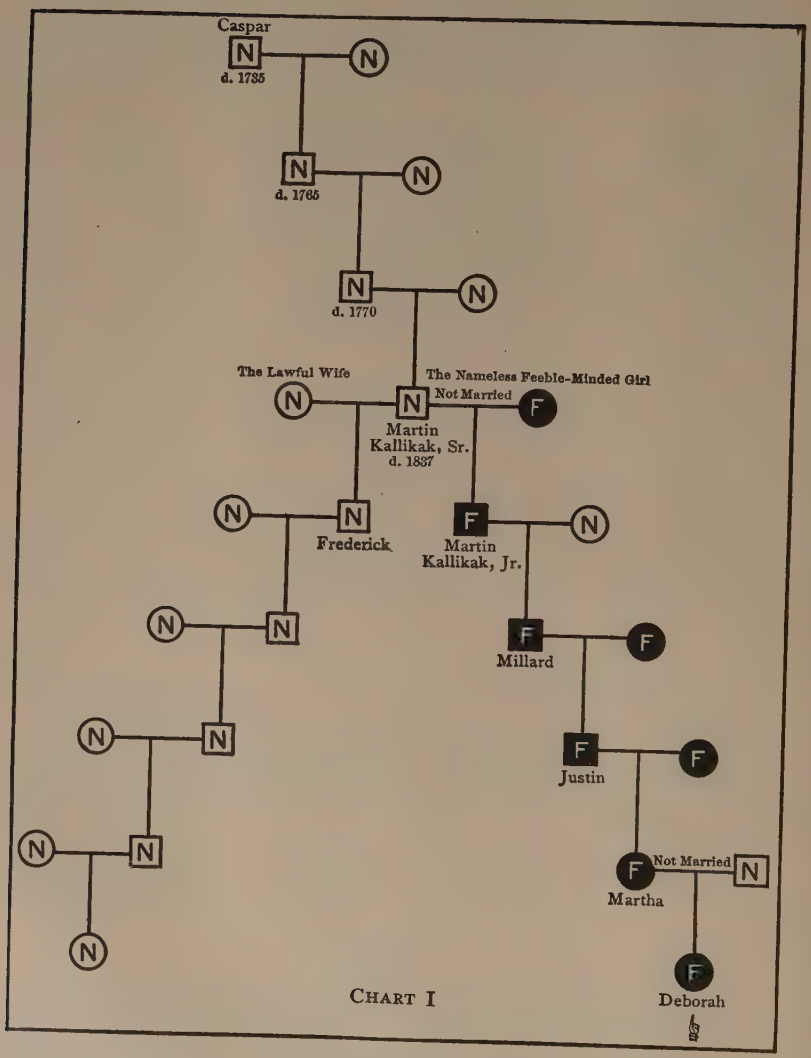
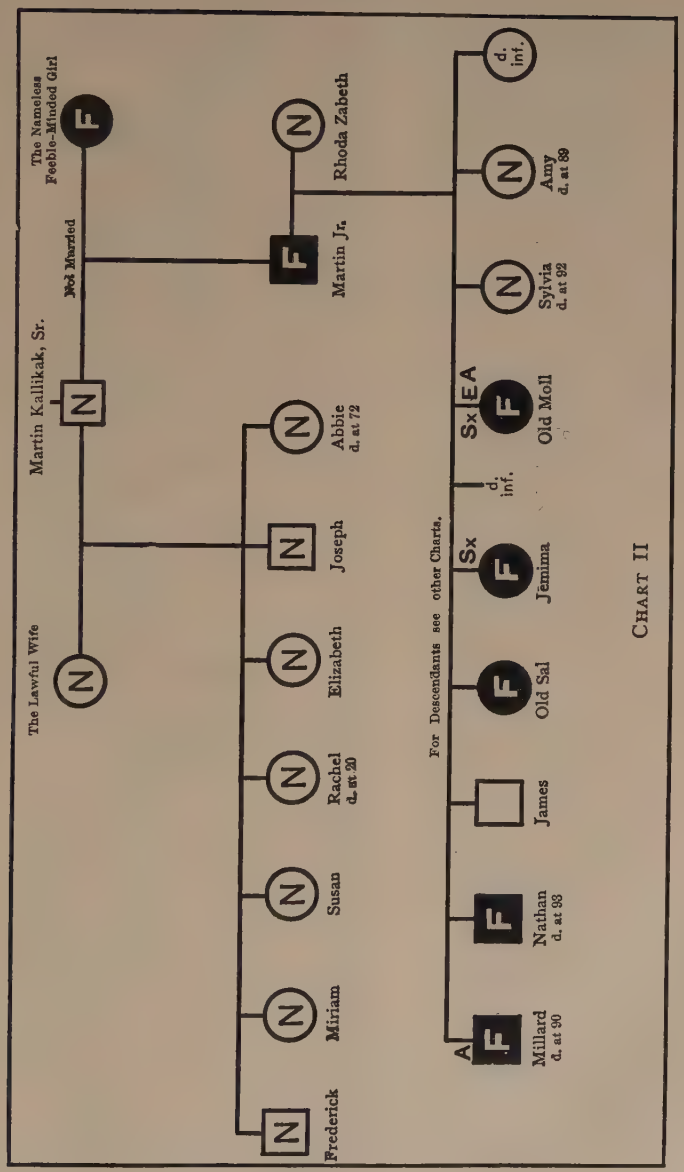
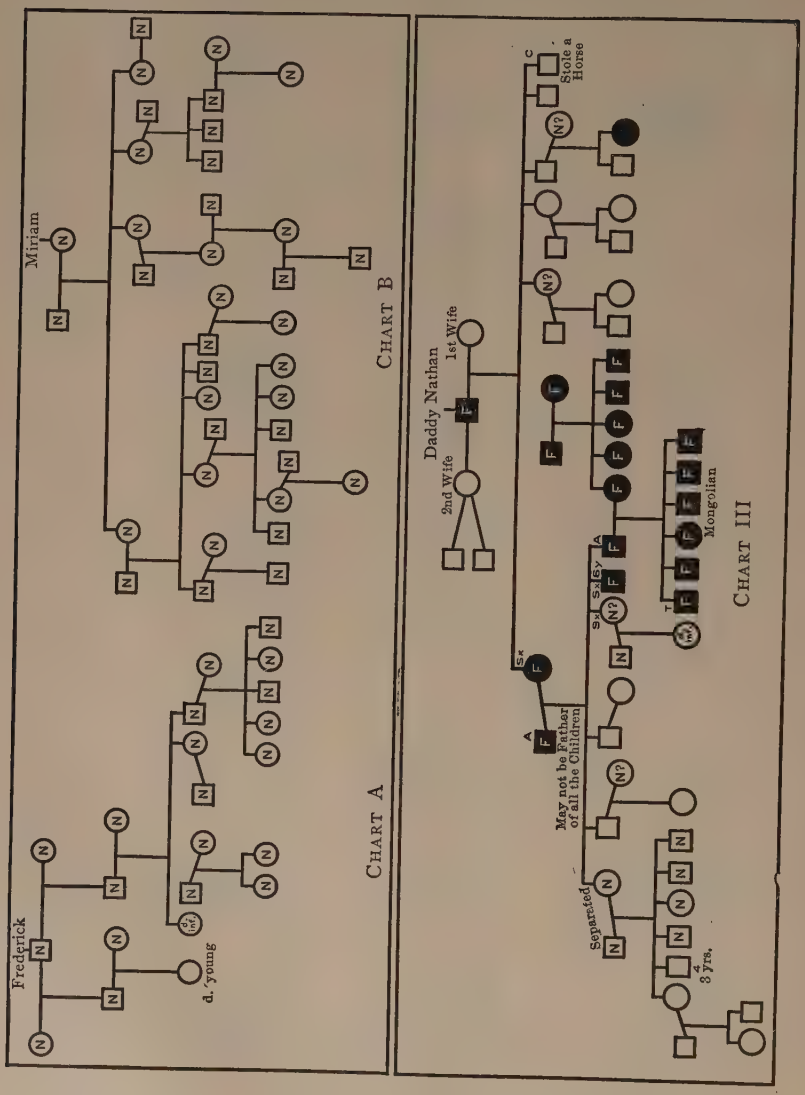
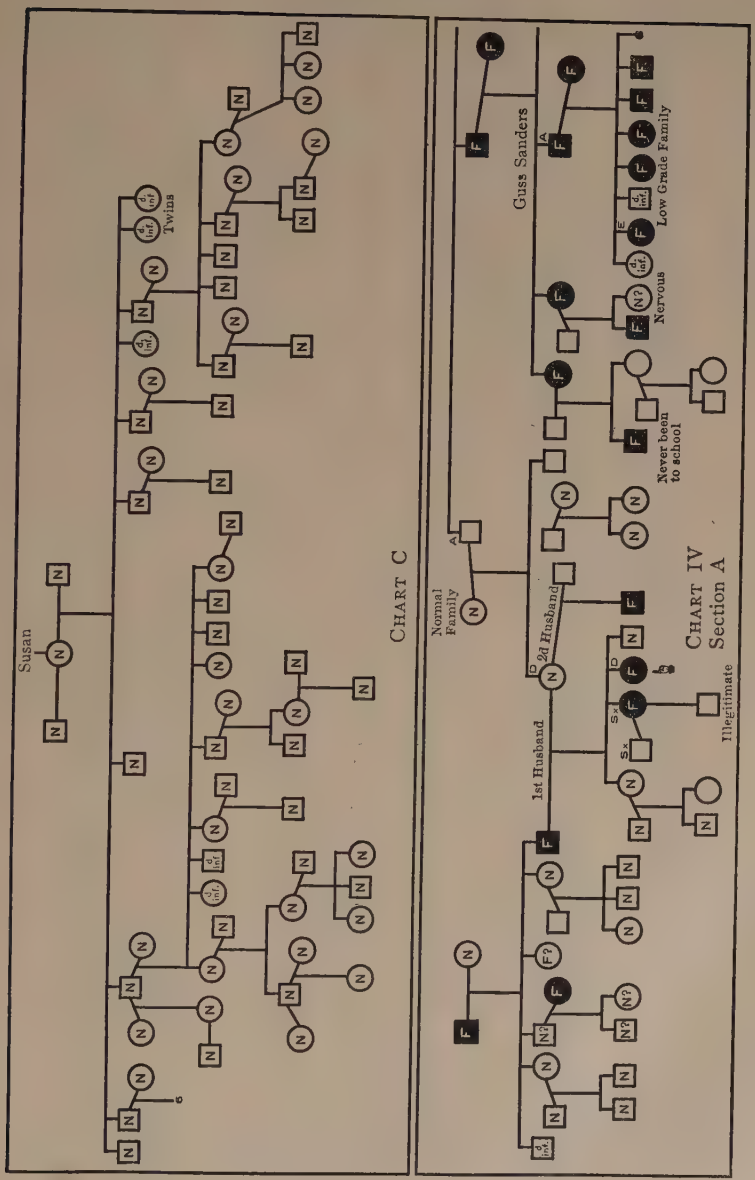
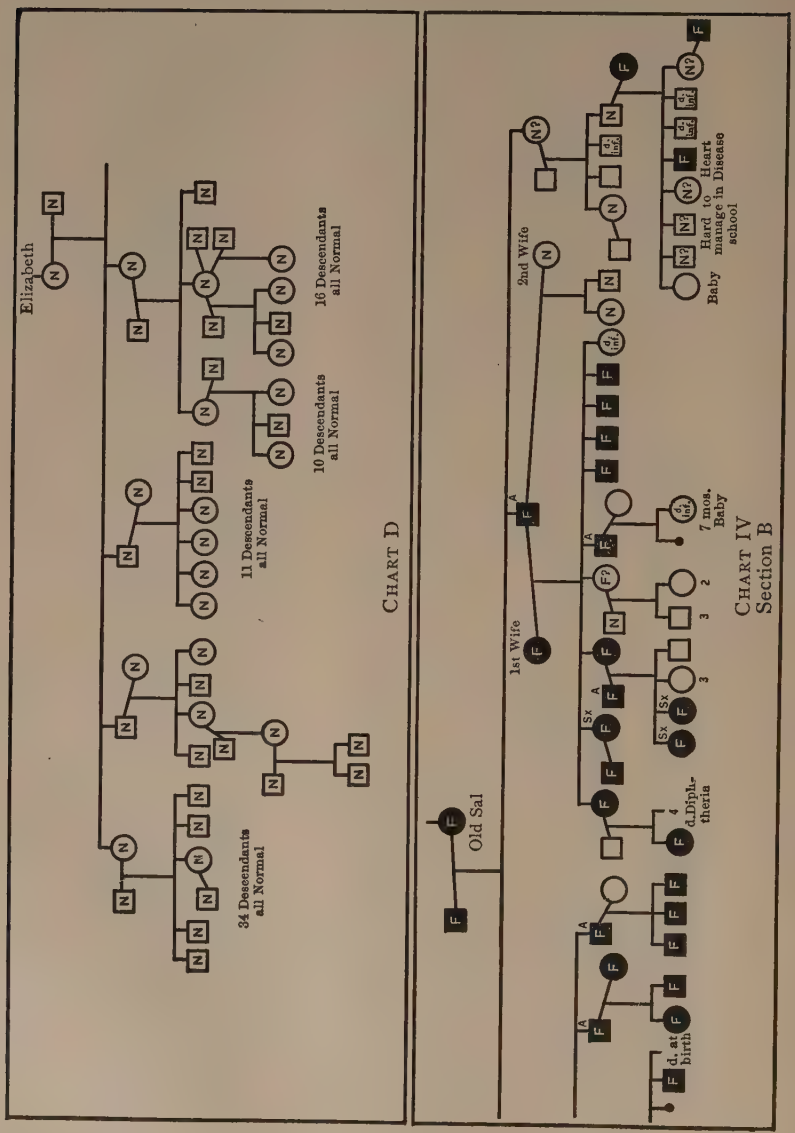

Caspar
N
d. 1735
N
N
d. 1765
N
N
d. 1770
N
The Lawful Wife
The Nameless Feeble-Minded Girl
Not Married
N
F
Martin
Kallikak, Sr.
d. 1837
N
N
Frederick
F
N
Martin
Kallikak, Jr.
N
N
F
F
Millard
N
N
F
F
Justin
N
N
F
Not Married
N
Martha
N
F
Deborah

CHART I


Martin Kallikak, Sr.
The Lawful Wife
The Nameless Feeble-Minded Girl
Not Married
Frederick
Miriam
Susan
Rachel d. at 20
Elizabeth
Joseph
Abbie d. at 72
Martin Jr.
Rhoda Zabeth
Millard d. at 90
Nathan d. at 93
James
Old Sal
Jemima
d. inf.
Old Moll
Sylvia d. at 92
Amy d. at 89
d. inf.
For Descendants see other Charts.
CHART II


Miriam
Frederick
d. young
CHART A
CHART B
Daddy Nathan
1st Wife
2nd Wife
Stole a Horse
May not be Father of all the Children
Separated
3 Yrs.
Mongolian
CHART III


Susan
Twins
CHART C
Normal Family
Guss Sanders
1st Husband
2d Husband
Nervous
Low Grade Family
Never been to school
Illegitimate
CHART IV
Section A


Elizabeth
34 Descendants all Normal
11 Descendants all Normal
10 Descendants all Normal
16 Descendants all Normal
CHART D
Old Sal
1st Wife
2nd Wife
d. at birth
4 d. Diphtheria
Sx
7 mos. Baby
Baby Hard to manage in school
Heart Disease
CHART IV
Section B

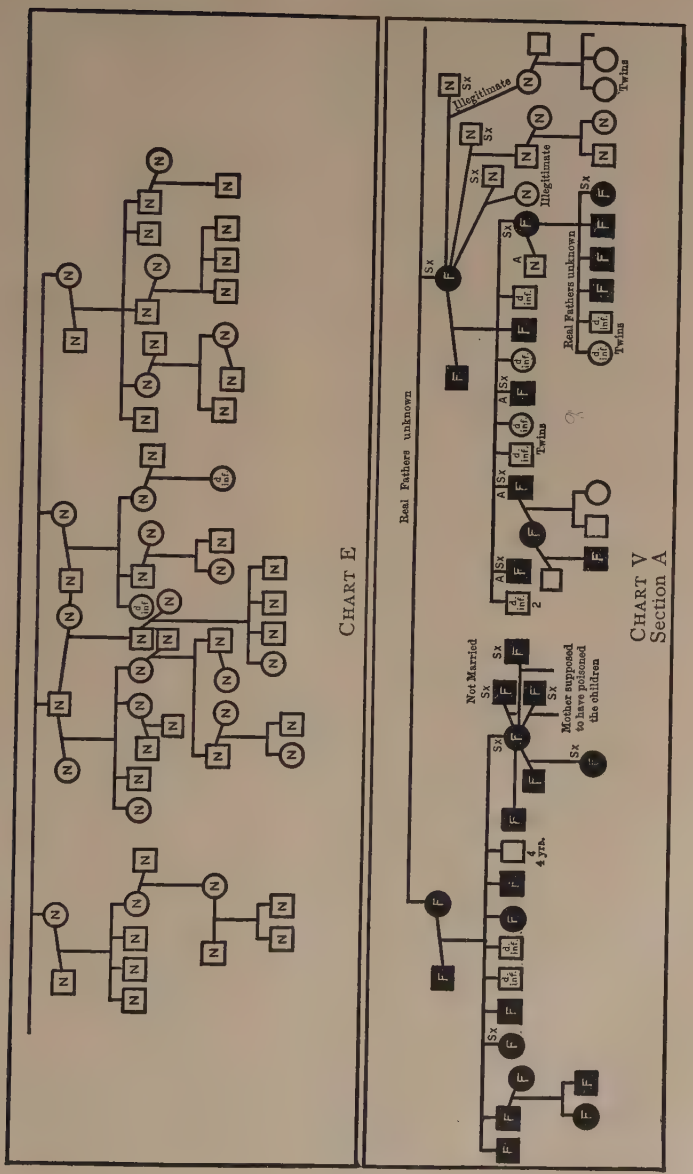
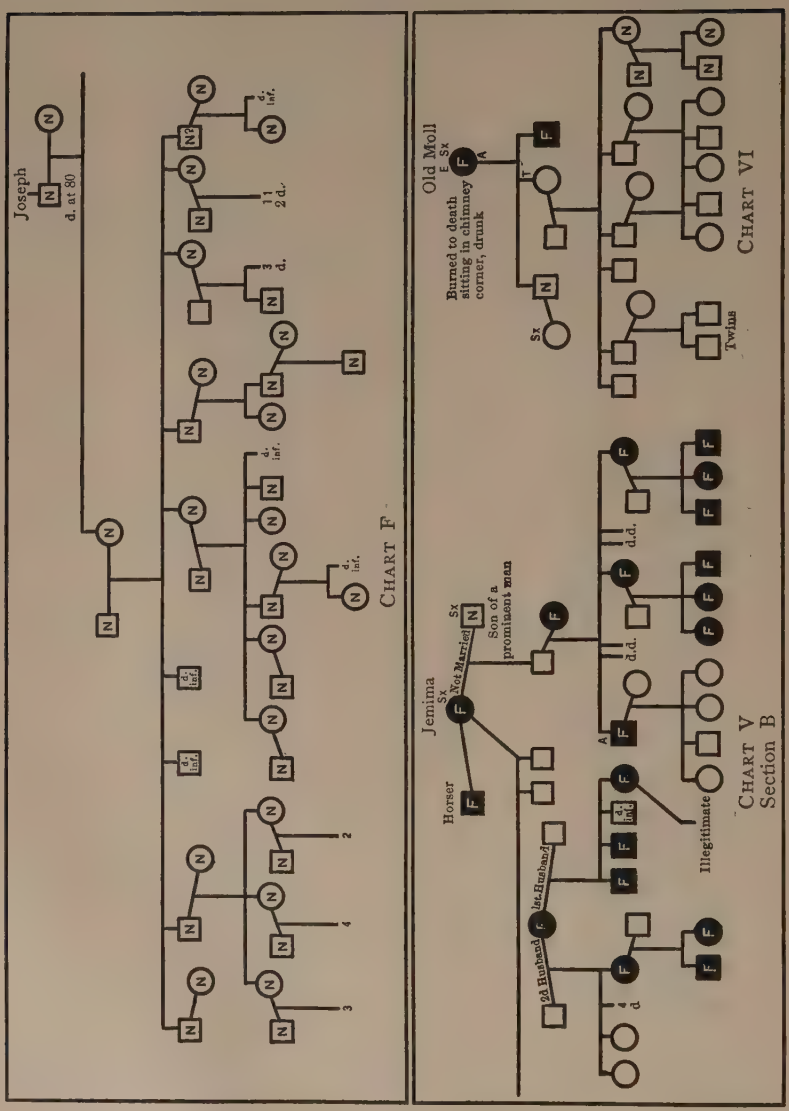


CHART E
CHART V
Section A
Real Fathers unknown
Illegitimate
Twins
Not Married
Mother supposed to have poisoned the children
Real Fathers unknown
Illegitimate
Twins


Joseph
d. at 80
CHART F
Old Moll
Burned to death sitting in chimney corner, drunk
Jemima
Horse
Illegitimate
Twins
CHART V
Section B
CHART VI

The foregoing charts tell a story as instructive as it is amazing. We have here a family of good English blood of the middle class, settling upon the original land purchased from the proprietors of the state in Colonial times, and throughout four generations maintaining a reputation for honor and respectability of which they are justly proud. Then a scion of this family, in an unguarded moment, steps aside from the paths of rectitude and with the help of a feeble-minded girl, starts a line of mental defectives that is truly appalling. After this mistake, he returns to the traditions of his family, marries a woman of his own quality, and through her carries on a line of respectability equal to that of his ancestors.

We thus have two series from two different mothers but the same father. These extend for six generations. Both lines live out their lives in practically the same region and in the same environment, except in so far as they themselves, because of their different characters, changed that environment. Indeed, so close are they that in one case a defective man on the bad side of the family was found in the employ of a family on the normal side and, although they are of the same name, neither suspects any relationship.

We thus have a natural experiment of remarkable value to the sociologist and the student of heredity. That we are dealing with a problem of true heredity, no one can doubt, for, although of the descendants of Martin Kallikak Jr. many married into feeble-minded families and thus brought in more bad blood, yet Martin Jr. himself married a normal woman, thus demonstrating that the defect is transmitted through the father, at least in this generation. Moreover, the Kallikak family traits appear continually even down to the present generation, and there are many qualities that are alike in both the good and the bad families, thus showing the strength and persistence of the ancestral stock.

The reader will recall the famous story of the Jukes family published by Richard L. Dugdale in 1877,[1] a startling array of criminals, paupers, and diseased persons, more or less related to each other and extending over seven generations.

[1] See R. L. Dugdale, The Jukes, a Study in Crime, Pauperism, Disease, and Heredity. New York, 1877, 4th edition, 1910. — Ed.

Dr. Winship has undertaken to compare this family with the descendants of Jonathan Edwards,[1] and from this comparison to draw certain conclusions. It is a striking comparison, but unfortunately not as conclusive as we need in these days. The two families were utterly independent, of different ancestral stock, reared in different communities, even in different States, and under utterly different environment.

The one, starting from a strong, religious, and highly educated ancestor, has maintained those traits and traditions down to the present day and with remarkable results; the other, starting without any of these advantages, and under an entirely different environment, has resulted in the opposite kind of descendants.

It is not possible to convince the euthenist (who holds that environment is the sole factor) that, had the children of Jonathan Edwards and the children of "Old Max" changed places, the results would not have been such as to show that it was a question of environment and not of heredity. And he cites to us the fact that many children of highly developed parents degenerate and become paupers and criminals, while on the other hand, some children born of lowly and even criminal parents take the opposite course and become respectable and useful citizens.

In as far as the children of "Old Max" were of normal mentality, it is not possible to say what might not have become of them, had they had good training and environment.

Fortunately for the cause of science, the Kallikak family, in the persons of Martin Kallikak Jr. and his descendants, are not open to this argument. They were feeble-minded, and no amount of education or good environment can change a feeble-minded individual into a normal one, any more than it can change a red-haired stock into a black-haired stock. The striking fact of the enormous proportion of feeble-minded individuals in the descendants of Martin Kallikak Jr. and the total absence of such in the descendants of his half brothers and sisters is conclusive on this point. Clearly it was not environment that has made that good family. They made their environment; and their own good blood, with the good blood in the families into which they married, told.

[1] Jukes-Edwards, a Study in Education and Heredity, 1900. — Ed.

So far as the Jukes family is concerned, there is nothing that proves the hereditary character of any of the crime, pauperism, or prostitution that was found. The most that one can say is that if such a family is allowed to go on and develop in its own way unmolested, it is pretty certain not to improve, but rather to propagate its own kind and fill the world with degenerates of one form or another. The formerly much-discussed question of the hereditary character of crime received no solution from the Jukes family, but in the light of present-day knowledge of the sciences of criminology and biology, there is every reason to conclude that criminals are made and not born. The best material out of which to make criminals, and perhaps the material from which they are most frequently made, is feeble-mindedness.

The reader must remember that the type of feeble-mindedness of which we are speaking is the one to which Deborah belongs, that is, to the high grade, or moron. All the facts go to show that this type of people makes up a large percentage of our criminals.[1] We may argue *a priori* that such would be the case. Here we have a group who, when children in school, cannot learn the things that are given them to learn, because through their mental defect, they are incapable of mastering abstractions. They never learn to read sufficiently well to make reading pleasurable or of practical use to them. The same is true of number work. Under our compulsory school system and our present courses of study, we compel these children to go to school, and attempt to teach them the three R's, and even higher subjects. Thus they worry along through a few grades until they are fourteen years old and then leave school, not having learned anything of value or that can help them to make even a meager living in the world. They are then turned out inevitably dependent upon others. A few have relatives who take care of them, see that they learn to do something which perhaps will help in their support, and then these relatives supplement this with enough to insure them a living.

A great majority, however, having no such interested or capable relatives, become at once a direct burden upon society. These

[1] See Goddard, Feeble-mindedness; Its Causes and Consequences, 1914. Also The Criminal Imbecile, 1915, by the same author. — Ed.

divide according to temperament into two groups. Those who are phlegmatic, sluggish, indolent, simply lie down and would starve to death, if some one did not help them. When they come to the attention of our charitable organizations, they are picked up and sent to the almshouse, if they cannot be made to work. The other type is of the nervous, excitable, irritable kind who try to make a living, and not being able to do it by a fair day's work and honest wages, attempt to succeed through dishonest methods. "Fraud is the force of weak natures." These become the criminal type. The kind of criminality into which they fall seems to depend largely upon their environment. If they are associated with vicious but intelligent people, they become the dupes for carrying out any of the hazardous schemes that their more intelligent associates plan for them. Because of their stupidity, they are very apt to be caught quickly and sent to the reformatory or prison. If they are girls, one of the easiest things for them to fall into is a life of prostitution, because they have natural instincts with no power of control and no intelligence to understand the wiles and schemes of the white slaver, the cadet, or the individual seducer. All this, we say, is what is to be expected. These are the people of good outward appearance, but of low intelligence, who pass through school without acquiring any efficiency, then go out into the world and must inevitably fall into some such life as we have pictured.

Let us now turn to our public institutions. These have not yet been sufficiently investigated, nor have we adequate statistics to show what percentage of their inmates is actually feeble-minded. But even casual observation of our almshouse population shows the majority to be of decidedly low mentality, while careful tests would undoubtedly increase this percentage very materially.

In our insane hospitals may also be found a group of people whom the physicians will tell you are only partially demented. The fact is they properly belong in an institution for feeble-minded, rather than in one for the insane, and have gotten into the latter because an unenlightened public does not recognize the difference between a person who has lost his mind and one who never had one.

In regard to criminality, we now have enough studies to make us certain that at least 25 per cent of this class is feeble-minded. One hundred admissions to the Rahway Reformatory, taken in order of admission, show at least 26 per cent of them distinctly feeble-minded, with the certainty that the percentage would be much higher if we included the border-line cases.

An investigation of one hundred of the Juvenile Court children in the Detention Home of the City of Newark showed that 67 per cent of them were distinctly feeble-minded. From this estimate are excluded children who are yet too young for us to know definitely whether the case is one of arrested development. This point once determined would unquestionably swell the percentage of defect.

An examination of fifty-six girls from a Massachusetts reformatory, but out on probation, showed that fifty-two of them were distinctly feeble-minded. This was partially a selected group, the basis being their troublesomeness; they were girls who could not be made to stay in the homes that were found for them, nor to do reasonable and sensible things in those homes, which fact, of itself, pointed toward feeble-mindedness.

The foregoing are figures based on actual test examinations as to mental capacity. If we accept the estimates of the mental condition of the inmates made by the superintendents of reformatories and penal institutions, we get sometimes a vastly higher percentage; *e.g.* the Superintendent of the Elmira Reformatory estimates that at least 40 per cent of his inmates are mental defectives.

Indeed, it would not be surprising if careful examination of the inmates of these institutions should show that even 50 per cent of them are distinctly feeble-minded.

In regard to prostitutes, we have no reliable figures.[1] The groups of delinquent girls to which we have already referred included among the numbers several that were already known as

[1] Out of 300 prostitutes in custody, whose mentality was examined by the Massachusetts vice commission, 154, or 51 per cent, were found to be feeble-minded (Report of the Commission for the Investigation of the White-Slave Traffic, 1914, pp. 26–30). — Ed.

prostitutes. A simple observation of persons who are leading this sort of life will satisfy any one who is familiar with feeble-mindedness that a large percentage of them actually are defective mentally. So we have, as is claimed, partly from statistical studies and partly from careful observation, abundant evidence of the truth of our claim that criminality is often made out of feeble-mindedness.

Such facts as those revealed by the Kallikak family drive us almost irresistibly to the conclusion that before we can settle our problems of criminality and pauperism and all the rest of the social problems that are taxing our time and money, the first and fundamental step should be to decide upon the mental capacity of the persons who make up these groups. We must separate, as sharply as possible, those persons who are weak-minded, and therefore irresponsible, from intelligent criminals. Both our method of treatment and our attitude towards crime will be changed when we discover what part of this delinquency is due to irresponsibility.

If the Jukes family were of normal intelligence, a change of environment would have worked wonders and would have saved society from the horrible blot. But if they were feeble-minded, then no amount of good environment could have made them anything else than feeble-minded. Schools and colleges were not for them, rather a segregation which would have prevented them from falling into evil and from procreating their kind, so avoiding the transmitting of their defects and delinquencies to succeeding generations.

Thus where the Jukes-Edwards comparison is weak and the argument inconclusive, the twofold Kallikak family is strong and the argument convincing.

Environment does indeed receive some support from three cases in our chart. On Chart II, two children of Martin Jr. and Rhoda were normal, while all the rest were feeble-minded. It is true that here one parent was normal, and we have the right to expect some normal children. At the same time, these were the two children that were adopted into good families and brought up under good surroundings. They proved to be normal and their

descendants normal. Again, on Chart IX-a,[1] we have one child of two feeble-minded parents who proves to be normal — the only one among the children. This child was also taken into a good family and brought up carefully. Another sister (Chart IX-b)[1] was also taken into a good family and, while not determined, yet "showed none of the traits that are usually indicative of feeble-mindedness." It may be claimed that environment is responsible for this good result. It is certainly significant that the only children in these families that were normal, or at least better than the rest, were brought up in good families.

However, it would seem to be rather dangerous to base any very positive hope on environment in the light of these charts, taken as a whole. There are too many other possible explanations of the anomaly, *e.g.* these cases may have been high-grade morons, who, to the untrained person, would seem so nearly normal, that at this late day it would be impossible to find any one who would remember their traits well enough to enable us to classify them as morons.

We must not forget that, on Chart IX-e,[1] we also have the daughter of Justin taken into a good family and carefully brought up, but in spite of all that, she proved to be feeble-minded. The same is probably true of Deborah's half brother.

We have claimed that criminality resulting from feeble-mindedness is mainly a matter of environment, yet it must be acknowledged that there are wide differences in temperament and that, while this one branch of the Kallikak family was mentally defective, there was no strong tendency in it towards that which our laws recognize as criminality. In other families there is, without doubt, a much greater tendency to crime, so that the lack of criminals in this particular case, far from detracting from our argument, really strengthens it. It must be recognized that there is much more liability of criminals resulting from mental defectiveness in certain families than in others, probably because of difference in the strength of some instincts.

This difference in temperament is perhaps nowhere better brought out than in the grandparents of Deborah. The grandfather

[1] Not here reproduced. — Ed.

belonging to the Kallikak family had the temperament and characteristics of that family, which, while they did not lead him into positive criminality of high degree, nevertheless did make him a bad man of a positive type, a drunkard, a sex pervert, and all that goes to make up a bad character.

On the other hand, his wife and her family were simply stupid, with none of the pronounced tendencies to evil that were shown in the Kallikak family. They were not vicious, nor given over to bad practices of any sort. But they were inefficient, without power to get on in the world, and they transmitted these qualities to their descendants.[1]

Thus, of the children of this pair, the grandparents of Deborah, the sons have been active and positive in their lives, the one being a horse thief, the other a sexual pervert, having the alcoholic tendency of his father, while the daughters are quieter and more passive. Their dullness, however, does not amount to imbecility. Deborah's mother herself was of a high type of moron, with a certain quality which carried with it an element of refinement. Her sister was the passive victim of her father's incestuous practice and later married a normal man. Another sister was twice married, the first time through the agency of the good woman who attended to the legalizing of Deborah's mother's alliances. The last time, the man, being normal, attended to this himself. He was old and only wanted a housekeeper, and this woman, having been strictly raised in an excellent family, was famous as a cook, so this arrangement seemed to him best. None of these sisters ever objected to the marriage ceremony when the matter was attended to for them, but they never seem to have thought of it as necessary when living with any man.

The stupid helplessness of Deborah's mother in regard to her own impulses is shown by the facts of her life. Her first child had for its father a farm hand; the father of the second and third (twins) was a common laborer on the railroad. Deborah's father was a young fellow, normal indeed, but loose in his morals, who,

[1] It would be interesting to know whether these traits of inefficiency were "transmitted" by organic heredity, or were simply the result of imitation, family habit, and family tradition — of "social heredity." — Ed.

along with others, kept company with the mother while she was out at service. After Deborah's birth in the almshouse, the mother had been taken with her child into a good family. Even in this guarded position, she was sought out by a feeble-minded man of low habits. Every possible means was employed to separate the pair, but without effect. Her mistress then insisted that they marry, and herself attended to all the details. After Deborah's mother had borne this man two children, the pair went to live on the farm of an unmarried man possessing some property, but little intelligence. The husband was an imbecile who had never provided for his wife. She was still pretty, almost girlish — the farmer was good-looking, and soon the two were openly living together and the husband had left. As the facts became known, there was considerable protest in the neighborhood, but no active steps were taken until two or three children had been born. Finally, a number of leading citizens, headed by the good woman before alluded to, took the matter up in earnest. They found the husband and persuaded him to allow them to get him a divorce. Then they compelled the farmer to marry the woman. He agreed, on condition that the children which were not his should be sent away. It was at this juncture that Deborah was brought to the Training School.

In visiting the mother in her present home and in talking with her over different phases of her past life, several things are evident; there has been no malice in her life nor voluntary reaction against social order, but simply a blind following of impulse which never rose to objective consciousness. Her life has utterly lacked coördination — there has been no reasoning from cause to effect, no learning of any lesson. She has never known shame; in a word, she has never struggled and never suffered. Her husband is a selfish, sullen, penurious person who gives his wife but little money, so that she often resorts to selling soap and other things among her neighbors to have something to spend. At times she works hard in the field as a farm hand, so that it cannot be wondered at that her house is neglected and her children unkempt. Her philosophy of life is the philosophy of the animal. There is no complaining, no irritation at the inequalities of fate. Sickness,

pain, childbirth, death — she accepts them all with the same equanimity as she accepts the opportunity of putting a new dress and a gay ribbon on herself and children and going to a Sunday School picnic. There is no rising to the comprehension of the possibilities which life offers or of directing circumstances to a definite, higher end. She has a certain fondness for her children, but is incapable of real solicitude for them. She speaks of those who were placed in homes and is glad to see their pictures, and has a sense of their belonging to her, but it is faint, remote, and in no way bound up with her life. She is utterly helpless to protect her older daughters, now on the verge of womanhood, from the dangers that beset them, or to inculcate in them any ideas which would lead to self-control or to the directing of their lives in an orderly manner.

The same lack is strikingly shown, if we turn our attention to the question of alcoholism in this family. We learn from a responsible member of the good branch of the family that the appetite for alcoholic stimulants has been strong in the past in this family and that several members in recent generations have been more or less addicted to its use. Only two have actually allowed it to get the better of them to the extent that they became incapacitated. Both were physicians. In the other branch, however, with the weakened mentality, we find twenty-four victims of this habit so pronounced that they were public nuisances. We have taken no account of the much larger number who were also addicted to its use, but who did not become so bad as to be considered alcoholic in our category.

Thus we see that the normal mentality of the good branch of the family was able to cope successfully with this intense thirst, while the weakened mentality on the other side was unable to escape, and many fell victims to this appalling habit.

Again, eight of the descendants of the degenerate Kallikak branch were keepers of houses of ill fame, and that in spite of the fact that they mostly lived in a rural community where such places do not flourish as they do in large cities.

In short, whereas in the Jukes-Edwards comparison we have no sound basis for argument, because the families were utterly

different and separate, in the Kallikak family the conclusion seems thoroughly logical. We have, as it were, a natural experiment with a normal branch with which to compare our defective side. We have the one ancestor giving us a line of normal people that shows thoroughly good all the way down the generations, with the exception of the one man who was sexually loose and the two who gave way to the appetite for strong drink.

This is our norm, our standard, our demonstration of what the Kallikak blood is when kept pure, or mingled with blood as good as its own.

Over against this we have the bad side, the blood of the same ancestor contaminated by that of the nameless feeble-minded girl.

From this comparison the conclusion is inevitable that all this degeneracy has come as the result of the defective mentality and bad blood having been brought into the normal family of good blood, first from the nameless feeble-minded girl and later by additional contaminations from other sources.

The biologist could hardly plan and carry out a more rigid experiment or one from which the conclusions would follow more inevitably.

CHAPTER V

INFANT MORTALITY

The measure of infant mortality, 194. — The amount of infant mortality, 195. — Causes, 206.

[The general death rate is expressed as the number of deaths annually in each 1000 of the total population. For more exact purposes, as for instance in actuarial work or wherever it is necessary to compare the tendencies to mortality in two populations or in the same one at somewhat widely separated periods, it is necessary to ascertain the death rate in each age-group. Thus the death rate in the age-group 21–25 is the number of deaths in each 1000 persons of these ages. Formerly the infant death rate was expressed in the same way, that is, as the number of babies in each 1000 infants under one year of age who died during a given year. This method has been abandoned in practically all countries except some of our own States because of the inaccuracy of knowledge with regard to the number of children under one year of age living at any given time. Even in official census counts the returns for the population under one year of age are confessedly unreliable and inaccurate.[1] Any uncertainty as to the number of living infants must vitiate the value of an infant death rate so calculated. The infant mortality rate is accordingly now calculated on the basis of the number of living births during a given year. Thus there were in Massachusetts, in 1908, 86,911 births and 11,606 deaths of babies under one year of age. The infant death rate was therefore $\frac{11{,}606}{86.911}$, or 133.5 per 1000 births.

It is evident that an accurate knowledge of the ratio of infant deaths to births depends upon a complete record not only of

[1] See E. B. Phelps, Certain Phases and Fallacies of American Infant Mortality Statistics, *American Journal of Public Health*, November, 1913, p. 1196.

deaths but of births as well. The backward state of birth registration in the United States, and our consequent ignorance of the amount of infant mortality, are suggested by the Federal Children's Bureau as follows :

The Children's Bureau is especially directed by the law under which it was established to investigate infant mortality. In the effort to comply with the law the bureau is hampered at every step by limitations created by the imperfect collection of birth statistics in this country. To study infant mortality it is necessary to know how many babies have been born and how many died before they were one year old. In other words, a complete and uniform system of birth registration as well as an accurate system of death registration in any community in which the bureau's study of infant mortality is undertaken is a prerequisite if the work is to be done in the most effective and economical way. . . . As an illustration of the extent to which the limitation operates it may be cited that in selecting a single small city for beginning its first investigation of infant mortality the bureau, on account of the generally prevailing defective registration, had less than a dozen cities from which to choose.[1]

The selections which follow deal only with the extent and the causes of infant mortality, no attempt being made to describe the various means and agencies for the reduction of this great social waste.][2]

16. AN APPROXIMATION OF THE AMOUNT OF INFANT MORTALITY IN THE WORLD AT LARGE[3]

There is, of course, a wealth of international statistical compilations available as a basis for such a computation, but the current issue (No. 5) of the Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia, that remarkable work of G. H. Knibbs, the Commonwealth statistician, bearing date of June 25, 1912, presents figures for the world's population in the main compiled

[1] Birth Registration and its Aid in Protecting the Lives and Rights of Children, Monograph No. 1, pp. 5–6. Children's Bureau, Washington, 1914.

[2] For these the reader is referred to the *Survey*, to the Reports of the American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality, and to the bulletins and monographs of the Federal Children's Bureau.

[3] By Edward Bunnell Phelps. From "The World-wide Effort to Diminish Infant Mortality — Its Present Status and Possibilities," Transactions of the XVth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography, Vol. VI, pp. 132–135. Washington, 1913.

from the Statesman's Year-Book for 1911, and offers the very latest reliable international vital statistics now available. Mr. Knibbs fixes the world's total population at 1,722,322,136, and, making allowance for the natural increase since the figures presented in Sundbärg's Aperçus Statistiques Internationaux (1908 edition) and Webb's New Dictionary of Statistics were compiled, the total presented in the Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia bears every evidence of approximate accuracy. Making his estimate on the basis of the figures in the editions of the République Française: Annuaires Statistiques for 1905–1907, Webb puts the world's population at 1,610,000,000, and Sundbärg in 1908 made it 1,647,533,770.

Mr. Knibb's estimate being the latest available and apparently entitled to full credence, I have put his figures as the basis for the following tabulation of populations, in even millions, and from the latest birth and infant death rates which his work and the Statesman's Year-Book for 1912 present I have worked out the appended figures for the several sections, with the exception of those for India and China. My figures for India are based on the official Report on Sanitary Measures in India in 1909–1910 (Vol. XLIII), published in 1911, and those for China on certain specific figures presented in Prof. Edward Alsworth Ross's very recent work, The Changing Chinese (1912), as checked up and modified in the light of various other credible sources of Chinese information which I have consulted and the official vital statistics of the near-by city of Manila for the last nine years. Thus computed, the number and rate of births and infant deaths now annually occurring in the world at large and their broad geographical distribution would seem to be approximately as shown on the following page.

The population estimates shown in the table are probably entirely dependable, with the possible exception of that for China and its dependencies, the population of China having been stated in the returns of the second National Census, published by the Chinese Government on February 27, 1911, as 310,168,305, as contrasted with the estimate of 407,253,030 for China proper given in the Statesman's Year-Book for 1912. There are other

Sections of the World	Population	Living Births		Deaths under 1 year	
		Rate per 1000 of population	Number	Rate per 1000 births	Number
Russia in Europe (and its European possessions)	136,000,000	48	6,528,000	250	1,632,000
Balance of Europe . . .	312,000,000	29	9,048,000	140	1,266,720
Australasia and Polynesia	7,000,000	26	182,000	70	12,740
India	315,000,000	36	11,340,000	240	2,721,600
China (and its dependencies)	434,000,000	50	21,700,000	400	8,680,000
Balance of Asia	209,000,000	35	7,315,000	200	1,463,000
Africa	133,000,000	35	4,655,000	200	931,000
America (all parts) . . .	176,000,000	30	5,280,000	150	792,000
Total.	1,722,000,000	38	66,048,000	265	17,499,060

reasons for believing that the supposed population of China, generally fixed at approximately 400,000,000, may have been decidedly overestimated, but even were a deduction of a round 100,000,000 from the world's supposed total population made on this account the annual totals of living births and infant deaths would still stand at 61,048,000 and 15,499,060, respectively, and the world's average birth rate and infant death rate at 37.6 and 254, respectively, as compared with the averages of 38 and 265, shown by the preceding tabulation.

On the strength of his personal observations and inquiries Professor Ross fixes the Chinese birth rate at from 50 to 60 per 1000 of population, on page 110 of his work previously named referring to "the present fecundity of 50 to 60 per 1000 — three times that of the American stock and nowhere matched in the white man's world unless it be in certain districts in Russia and certain parishes in French Canada." He also says:

> Dr. McCartney, of Chungking, after twenty years of practice there, estimates that 75 to 85 per cent of the children born in that region die before the end of the second year. The returns from Hongkong for 1909 show that the number of children dying under one year of age is 87 per cent of the number of births reported within the year. The first census of the Japanese in Formosa seems to show that nearly half of the children born to the Chinese there die within six months (The changing Chinese, p. 103).

In the London *Lancet* and other publications I have found confirmation of these figures for the Chinese population in Hongkong and Formosa. By tabulating the official vital statistics of the Philippine capital for the last nine years (1903–1911) I find that the apparent infant mortality rate in Manila (and presumably, officials say, in the Philippines at large) was 552 per 1000 births — and as high as 477 for the last five years despite the improved registration of births — and even the incomplete birth returns show a birth rate of 41.4 per 1000 population for Manila in 1910. It would therefore seem, in view of all the direct evidence regarding China and the collateral official evidence concerning near-by Formosa and Manila, that the assumption of a birth rate of 50 and an infant death rate of 400 per 1000 births for China is well within conservative limits and very probably below the actual figures in each case.

In the case of India, both the birth and infant death rate figures which I have employed are below the actual registration figures for about three quarters of the total estimated population of India, the mean birth rate for the last quinquennial period having been 38.64, and the infant death rate for 1909 having been, on the average for both sexes, 243.6 per 1000 births, whereas I have fixed these figures at only 36 and 240 respectively. For the remainder of Asia and for Africa as a whole, I have assumed an average birth rate of 35 per 1000, and an infant death rate of but 200, and for North, South, and Central America average rates of only 30 and 150; and I venture to believe that anyone provided with even the most superficial information regarding the vital statistics of these sections will concede that all these assumptions are extremely conservative. It would consequently seem entirely safe to say that, in round numbers, at least 60,000,000 births annually occur in the world at large, and that the world's infant mortality each year amounts to 15,000,000 at the lowest possible estimate. In other words, presumably more than 40,000 babies' deaths occur each day in the year, practically one for every other second of time. Or, to put it graphically, one infant dies every other time the clock ticks. Including the heavy colored infant mortality of the South, the United States probably

contributes almost if not quite 1000 of the world's total of 40,000 infant deaths per diem, and there are the best of reasons for believing that 50 per cent of the world's 40,000 infant deaths a day, year in and year out, are unquestionably preventable. In brief the needless annual waste now foots up at least 7,500,000 infant lives.

17. INFANT MORTALITY AND ITS CAUSES[1]

Infant mortality, or the deaths of children under twelve months of age, is generally recognized as one of the most complex social problems of the present day. The first fact which entitles it to a place among our most serious social problems is its magnitude as compared with the general death rate. Despite the lack of mortality records for the whole United States, and the many and serious defects of those for many of the registration States, the registration area of the Twelfth Census was sufficiently large to produce in its figures an approximate index of the mortality of the country at large. Checked up as are these figures of mortality in various age-groups by those of England and Wales, France, and various other foreign countries with established systems of registering vital statistics, they probably record with approximate accuracy the death rate under age 1, as compared with the ratio of deaths at other ages.

In a recent statistical study of this subject,[2] it was shown (the figures being restricted to the registration States — and omitting the registration cities in nonregistration States in order to eliminate the abnormally high mortality of the colored population in the registration cities of the South) that the rate of deaths per 1000 living population under age 1, in the registration States in 1900, apparently was 159.3, as contrasted with a death rate of

[1] By Edward Bunnell Phelps. Adapted from "Infant Mortality and its Relation to the Employment of Mothers," Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-earners in the United States, Vol. XIII (61st Cong., 2d Session, Sen. Doc. No. 645), pp. 11–19, 48–56.

[2] Edward B. Phelps, "A Statistical Study of Infant Mortality," *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, N.S., No. 83 (September, 1908), pp. 266–268.

only 14.1 per 1000 population over age 1. In other words, the death rate of the census year 1900, in the registration States, in the case of infants under 1 year of age was more than eleven times as high as at all other ages of childhood and adult life, as measured by the ratio of deaths to living population in both age-groups. This comparison is probably approximately correct, though the returns of all censuses of population under age 1 are somewhat unreliable owing to the carelessness of parents in reporting as "one-year-old" babies within a few months, under or over, that age.

The second fact concerning infant mortality which has attracted the attention of those who have investigated the subject is, that the infant death rate as compared with that at higher ages has shown so little improvement during a long period. It has not responded adequately to improvements in public sanitation and medical practice. A recent English writer[1] on the subject has commented on this aspect of the problem: "Whilst during the last half century, a time of marvelous growth of science and of preventive medicine, human life has been saved and prolonged, and death made more remote for the general population, infants still die every year much as they did in former times. Indeed, in many places it appears that they die in greater numbers, and more readily than in the past."

In many cities and in some countries there apparently has been a decrease in the infant death rate of late years, but this decrease has not been sufficiently widespread or extended through a sufficiently long period of years to lessen the seriousness of the situation.

The State of Massachusetts early established a registration system and for this reason is recognized as the most reliable index of American vital statistics. The following table, compiled from registration reports of that State and adapted from a statistical study[2] of infant mortality to which reference has already been

[1] George Newman, M. D., Infant Mortality — A Social Problem, p. 2. London, 1906.

[2] Phelps, "A Statistical Study of Infant Mortality," *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, N.S., No. 83 (September, 1908), p. 257.

made, clearly illustrates the fact that the infant death rate, when considered through a long period of years, and in sufficiently long time intervals to remove superficial tendencies, cannot as yet be said to show a marked decline:

BIRTHS AND DEATHS UNDER ONE YEAR AND THEIR RATE PER 1000 BIRTHS IN MASSACHUSETTS BY FIVE-YEAR PERIODS FOR THE FIFTY-THREE YEARS, 1856 TO 1908, STILLBIRTHS EXCLUDED IN BOTH CASES[1]

Years	Living Births	Deaths under 1 year	
	Number	Number	Rate per 1000 births
1856–1860	175,729	21,579	122.8
1861–1865	158,732	23,490	148.0
1866–1870	179,740	26,457	147.2
1871–1875	217,134	37,498	172.7
1876–1880	209,749	32,277	153.9
1881–1885	235,580	37,709	160.1
1886–1890	273,707	43,962	160.6
1891–1895	330,501	53,288	161.2
1896–1900	362,501	55,560	153.3
1901–1905	367,815	50,807	138.1
1906	80,237	11,106	138.4
1907	85,001	11,293	132.9
1908	86,911	11,606	133.5

This relatively slight decline in the infant death rate is by no means peculiar to Massachusetts. The statistics of births and deaths in England and Wales are known to be fairly reliable, and a recent table covering the period 1861 to 1908, prepared by Dr. Arthur Newsholme, medical officer to the Local Government Board, not only shows how relatively small has been the decline of infant mortality in that country, but presents in striking contrast the rapid decline during the same period in child mortality from the beginning of the second to the close of the fifth year of life. This table, which is reproduced below, shows the average

[1] Compiled from the Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Health (1896), p. 750, and Sixty-seventh Registration Report of Massachusetts (1908), p. 207.

death rates per 1000 at each age and the relative mortality figures, the death rates for the period 1861 to 1865 being taken as the basis or 100.

DEATH RATES OF INFANTS UNDER ONE YEAR OF AGE AND FOR EACH OF THE NEXT FOUR YEARS OF LIFE, WITH RELATIVE MORTALITY FIGURES, FOR ENGLAND AND WALES, BY FIVE-YEAR PERIODS 1861 TO 1909[1]

Year	Average Death Rates per 1000 at Each Age					Relative Mortality Figures, the Death Rate in 1861–1865 being stated as 100				
	0 to 1 year	1 to 2 years	2 to 3 years	3 to 4 years	4 to 5 years	0 to 1 year	1 to 2 years	2 to 3 years	3 to 4 years	4 to 5 years
1861–1865 . . .	155	69	37	25	18	100	100	100	100	100
1866–1870 . . .	157	63	32	22	16	102	92	88	88	90
1871–1875 . . .	154	59	28	19	14	100	86	77	76	81
1876–1880 . . .	145	58	27	17	13	94	85	74	68	74
1881–1885 . . .	139	53	23	15	12	90	78	64	60	69
1886–1890 . . .	144	53	22	14	10	93	78	61	56	58
1891–1895 . . .	151	52	21	14	10	98	76	58	56	58
1896–1900 . . .	156	49	19	13	9	101	72	53	52	50
1901–1905 . . .	138	41	16	11	8	90	60	44	44	46
1906–1908 . . .	124	37	15	9	7	80	53	41	36	40
1909[2]	109	33	14	9	7	70	48	38	36	39

From the above table it will be seen that the mortality rate under one year has decreased from an average of 155 per 1000 in the period 1861–1865 to 124 per 1000 in the years 1906–1908; or, expressed in the relative mortality figures, taking the first period as a basis, they have decreased from 100 to 80. It is only in the last period, however, that so low a figure appears, no previous period having shown a relative mortality figure below 90, and in the five-year period 1896 to 1900 the average was 101. It is scarcely safe to assume, therefore, that the mortality figure of 80, which is shown for the last period, can be accepted as indicating

[1] From the Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Local Government Board, 1909–1910, Supplement to the Report of the Board's Medical Officer, containing a Report by the Medical Officer on Infant and Child Mortality, p. 15. London, 1910.

[2] Figures for 1909 from Seventy-second Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England and Wales, 1911.

a level showing permanently bettered conditions. When the relative mortality figures under one year are compared with those for the other ages under five years, it will be seen that a far greater gain has been made at the higher ages, the figures in 1909 at four to five years being 39 and at three to four years being 36.

These facts might at first glance seem to indicate that the infant mortality rate is incapable of any considerable reduction. But there is ample evidence that a rate so high as that for Massachusetts, or as that for England and Wales, is an index of bad conditions, which can be mended.

The table on pages 204 and 205, from the latest report of the Registrar-General of the United Kingdom, is of interest in this connection, as showing the wide range of infant mortality rates in various countries.

It will be seen that for several countries the infant mortality rate through the entire period of twenty-nine years covered has been below or only slightly above 100 deaths per 1000 births, namely, Norway, Ireland, Sweden, New Zealand, Tasmania, and South Australia. Various estimates have been made as to the proportion of infant deaths which are preventable, and considerable discussion, more or less academic, has taken this preventable proportion for its theme. It is clearly impracticable to attempt to determine an absolute infant mortality rate attainable by all countries; but it is reasonable to conclude, even allowing for a considerable margin of error in the statistics of the subject, that if the countries named have through a long period of years enjoyed the degree of infantile health indicated by the above table the infantile mortality rate of Massachusetts and of the entire registration area of the United States is quite too high and demands attention.

It has frequently been argued that a high infant mortality has a selective influence; in other words, that it acts as a "weeding-out process," and hence tends to reduce mortality at later ages. This contention was one of the main points recently investigated by the medical officer of the British Local Government Board, and the results of his inquiry are embodied in the recent report referred

BIRTH RATES, AND DEATH RATES UNDER ONE YEAR PER 1000 BIRTHS (STILLBIRTHS EXCLUDED), FOR THE PRINCIPAL FOREIGN COUNTRIES, BY FIVE-YEAR PERIODS, 1881 TO 1909[1]

BIRTHS PER 1000 POPULATION

COUNTRIES	1881 TO 1885	1886 TO 1890	1891 TO 1895	1896 TO 1900	1901 TO 1905	1906	1907	1908	1909
Europe:									
Norway	31.2	30.8	30.2	30.1	28.6	26.7	26.3	26.2	26.1
Ireland	23.9	22.8	23.0	23.3	23.2	23.6	23.2	23.3	23.5
Sweden	29.4	28.8	27.4	26.9	26.1	25.7	25.5	25.7	25.6
Bulgaria	37.2	35.9	37.5	41.0	40.6	44.0	43.6	40.4	*
Scotland	33.3	31.4	30.5	30.0	28.9	27.9	27.0	27.2	26.4
Denmark	32.4	31.4	30.4	30.0	29.0	28.5	28.3	28.3	28.0
Finland	35.5	34.5	31.8	32.6	31.3	31.4	31.3	30.8	31.3
England and Wales	33.5	31.4	30.5	29.3	28.1	27.1	26.3	26.5	25.6
Switzerland	28.6	27.5	27.7	28.5	28.1	27.4	26.8	27.1	*
Belgium	30.7	29.3	28.9	28.9	27.7	25.7	25.3	24.9	*
Servia	46.3	43.7	43.3	40.1	38.7	41.3	40.0	36.8	36.5
France	24.7	23.1	22.3	21.9	21.2	20.6	19.7	20.2	19.6
The Netherlands	34.8	33.6	32.9	32.1	31.5	30.4	30.0	29.7	29.1
Italy	38.0	37.5	36.0	34.0	32.6	31.9	31.5	33.4	32.4
Spain	36.4	36.0	35.3	34.3	35.0	33.4	32.9	33.2	32.6
Prussia	37.4	37.3	37.0	36.5	34.8	33.8	33.0	32.8	31.8
Roumania	41.8	40.9	41.0	40.2	39.4	40.5	41.7	40.8	41.7
Austria	38.2	37.8	37.4	37.3	35.6	34.9	33.8	33.5	*
Hungary	44.6	43.7	41.7	39.4	37.2	36.0	36.0	36.3	37.0
Russia in Europe	49.1	48.2	48.2	49.3	*	*	*	*	*
Australasia:									
New Zealand	36.3	31.2	27.7	25.7	26.6	27.1	27.3	27.4	27.3
Tasmania	35.0	34.1	32.7	28.2	29.0	29.5	29.6	30.8	29.9
South Australia	38.5	34.7	32.0	27.0	24.5	23.7	23.9	24.7	24.7
Queensland	36.5	37.4	34.1	29.1	26.7	26.3	26.9	26.7	27.2
New South Wales	37.7	36.4	32.9	28.0	26.7	27.0	27.1	26.8	26.9
Victoria	30.8	32.7	30.9	26.2	25.0	25.1	25.2	24.6	24.6
Western Australia	34.5	36.9	30.7	28.3	30.3	30.0	29.2	28.9	27.7
Other countries:									
Japan	*	28.5	28.6	31.1	31.7	28.9	33.0	33.9	*
Ceylon	*	30.3	31.7	37.1	38.8	35.7	32.8	40.1	36.7
Jamaica	*	36.8	38.6	38.9	39.0	38.1	35.0	37.6	37.8
Chile	39.1	35.5	37.0	35.0	36.1	36.6	38.6	39.3	38.8

* Not reported.

[1] From Seventy-second Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England and Wales, 1909.

DEATHS UNDER ONE YEAR PER 1000 BIRTHS

Europe:									
Norway	99	96	98	96	81	69	67	76	*
Ireland	94	95	102	106	98	93	92	97	92
Sweden	116	105	103	101	91	81	77	85	*
Bulgaria	*	*	140	143	148	154	154	170	*
Scotland	117	121	126	129	120	115	110	121	*
Denmark	135	136	138	132	119	109	106	123	*
Finland	162	144	145	139	131	119	112	125	111
England and Wales	139	145	151	156	138	132	118	120	109
Switzerland	171	159	155	143	134	127	121	108	*
Belgium	156	163	164	158	148	153	132	147	*
Servia	157	158	172	159	149	144	147	158	*
France	167	166	171	159	139	143	135	*	*
The Netherlands	181	175	165	151	136	127	112	125	99
Italy	*	*	185	168	168	160	155	153	*
Spain	193	*	*	*	173	173	*	*	*
Prussia	207	208	205	201	190	177	168	173	164
Roumania	179	195	219	*	*	*	*	*	*
Austria	*	*	*	226	215	209	204	*	*
Hungary	*	*	250	219	212	205	208	199	212
Russia in Europe	271	264	276	261	*	*	*	*	*
Australasia:									
New Zealand	90	84	87	80	75	62	89	68	62
Tasmania	109	103	94	98	90	91	82	75	65
South Australia	*	105	99	112	87	76	66	70	61
Queensland	137	119	103	103	94	75	77	70	72
New South Wales	124	115	111	113	97	75	89	76	74
Victoria	122	131	111	111	96	93	73	86	71
Western Australia	*	123	130	160	126	110	98	85	78
Other countries:									
Japan	*	*	147	153	154	153	151	157	*
Ceylon	*	158	169	168	171	198	186	183	202
Jamaica	*	170	171	175	174	197	223	175	174
Chile	*	264	336	333	331	328	297	320	*

* Not reported.

to above.[1] Doctor Newsholme, with the records of the Registrar-General of births, deaths, and marriages as a basis, concludes as follows: "Infant mortality is the most sensitive index we possess of social welfare and of sanitary administration, especially under

[1] Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Local Government Board of Great Britain, Supplement on Infant and Child Mortality, pp. 74, 75.

urban conditions. A heavy infant mortality implies a heavier death rate up to five years of age; and right up to adult life the districts suffering from a heavy child mortality have higher death rates than the districts whose infant mortality is low. A careful study of the death rate in England and Wales during the last fifty years, at each of the first five years of life, leaves it doubtful whether any appreciably greater selection or 'weeding-out' is exercised by a heavier than by a lighter infantile mortality. Any such effect, if it exists, is concealed behind the overwhelming influence exerted by the evil environment to which children are exposed in districts of high infant mortality. It is strictly correct, therefore, to say that a high infant mortality implies a high prevalence of the conditions which determine national inferiority." Thus in effective fashion he has summed up the second grave circumstance which has made a high infant mortality a social problem. It is a problem, first, because of its magnitude. It is a needless sacrifice of human life. It is a problem, in the second place, because it is an index of the general environmental conditions which make for deterioration.

Although the problem of effecting any material decrease in the infant death rate is yet to be solved, certain factors are now generally recognized as related to it. They fall naturally into two groups. The first group may be termed the general conditions of sanitation which affect the health of the entire community, but show an especial relation to the death rate of infants, namely, (1) urban or rural conditions of life, (2) domestic and municipal sanitation — that is to say, condition of the streets, methods of sewage removal, purity of the milk and water supply, and related matters — and (3) the housing of the wageworking population.

The second group may be termed the social condition of the population as it shows itself in (1) the ignorance or intelligence of the people, but especially of the mothers, (2) the degree of economic well-being of the majority of the inhabitants of any region under consideration, (3) the prevalence or absence of extra-domestic employment of married women, (4) whether or not the custom of very early marriage prevails with the female portion of

the population, (5) the proportion of legitimate to illegitimate births, and (6) the size of the birth rate.

In the absence of exact information, the many discussions of the subject during the last fifty years have assigned a varying importance to these different factors. Certain of them, however, have been accepted almost unanimously as being of great importance, and among these the extradomestic employment of married women has been regarded as fundamental. This relation of women's work to infant mortality was apparently first formulated in an official document by Sir John Simon, in a public health report of Great Britain in June, 1858.[1]

This factor was further emphasized by him in subsequent statements,[2] and in 1861 Doctor Greenhow, medical officer of the privy council, after elaborate investigations in a number of industrial towns, stated his conclusions with regard to it as follows:

1. The infantile death rate bears no definite relation to the general death rate, but their comparative proportions to each other vary in different districts.

2. The infantile death rate bears the largest proportion to the general death rate in districts where the infantile population is especially exposed to unwholesome influences, as in Coventry, Nottingham, and certain other manufacturing towns.

3. The unwholesome influences to which infants are exposed in the manufacturing towns comprised in the present inquiry may be attributed mainly to the industrial employment of the married women, which leads them to consign the tendance of their infants, at a very early age, to young children or strangers.

4. That infants thus deprived of the mother's care are habitually fed on diet ill adapted to their digestive powers, and are very frequently drugged with opiates in order to allay the fractiousness arising from the illness induced by improper food.

5. That infants in manufacturing towns where women are much engaged in factory labor are likewise exposed to other causes of sickness proceeding from the ignorance or carelessness of the mothers or nurses, such as deficiency of exercise and exposure to inclement weather.[3]

Doctor Greenhow's statement since that day has been generally accepted as a satisfactory summary of an acknowledged fact, but

[1] Public Health Reports of Great Britain, Vol. I, p. 460.

[2] English Sanitary Institutions, 1890, p. 298; Papers relating to the Sanitary State of the People of England, 1858, pp. xxxiv, 132; Fourth Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council, 1861, pp. 187–196.

[3] Fourth Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council, pp. 187–196.

very recently a more accurate statistical and medical knowledge has opened the entire question of infant mortality for a critical reconsideration.

It is obvious that prolonged and exhaustive medical, statistical, and social research would be necessary before the relative importance of this and the many other enumerated factors related to the infant mortality problem could be accurately known. It would be possible to draw positive conclusions as to the relative importance of this particular factor only by point-to-point comparison of the infant mortality for a period of years in two large communities, or two classes of large communities, in which all the material conditions were substantially common, with the single important exception that in one a considerable proportion of the married female population of childbearing age were at work outside of their homes and in the other community with which the comparison was made none of the women were so employed.

To admit of entirely sound conclusions, it would be necessary that the populations — and especially the women — of both communities should be of like ages, races, and physical health, that their living conditions should be practically identical, and that, in a general way, the childbearing women should be of about the same grade of intelligence. Of course no such comparison ever has been or ever will be possible, for the reason that the one exception of the women's work would in various ways make the other conditions of the two communities radically dissimilar. In default of some such comparison on a broad scale of the mortality of the infants of working and nonworking women of similar ages, races, intelligence, and living conditions, no one can determine accurately how many of the deaths of working women's infants are due to the mothers' work and how many to the other conditions of their lives and environment.

The nearest approach to definite conclusions which seems to be practicable is that to be obtained by a tabulation of the experience for many years of large and representative communities in which widely varying percentages of married women of childbearing age are employed in work taking them away from their homes, and by a comparison not only of the average infant death

rates for these several communities but of all their social and economic conditions which admit of statistical expression.

All that such a statistical presentation of the subject can accomplish is to point out in the simplest fashion certain facts which may help to serve as guides in determining the part which the extradomestic employment of married women plays in determining the infant death rate.

* * * * * * * * * *

As noted at the beginning of this study, it has often been customary, in approaching statistically the subject of the employment of married women in its relation to infant mortality, to ignore the many other complex social and economic factors having a bearing upon the problem. The preceding tables [1] show clearly that in the cities of New England certain of these factors which in the past have been ignored in the consideration of the problem are with fair uniformity coexistent with a high infant mortality rate; these being (1) a high proportion of foreign born, (2) a high female illiteracy, and (3) a high birth rate. These factors operate with equal force over large or small areas — that is, the results when the six New England States are regarded as units are not different than when individual cities of the State of Massachusetts are studied as units, the degree of urbanization of the population taking the place of the size of towns, and accompanying the infant death rate with almost perfect regularity through the last three census periods.

The two other factors considered in this study relate themselves with less regularity to the infant death rate. The first of these is the size of cities. Large towns, in general, have rather higher rates than small towns, although, as already noted, this relationship is found not to be invariable. For example, in the decade 1898–1907 the city of Lynn, with a population of 77,042, had an infant death rate of but 133 per 1000 births, while Lawrence, with a population of 70,050 had a death rate of 181.2 per 1000; Brockton, with a population of 47,794, of only 109.5 per 1000 births, while Chicopee, with a population of only 20,191, had an infant death rate of 178.4 per 1000 births.

[1] Omitted here.— Ed.

The second factor which is found, statistically speaking, associated very uncertainly, to say the least, with the infant death rate, is the subject of this study — the proportion of women engaged in extradomestic occupations.

It is desirable for a moment to revert to the real question of prime importance in the relation of women's work to infant mortality, namely, how many mothers of young children return to industrial employment outside of their homes before their infants have attained to the age of one year? Little accurate information is available, but the Report on the Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the Cotton Textile Industry shows that only 23, or 14.1 per cent, out of 163 married women working in cotton mills who were scheduled in New England had children under three years of age.[1] The distribution of these 23 children by ages in detail is not shown; but it is obvious that the proportion of women working in the cotton mills who have infants (children under one year) at home must be very small at any particular time, and in no wise sufficient to account for the excessive infant mortality rate of the textile cities. The fact that the employment of mothers is not the chief factor in its determination is indicated conclusively by the detailed study of the infant mortality of Fall River during 1908.

It has been noted repeatedly that the proportion which the number of foreign-born bears to the total population, the degree of urbanization, or size of cities, the birth rate, and the per cent of female illiteracy, bear, with few exceptions, a constant and striking relation to the infant death rate.

[1] The Report on the Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the Cotton Textile Industry (Vol. I, pp. 1010 and 1032) shows that out of 407 married women living in the Massachusetts cotton-mill families visited in the course of the investigation of the Bureau of Labor only 101 married women were at work as wage-earners at the time of the visits, and that only 13, or 12.9 per cent, of these were mothers of children under three years of age. Out of 806 married women living in the New England families included in the same investigation 175 married women were at work, and only 23, or 14.1 per cent, had children under three years of age. Compare Men's Ready-Made Clothing, Vol. II of this report, showing that only 9.9 per cent of the married women at work (not including home finishers) had children under three years of age; Glass Industry, Vol. III, with 14.1 per cent; and Silk Industry, with 17.3 per cent.

But it must not be inferred that these, any more than the extradomestic employment of women, are the real causes which determine that death rate. All the factors discussed in this study are rather the indices of the true causes of high or low infant death rates, the causes themselves lying deep in the social and economic structure of the different population units under consideration.

These true causes have already received study abroad, and to a less degree have been investigated in the United States more recently, and a brief summary of the findings in the case will best serve to correlate the statistical facts presented in this paper with the conditions of whose presence they are the outward sign.

It is well again to emphasize the fundamental proposition, effectively stated by Doctor Newman, that "the causes of infant mortality are composite. It has been well said that every effect has an ancestry of causes. Preëminently is this the case in regard to infant mortality, which is due to a combination of factors closely interrelated."[1] He further observes concerning the facts which seem to him to be indicated by a detailed examination of England's infant mortality statistics through many years:

1. Nearly one half (about 48 per cent) of the infant deaths in towns occur in the first three months of life;

2. The chief fatality in these first three months is caused by prematurity and immaturity;

3. By far the greatest fatality in the remainder of the first year of life is due to inflammatory conditions of the lungs and to epidemic diarrhea; and

4. Infant mortality is not declining owing to the fact that while certain diseases have enormously decreased, prematurity, pneumonia, and epidemic diarrhea have, in spite of all advance in science, steadily increased, particularly in the towns and where the lamp of social life burns low.[2]

Doctor Newsholme's observations, made in a recent official report,[3] are, generally speaking, in agreement with Doctor Newman's

[1] Newman, Infant Mortality, p. 60.

[2] It should be remembered, however, that since the publication of Dr. Newman's book, a considerable decline in the infant death rate had taken place in England, prior to the European war. Later statistics will reveal the amount of the decline and also the reactionary influence of war conditions. — Ed.

[3] Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Local Government Board of Great Britain, Supplement on Infant and Child Mortality.

statement of the salient facts, with the exception that Doctor Newsholme does not consider that there has been an absolute increase in England and Wales in deaths from prematurity. He states his conclusion thus: "There does not appear to be sufficient foundation for the statement that prematurity to an increasing extent is a cause of mortality in the English experience. There has probably been much transference of certification between different vague (related) causes of death, and it is safer to consider all these vague conditions together under a common heading. When this is done, evidence of increased death rate disappears." [1]

Two additional observations by Doctor Newsholme should be added to the conclusions of Doctor Newman:

1. A high infant death rate in a given community implies in general a high death rate in the next four years of life, while low death rates at both age periods are similarly associated.[2]

2. It is clear that the counties having high infant mortalities continue in general to suffer somewhat excessively throughout the first twenty years of human life, and that counties having low infantile mortalities continue to have relatively low death rates in the first twenty years of life, though the superiority is not so great at the later as at the earlier ages.[3]

With these fundamental facts in mind it is possible to pass to a consideration of the true factors which influence infant mortality. The following statement of Doctor Newsholme, while referring to English conditions, is apparently almost equally applicable to the conditions prevalent in Massachusetts:

These [influences] may be classified into prenatal, acting through the mother and dependent on her health; natal, and still in large measure due to the condition of the mother, *e.g.* causes of difficult parturition, though the skill of the doctor or midwife is also largely concerned; and postnatal, which arise from environmental conditions.

It has been already seen that in the counties of England and Wales showing excessive or low infant mortality these different causes of high or low mortality are acting together to such an extent as to be almost inextricable. I

[1] Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Local Government Board of Great Britain, Supplement on Infant and Child Mortality, p. 35.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 17. [Both of these conclusions have been vigorously assailed by Karl Pearson (Darwinism, Medical Progress and Eugenics, 1912) and E. C. Snow (The Intensity of Natural Selection in Man, 1911). — Ed.]

prefer, therefore, for the present, to accept the tangle and to discuss the factors of infant mortality apart from any such attempt at separation.

Among the influences affecting infant mortality are the following. They are not given in order of importance.

1. The proportion of male to female births.
2. The proportion of legitimate to illegitimate births.
3. The magnitude of the birth rate, which may for the present purpose be otherwise put as the size of the family.
4. The number of stillbirths.
5. The quality of the help given at birth.
6. The age of the wife at marriage.
7. Poverty and social conditions.
8. The extradomestic employment of married women.
9. Urban or rural conditions of life.
10. Domestic and municipal sanitation.
11. Conditions of housing.
12. Ignorance and fecklessness of mothers.

Obviously the above list is incomplete, and still more obviously the different factors overlap at various points.

It is beyond the province of this study to discuss in detail this complicated list of factors; but because of the bearing of certain of them upon the relation of the extradomestic employment of married women to the infant death rate, these must be separately considered. It will be recalled that those factors statistically presented with the two just named were the proportion of foreign-born in the total population, the degree of urbanization of the population, the birth rate, and female illiteracy.

It may at first appear that two of these four factors, which were found to show an almost invariable statistical relation to the infant death rate of Massachusetts and of New England, namely, the proportion of foreign-born and of female illiteracy, are unrelated to the determining influences listed by Doctor Newsholme. But a moment's observation will show that these two factors are but another expression of some of the most important factors named by him.

The newly arrived immigrant, especially if he be of a non-English-speaking race, must usually begin at the bottom of the industrial ladder and, therefore, is usually poor. He crowds into cities, thus rapidly increasing the degree of urbanization and the

size of the cities. Owing to his ignorance, his poverty, and his low standard of life he is often found under the worst housing conditions which our cities afford. More than that, he not only lives in the worst houses, but in the worst districts of our cities, speaking from the sanitary viewpoint, and as if this is not enough, coupled with the unfair treatment which his adopted city gives him in the form of wretched housing and squalid streets, his wife, unused to the living conditions into which she finds herself thrust, is likely to be none too successful in her efforts to cope with the situation, and her housekeeping is often far from sanitary according to the standard necessary for urban health.

More than this, there is a distinct tendency to early marriage and large families among the foreign-born, thus accentuating poverty, and owing to the custom among them of employing midwives, the quality of help given at birth is frequently far from good.

The proportion of foreign-born in a given population also would serve in the absence of other data as an index of the ignorance of mothers, but in this case we have the high per cent of female illiteracy in the high mortality towns, a rough but valuable index of what Doctor Newsholme calls the "ignorance and fecklessness of mothers."

In other words, a high proportion of foreign-born in a city, with its correlative, the per cent of female illiteracy, indicates with reasonable assurance that in that city —

(*a*) A large proportion of its population will live in poverty.

(*b*) A large proportion will live under the worst conditions as to housing, domestic and municipal sanitation. This is likely to involve, it will be remembered, a bad milk supply and all the conditions of filth which are the powerful causes of epidemic diarrhea in infants.

(*c*) In such a city, with the preponderance of foreign traditions and standards, a large proportion of its women will marry young and bear large families.

(*d*) At birth too often the care given will be that of an ignorant midwife.

(*e*) After birth the mother, hampered by poverty and ignorance, often will have little idea how to care for her child.

It would seem, therefore, that at least some of Doctor Newsholme's conclusions as to the significance of these influences would be applicable equally to England or to Massachusetts. He finds that —

1. "Large families evidently do not necessarily imply a tendency to high infant mortality. The connection often observed between a high birth rate and a high rate of infant mortality probably is due in great part to the fact that large families are common among the poorest classes, and these classes are specially exposed to the degrading influences producing excessive infant mortality." [1] Expressed in another form and applied to Massachusetts, the high birth rate of the Massachusetts cities having also a high death rate means that a large number of infants are born into conditions under which they cannot survive.

2. As to the quality of help given at birth "there is much *prima facie* evidence pointing to negligent and careless attendance in childbirth and to consequently excessive mortality not only of mothers but also of infants in early infancy." [2]

3. "Early motherhood is associated to a minor extent with a relatively high infant mortality."

4. "Infant mortality is higher among the poor than among the well-to-do, although natural feeding of infants is probably more general among the former."

5. "Infant mortality is always highest in crowded centers of population; but a high infant mortality can (by proper measures as to sanitation and housing) be avoided even under conditions of dense aggregation of population." [3]

6. "Infant mortality is highest in those counties where, under urban conditions of life, filthy privies are permitted, where scavenging is neglected, and where the streets and yards are to a large extent not 'made up' or 'paved.'" [4]

"Diarrhea is most prevalent where municipal sanitation is bad. It cannot be entirely removed unless infants' food is prepared under absolutely cleanly conditions."

[1] Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Local Government Board of Great Britain, Supplement on Infant and Child Mortality, p. 49.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 52. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 75. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

7. Doctor Newsholme quotes with approval in regard to the ignorance of mothers the following statement by Doctor Reid, county medical officer for Staffordshire:

> Of course there are many contributory causes of excessive infant mortality, most of which are preventable, but there is one which far exceeds all others in potency, namely, the prevailing ignorance among mothers as to the proper feeding of infants.[1]

An American authority on the diseases of children has recently reiterated this conclusion of Doctor Reid: "It is generally agreed that fully one half of these infant deaths could be prevented by adequate measures of relief. In proof of this are two incontrovertible facts: First, the death rate among exclusively breast-fed babies is comparatively small. Second, the death rate among artificially fed babies, properly cared for and given the best artificial diet, is likewise small. Ignorance on the part of the mother is perhaps the greatest single factor in this annual slaughter of the innocents."[2]

It seems only reasonable to conclude that the presence of the conditions indicated above as productive of a high infant mortality are amply sufficient to account for the high mortality of the textile cities of Massachusetts, and that their absence in the great shoe cities, as indicated by the fact that the proportion of foreign-born is low, the illiteracy of the female population insignificant, and the wages in the dominant industry high, accounts for the relatively low infant mortality rates of those cities. That these factors are true indices of generally good conditions in the latter group is clearly shown by their general death rates. Brockton, with a general death rate of only 13.20 in 1900, was by far the healthiest city of its size in the entire East, and but 27 of all the 343 registration cities in the United States had a rate equally low. Lynn also had a comparatively low general death rate, and Haverhill, Marlboro, North Adams, and Waltham have all been

[1] Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Local Government Board of Great Britain, Supplement on Infant and Child Mortality, p. 101.

[2] J. H. Mason Knox, Jr., in *Journal of the American Public Health Association*, January, 1911, p. 44.

well below the average general death rate of registration cities for many years.[1]

The point now to be considered is the English experience in regard to the employment of married women in extradomestic occupations. It has been repeatedly emphasized that for the cities of Massachusetts accurate figures are not available, and in lieu of them the proportion of women of ten years and over industrially employed has been taken as an index of the significance of this factor.

It was clearly shown that the statistics for the 32 cities of Massachusetts considered in detail in the preceding pages in no wise bear out the frequent assumption that the employment of married women is a major factor in determining the infant death rate. A detailed study of the infant mortality in Fall River, to which reference has been made,[2] likewise fails to support this contention.

In Great Britain the statement of Sir John Simon, already quoted, of that assumed relationship has been generally accepted without question until of late years. The Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, however, which reported in 1904, although it cited much evidence which maintained its accuracy was, on the whole, rather noncommittal in its report, which stated that "though the facts seem to point to a strong presumption that it [excessive infant mortality] is also connected with the employment of mothers, the information is not so complete as might be desired.[3] In 1908, in commenting upon Doctor Simon's statements, Doctor Newman qualified them slightly: "We cannot now, with the new facts and experience of half a century behind us, wholly subscribe to these conclusions."[4] He admitted also that certain towns with a high infant mortality showed a low proportion of occupied women, and pointed out the complexity of the supposed relationship:

[1] See Massachusetts State Board of Health Report for 1908, p. 812, and Twelfth Census, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 292–554.

[2] See Part II of this volume (61st Cong. 2d Session, Sen. Doc. No. 645).

[3] Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, Vol. I, p. 45.

[4] Newman, Infant Mortality, p. 98.

But the mere fact of extensive employment of women, and particularly of mothers in factories, cannot be regarded as significant of itself. To gauge the effect of such employment on the children of such women, reference must be made to some of the following factors which play a part in the problem, namely, (*a*) the character and condition of the work, (*b*) the length of hours, (*c*) employment before and after childbirth, and (*d*) the sanitation of factories and workshops. To these also should be added the variations in the birth rate prevalent in different trades, the effect of certain industries upon maternity in the way of raising (if such be possible) or reducing the standard and practice of mothers as to the care of infants, and, lastly, the causes of the mothers' employment.

Doctor Newsholme, in a detailed analysis of the infant mortality statistics of England and Wales, has found that a study of the industries involved confirms the conclusion that the employment of married women is not a dominant factor, but reaches the reasonable conclusion that because it is not the greatest cause it does not follow that it is to be ignored.

It will thus be seen that this study, in indicating that the employment of women is not a controlling factor in determining the infant death rates of the cities of Massachusetts, is in exact agreement with the results of a careful analysis of English statistics through a long period.

CHAPTER VI

THE ETHICS OF POPULATION POLICIES; NEO-MALTHUSIANISM

Population or prosperity, 219. — American views on population, 220. — Rapid settlement and disappearance of the frontier, 221. — Estimates of future population, 223. — Consequences of further increase, 223. — Need of a conservation policy, 225. — Conditions of progress, 226. — Neo-Malthusianism, 228 — Bearing of the Malthusian law of population on morality, 228. — The desire to restrict fertility, 234. — The need of Neo-Malthusianism, 236.

18. POPULATION OR PROSPERITY[1]

The question posed by Malthus refuses to be ignored. Again and again the nations are forced to give ear to it. The celebrated essay in 1798 marked the boundary between two eras of thought on this question. Before that a large and increasing population was generally favored; since that date it has never ceased to be looked upon by some with doubt and with fear.

The contrast between the two eras, however, is less in respect to the judgment of results than in respect to the criterion by which those results are to be measured. Before Malthus the criterion was the prosperity of the sovereign and of the ruling classes; thereafter it became the welfare of the increasing masses. Unwittingly, but none the less truly, Malthus set before the eyes of men a new picture of the humble unit of population. Instead of the man with the hoe, patient taxpayer and soldier of the king, frugal workman contributing with his teeming fellows to swell the rents of landlords and the profits of employers, Malthus helped the world to see the human individual, striving to maintain a family and to win the joys of life, but finding the very number

[1] By Frank A. Fetter. Adapted from *The American Economic Review Supplement*, Vol. III, No. 1 (March, 1913), pp. 1–12, 17–19. This was the presidential address at the 1912 meeting of the American Economic Association.

of his fellows an obstacle in the way toward these ends. Before Malthus population was a question either of political or of commercial economy; with him it began to be a question of social economy.

These statements appear paradoxical when one recalls that the first purpose of Malthus was to dispel the illusory hopes of social perfection. His proposition that population has a fateful tendency to outstrip the production of food was used to condone the patent evils of existing society. His doctrine became the stock argument to discourage plans of social betterment. This may all be granted. Our purpose is not to praise Malthus but to appreciate him. In the perspective of more than a century neither the conscious purposes of men nor the immediate applications of their teachings are usually seen to have determined their real influence. Malthus had in some ways a narrow outlook, and his often confused thought gave false implications to the main truth he brought to public attention. Yet he was a man of gentle spirit, far from harsh and unsympathetic. Approaching the question solely with the purpose of the student without political or commercial bias, he became the agent in advancing, if not in originating, the humanitarian and democratic treatment of the population problem. That problem is to determine the best proportion between the number of inhabitants and the area and resources of a land, judged with reference to the abiding welfare of the great mass of the people of the nation.

American views on population were from the first unfriendly to the Malthusian doctrine. It appeared in the earlier textbooks of English origin or written under English influence, and as a mere classroom abstraction it was given a small measure of curious attention. But in any of its forms it involved an opinion adverse to an unrestrained increase of population, whereas the conditions in America made such an idea appear false as theory and harmful in practice. A growing population was favorable to the interests alike of landowners, of active business men, of the rival sections, and of the national government. There resulted from this economic situation a peculiarly American optimism on the subject. Density of population as an influence favorable to the

division of labor and to the economies of production in manufacture was looked upon as in itself an efficient cause in increasing the per capita income. One type of this optimism, exemplified by Henry George, denied on principle that population ever could increase too much. Another type, represented by Henry Carey, held that population in fact was not likely to increase too much in America. The national bias often led to crediting to American character all of the benefits resulting from exceptional natural resources combined with relative scarcity of population. This bias and this reasoning still survive among us to-day.

Students of American economic conditions are familiar with the series of shaded charts in the Census volumes on population showing by decades the extension of the settled area since 1790 and its gradually increasing density. As one studies the earlier of these charts one can see how the blank spaces on the maps of that day must have aroused the imagination and the hopes of men. There lay whole empires of land almost untenanted and calling to be used. Decade by decade for a hundred years the frontier extended at a hardly slackening rate while the density increased on the settled area, until abruptly, about 1890, the process ended or changed its nature. The chart for 1900 shows little alteration in its outline from that for a decade earlier. The increase of population in the decade had been 13,000,000, but of these, 8,000,000 had been added to the urban and only 5,000,000 to the rural population. In the following decade, from 1900 to 1910, the increase was 16,000,000, of which 12,000,000 were added to the urban and but 4,000,000 to the rural population. Dividing our national history since 1790 into four periods, each of thirty years, it is seen that in the first the density per mile increased .7 of an inhabitant, in the second 2.4 inhabitants, in the third 9, and in the fourth 14. Thus the increase in the number per square mile has gone on at an accelerating rate, and was twenty times as fast in the last as in the first period. As an index of the demands which increasing population makes upon resources, these figures are more truly significant than are the absolute numbers of people or the percentage of increase by decades; for they show how many additional inhabitants must

find employment, materials, and food on the available area. This means greater intensiveness of utilization. The cumulative additions are now made on an area nearing, or already past, the point of maximum advantage to the masses of the nation.

By 1890 the habitable agricultural area of the United States had not been completely occupied, but the frontier of fertile lands ready for man's use had at length been all but attained. Suddenly was unmasked the true character of those great, uncolored areas shown on the map. Deserts they are, for the most part, deserts they must ever remain. Nature had no more free gifts to distribute to the prodigal children of America. She would grant still some new arable fields, but only for the price of toil and patient art. Our increasing population must thenceforth find its livelihood in the more intensive cultivation of the settled areas. We had been rapidly losing those economic advantages which had distinguished us from the older, more densely settled countries. A new economic situation confronted our people.

Economic results did not long delay their appearance. In the nineties of the last century the wave of popular prosperity at length attained its crest. Some great forces lifting wages throughout Christendom despite any counteracting effects from increasing population seem at last to have spent themselves. Cheap food from America had been a boon to the European workman as well as to the American. The year 1896 marked the lowest American prices in recent decades for food and for farm products. The year 1898 was that of maximum export of foodstuffs from the United States. Since 1896 food and other farm products have almost steadily advanced in price at a more rapid rate than general prices; since 1898 exports of foodstuffs from the United States have less steadily, but none the less surely, declined. In the past twenty years the general progress in science and the technical arts has been phenomenal. It is the accepted economic belief that the trend and effect of such changes is favorable to the real wages of labor. The last twenty years, therefore, should have been a period of rapidly rising wages had not this technical progress been offset by some powerful opposing forces. Why have real wages risen so slowly or even fallen? In part no doubt the explanation

may be found in the fact that when the general scale of prices is rising wages move more tardily. In large part the explanation must be found in the fact that we have passed the point of diminishing returns in the relation of our population to our resources. The growth of population is serving to neutralize for the masses of the people the gains of technical progress. It is high time to revise the optimistic American doctrine of population.

The public is accustomed to the estimates of enormous population possible on the present area of this country. These estimates express to many, perhaps to most Americans, not only the possible but also the inevitable and desirable increase. They ask: Why should not an area almost equal to that of Europe support 400,000,000 instead of one fourth that number? We have little more than thirty inhabitants per square mile. France and Austria-Hungary have each a population over six times as dense, Switzerland eight times, Germany and Italy ten times, the Netherlands fifteen times, and Belgium twenty-two times. We have but to equal Italy to support a population of a billion. We have but to equal Belgium to support two and a quarter billions. But if we could conceivably support such a future population on the present area it would be in what manner, with what gain to civilization and at what cost to the popular welfare?

Take the German Empire as a standard of comparison. Despite the great material advances in Germany of late, the real wages of the working people are much below those in America. Who would suggest that with the conditions of popular thought in America we could calmly contemplate the decline of wages and of the standard of living among us toward those of the German masses to-day?

The Swiss in their mountainous land with a population four fifths as dense as that of Germany are achieving quite as wonderful a result. Only a marvel of patient industry enables the Swiss to draw their livelihood from such an area. Watch the Swiss peasant at his work and you may understand. The cattle stand in the stable while the peasant cuts their food and brings it to them lest they may trample down the precious grass. Man's labor is less valuable there than are the uses of that little patch

of land. In the haying season the harvester clings with one hand to the steep mountain side, cutting the grass by the handful and piling it in little bunches loaded down with stones to keep it from blowing away, until it can be carried down into the valley on the backs of men and women. That is what such a density of population means, translated into terms of human labor.

Shall Italy be our population-ideal? A recent well-known traveler[1] from America reports the ordinary food of the laborer in Sicily as consisting of "a piece of black bread and perhaps a bit of soup of green herbs of some kind or other." "For days or months the peasants live on almost any sort of green thing they find in the fields, frequently eating it raw just like the cattle."

In the light of such facts, the flights of speculative statistics regarding the possible increase of our population evidence a forgetfulness of economic principles and a recklessness of economic consequences. To force production very fast or far on a given area entails some notable results. Cultivation must become in part more intensive, with hand labor, in part more expensive, with a larger investment in equipment on larger farms.

We have heard much of late the appeal, Back to the land! As a plan to be followed by masses of men with the hope of relieving the pressure of population it is vain. Every time one pair of hands is added to the agricultural population, three more mouths are added to the city population waiting to consume the products.

America has no exclusive knowledge of mechanical inventions and no exclusive claim to their use. They are internationally patented and for sale. Whoever finds it profitable may use them. If they are used less in other countries it is because the work can be done more cheaply by hand under their conditions. The general level of the use of machinery is largely fixed by the relations between population and resources, and not by any mysterious racial talent for machinery. It is the density of population that mainly explains the contrast in this regard between the people of Europe on the one hand, and on the other those of the same races in America, Canada, and Australia.

[1] Booker T. Washington, in "The Man Farthest Down," 1912.

Popular welfare in America is already threatened. To preserve the favorable relation of population to resources and to control in some measure the fate and fortunes of the children of this and future generations the two most important means possible are: conservation of national resources, and retarding the rate of increase of population.

For the conservation movement, that sadly belated attempt to check national prodigality, let us speak only words of approval. But we must recognize its limitations. As to minerals, it only delays their inevitable, final exhaustion. At the present rate of increase of the use of our stores, iron ore will be exhausted in thirty years, petroleum in ninety years, and coal in one hundred fifty years. If, however, the population became stationary, the periods of possible use would be enormously extended. In the reclamation of soil by drainage and irrigation the outlook is that about 15 per cent may thus be added ultimately to the area in farms, representing at the most 40 per cent addition to the present food production by present methods. Even when all this has been accomplished at much cost it provides barely for two decades of increase of our population at the present rate, and by 1930 the national demand for food will again be in the same relation to the productive area that it now is.

The hope is ever with us that improvements in agricultural methods will offset the influence of the increase of population. We rightly speak of the wonders of the new agriculture; but these improvements fast crowding upon each other in the past two decades have not even kept the cost of food from increasing in terms of the common man's wage. Shall we then base an economic policy on the assumption of much greater improvements which as yet are only in the realm of imagination? Undoubtedly the development of water power will retard the trend toward higher prices of coal; forestry will eventually grow lumber enough to meet the greatly curtailed demand at higher prices; but, given a population steadily increasing at anything like the present rate, and real wages in America must decrease in terms of food, clothing, and fuel, and all the commodities dependent on wood, iron, copper, and other primary materials. The steady increase alone

of population will offset the popular benefits of the new miracles of industrial progress.

The percentual rate of increase of population in the United States has shown a general downward trend since the Civil War. Before 1860 it had been steadily near 35 per cent each decade; between 1860 and 1890 it ranged between 30 and 23 per cent; and in each of the last two decades it has been about 21 per cent. This downward trend has been tardily following a declining birth rate. Race suicide, however, is very far from being an imminent peril for the nation as a whole. The real occasion for disquietude is that this phenomenon is so largely correlated with education and with eminent attainment. In many families the birth rate is much too high for the welfare of the parents, of the children, and of the community. Recent studies among city populations have demonstrated that as the number of births in a family passes a moderate limit the mortality increases inordinately.

Our population increased between 1900 and 1910 nearly sixteen million people. A much slower rate of growth would realize the common prediction of a quarter billion in another century, and a half billion in two centuries. So far as these figures are based on forecasts of "natural increase" (exclusive of immigration), they may prove to be largely overestimated. Changes in public opinion, in social standards, in the means of communication and of education, in industry, and in family relations, are in rapid progress. Affecting wider and wider circles, these influences promise to strengthen greatly the forces making for volitional control of population. The earlier applications of the doctrine of eugenics probably will be to control the increase of mental and of physical defectives. These forces, if not neutralized, will rapidly reduce the rate of increase.[1]

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John Stuart Mill, in discussing the future of society when population might be expected to have ceased increasing, employed an already current term, the "stationary state." The phrase is hardly felicitous for, as he explained, this does not mean a society stationary in the industrial arts and in mental, moral, and social culture.

[1] The author's discussion of immigration as the factor neutralizing the declining natural increase is omitted. — Ed.

Indeed it was just such a condition of a stationary population that he deemed the ultimate ideal when once that degree of density had been attained which made possible the highest level of the general welfare. The theory of evolution as applied to social progress has suggested that a certain pressure of conflicting and thwarted desires is required to keep a people industrious, inventive, and progressive. The crude version of the theory implies the necessity of competition on the plane of physical want resulting from the pressure of population. A subtler conception would place this competition on the higher plane of developing desires made possible by industrial advance, political democracy, popular education, and a widening horizon of thought. A large part of our people have attained that stage now, and the cultural circle is ever widening. The spur of progress consists of the felt limitations of incomes, relative to expanding desires, rather than in the pangs of hunger. Once the spur of progress was objective, now it is subjective.

In the last century popular education and ideals were rising at the same time that a rising scale of wages was made possible by industrial improvements accompanying the development of great material resources. Yet this fortunate union of events did not suffice to prevent the growth of discontent. Popular aspirations outstripped material progress. Much more ominous is the situation now that the pressure of population in America is beginning to check and reverse this trend of the popular welfare. Those who profit for a time by these shifts in the forces of distribution may find, like those who benefited by slavery, that they have bartered the peace and security of their children for the pleasures of a brief season.

The common man in our democracy has at stake the preservation of the advantages of our broad territory and bountiful resources. The only factor in the present increase of population that is controllable in large measure by legislative action is immigration. Many representatives of organized labor, though moved by more immediate considerations than those here presented, favor limitation. But the mass of the workers, diverted by false counsels, traditional sentiments, and racial sympathies, are divided on the

question. Without help from other groups of citizens the laborers of America cannot obtain the needed legislation. Whether that help will be progressively granted in the years to come depends on the clearness of our economic judgments and on the strength of our patriotic ideals. Perhaps those ideals are not clear to us. Would we have the level of the popular welfare in America fall even by a little if this could be prevented? Would we rival other lands rather in population than in prosperity? Would we wish to gain in density of settlement while losing in that largeness of opportunity and of outlook which makes possible the traits most distinctive of American life? Already we have on our map many cities swarming like ant hills, the delight of the real estate speculator and the despair of true friends of humanity. Shall it be our ideal to multiply men on city streets and in smoking suburbs, away from fields, and forests, and mountains; or shall we not rather give to all our people space to earn an ample living and to live an ample life, worthy of our democratic ideal?

19. THE BEARING OF THE MALTHUSIAN LAW OF POPULATION UPON HUMAN CONDUCT AND MORALS[1]

This preventive check [late marriages] would doubtless be an effectual one, but it is open to grave and fatal objections, and would only replace one set of evils by another. If late marriage were generally practiced the most melancholy results would follow. The more marriage is delayed, the more prostitution spreads. It is necessary to gravely remind all advocates of late marriage that men do not and will not live single, and all women, and all men who honor women, should protest against a teaching which would inevitably make permanent that terrible social evil which is the curse of civilization, and which condemns numbers of unhappy creatures to a disgraceful and revolting calling. Prostitution is an evil which we should strive to eradicate, not to perpetuate, and late marriage, generally adopted, would most certainly perpetuate it.

[1] By Annie Besant. Adapted from The Law of Population, its Consequences, and its Bearing upon Human Conduct and Morals, pp. 27–31, 37–46. Freethought Publishing Company, London.

The evils resulting from late marriage to those who remain really celibate, must not be overlooked in weighing this recommendation of it as a cure for the evils of overpopulation. Celibacy is not natural to men or to women; all bodily needs require their legitimate satisfaction, and celibacy is a disregard of natural law. The asceticism which despises the body is a contempt of nature, and a revolt against her; the morality which upholds virginity as the type of womanly perfection is unnatural; to be in harmony with nature, men and women should be husbands and wives, fathers and mothers, and until nature evolves a neuter sex celibacy will ever be a mark of imperfection.

Fortunately, late marriage will never be generally practiced in any community; the majority of men and women will never consent to remain single during the brightness of youth, when passion is strongest and feelings most powerful, and to marry only when life is half over and its bloom and its beauty have faded into middle age. But it is important that late marriage should not even be regarded as desirable, for if it became an accepted doctrine among the thoughtful that late marriage was the only escape from overpopulation, a serious difficulty would arise; the best of the people, the most careful, the most provident, the most intelligent, would remain celibate and barren, while the careless, thoughtless, thriftless ones would marry and produce large families; this evil is found to prevail to some extent even now; the more thoughtful, seeing the misery resulting from large families on low wage, often abstain from marriage, and have to pay heavy poor-rates for the support of the thoughtless and their families. The preventive check proposed by Malthus must therefore be rejected, and a wiser solution of the problem must be sought.

It remains, then, to ask how is this duty to be performed? It is clearly useless to preach the limitation of the family, and to conceal the means whereby such limitation may be effected. If the limitation be a duty, it cannot be wrong to afford such information as shall enable people to discharge it.

Many people, perfectly good-hearted, but somewhat narrow-minded, object strongly to the idea of conjugal prudence, and

regard scientific checks to population as "a violation of nature's laws, and a frustration of nature's ends." Such people, a hundred years ago, would have applauded the priest who objected to lightning conductors as being an interference with the bolts of Deity; they exist in every age, the rejoicers over past successes, and the timid disapprovers of new discoveries. Let us analyze the argument. "A violation of nature's laws"; this objection is couched in somewhat unscientific phrase; nature's "laws" are but the observed sequences of events; man cannot violate them; he may disregard them, and suffer in consequence; he may observe them, and regulate his conduct so as to be in harmony with them. Man's prerogative is that by the use of his reason he is able to study nature outside himself, and by observation may so control nature, as to make her add to his happiness instead of bringing him misery. To limit the family is no more a violation of nature's laws, than to preserve the sick by medical skill; the restriction of the birth rate does not violate nature's laws more than does the restriction of the death rate. Science strives to diminish the positive checks; science should also discover the best preventive checks. "The frustration of nature's ends." Why should we worship nature's ends? Nature flings lightning at our houses; we frustrate her ends by the lightning conductor. Nature divides us by seas and by rivers; we frustrate her ends by sailing over the seas, and by bridging the rivers. Nature sends typhus fever and ague to slay us; we frustrate her ends by purifying the air, and by draining the marshes. Oh! it is answered, you only do this by using other natural powers. Yes, we answer, and we only teach conjugal prudence by balancing one natural force against another. Such study of nature, and such balancing of natural forces, is civilization.

It is next objected that preventive checks are "unnatural" and "immoral." "Unnatural" they are not; for the human brain is nature's highest product, and all improvements on irrational nature are most purely natural; preventive checks are no more unnatural than every other custom of civilization. Raw meat, nakedness, living in caves, these are the *irrational* natural habits; cooked food, clothes, houses, these are the *rational* natural customs.

Production of offspring recklessly, carelessly, lustfully, this is irrational nature, and every brute can here outdo us; production of offspring with forethought, earnestness, providence, this is rational nature, where man stands alone. But "immoral." What is morality? It is the greatest good of the greatest number. It is immoral to give life where you cannot support it. It is immoral to bring children into the world when you cannot clothe, feed, and educate them. It is immoral to crowd new life into already overcrowded houses, and to give birth to children wholesale who never have a chance of healthy life. Conjugal prudence is most highly moral, and "those who endeavor to vilify and degrade these means in the eyes of the public, and who speak of them as 'immoral' and 'disgusting,' are little aware of the moral responsibility they incur thereby. As already shown, to reject preventive intercourse is in reality to choose the other three true population checks — poverty, prostitution, and celibacy. So far from meriting reprobation, the endeavor to spread the knowledge of the preventive methods, of the great law of nature which renders them necessary, is in my opinion the very greatest service which can at present be done to mankind."

But the knowledge of these scientific checks would, it is argued, make vice bolder, and would increase unchastity among women by making it safe. Suppose that this were so, it might save some broken hearts and some deserted children; men ruin women and go scatheless, and then bitterly object that their victims escape something of public shame. And if so, are all to suffer, so that one or two, already corrupt in heart, may be preserved from becoming corrupt in act? Are mothers to die slowly that impure women may be held back, and wives to be sacrificed, that the unchaste may be curbed?

An extraordinary confusion exists in some minds between preventive checks and infanticide. People speak as though prevention were the same as destruction. But no life is destroyed by the prevention of conception, any more than by abstention from marriage; if it is infanticide for every man and woman not to produce as many children as possible during the fertile period of life, if every person in a state of celibacy commits infanticide because

of the potential life he prevents, then, of course, the prevention of conception by married persons is also infanticide; the two things are on exactly the same level. When conception has taken place, then prevention is no longer possible, and a new life having been made, the destruction of that life would be criminal. Before conception no life exists to be destroyed; the seminal fluid is simply a secretion of the body; its fertilizing power is not a living thing, the non-use of which destroys life; the spermatozoa, the active fertilizing agents, are not living existences, and "they have been erroneously considered as proper animalculæ" (Carpenter). Life is not made until the male and female elements are united, and if this is prevented, either by abstention from intercourse among the unmarried, or by preventive intercourse among the married, life is not destroyed, because the life is not yet in existence.

Leaving objectors, let us look at the other side of the question. The system of preventive checks to population points us to the true pathway of safety; it is an immediate relief, and at once lightens the burden of poverty. Each married couple have it in their power to avoid poverty for themselves and for their children, by determining, when they enter on married life, that they will not produce a family larger than they can comfortably maintain: thus they avoid the daily harass of domestic struggle; they rejoice over two healthy, robust, well-fed children, instead of mourning over seven frail, sickly, half-starved ones; they look forward to an old age of comfort and of respectability instead of one of painful dependence on a grudgingly given charity.

It is well worthy of notice that those who have pleaded for scientific checks to population have also been those who have been identified with the struggle for political and religious freedom; Carlile defended the use of such — as advocated in his "Every Woman's Book" — as follows:

There are four grounds on which my "Every Woman's Book" and its recommendation can be defended, and each of them in itself sufficient to justify the publication, and to make it meritorious. First — the political or national ground; which refers to the strength and wealth of the nation, and the greatest happiness of the greatest number of the people. Second — the local or commercial ground, or the ground of the wages of labor, and its supply in the

several trades and districts. Third — the domestic or family ground, where the parents may think they have already children enough, and that more will be an injury. Fourth — the individual ground, where the state of health in the female, or her situation in life, will not justify a pregnancy; but where the abstinence from love becomes as great an evil. It has been a sort of common, but ill-judged maxim, that the strength and wealth of a nation consist in the number, the greatest number, of its people. The error in the judgment of the maxim is, in not taking into consideration whether that number be well or ill employed, well or ill fed, clothed and housed. If the number be well employed, well fed, well clothed, well housed, then the greatness of the number is in reality the wealth and strength of the nation. But if, on the other hand, the greatness of the number lessens the means of good employment, good living, clothing, and housing, then, as in England and Ireland, at this moment, under the present arrangements of government, aristocracy, religion, etc., the greatness of the number constitutes the weakness of the nation; and England and Ireland are both weak at this moment: weak, too evidently weak, from ill-employed or unemployed members of the people. It is objected to me, that there is a sufficiency of natural checks already in existence, to remedy the evils of which I complain. My answer is, that these natural checks are the evil of which I do complain, and *which I seek to remove by the substitution of a* MORAL CHECK, *that shall furnish no pain, no degradation, no discomfort, no evil of any kind.* The existing natural or physical checks are disease or pestilence and famine. Surely it is to be desired that neither of these should exist. It is not wise, not parental, not kind, to breed children to such disasters. It is better that they should not be born, than be cut off prematurely by disease or famine, or struggle through a life of disease, poverty, and misery, a life of pain to themselves, and both a pain and burthen to their parents. The existing moral checks on numbers are war, and social arrangements, such as poverty, late marriages, celibacy, and the bad health which bad states of living produce; to which may be added, states of servitude, in which marriage is found inconvenient. These are all so many evils — all will say. It would be well to go on without war, and the time will come when wars will cease. In the question of trade, a government can do nothing more than remove impediments. It cannot increase the amount of trade beyond its natural demand. It cannot force trade to any permanent utility. Therefore I take it to be a clear point, that no change in government will do anything permanently for the relief of the present number of persons employed in surplus production. In limiting the number of children, as applicable to such a case, there is a double relief; an immediate relief to the parents, in not incurring expenses which cannot be well met, and a remote relief, in not bringing forth new laborers, when those existing cannot find employment. Besides, there is something cruel, wanton, base, and parentally unfeeling, in the principle that says: "I will bring all the children I can into the world, and if I cannot maintain them some other persons who care nothing about them must, or, which is the real alternative, they may starve."

20. THE DESIRE TO RESTRICT FERTILITY[1]

The desire to keep fertility within such limits as each one for himself deems reasonable has generally been characteristic of a decadent state of society. It must not be assumed to have had its origin in modern times, for the contrary is thoroughly well established by history; nor is it, in modern times, peculiar to the State into whose social condition, in respect of population, it has been our special duty to inquire. Though we have found that the free play given to this desire has been the main factor in the decline of birth rate in New South Wales, it must be borne in mind that in all the countries, including France, England, and the United States, where a decline of natural increase due to scarcity of births has been studied, the prominence of the same factor has been recognized.

Witnesses one after another, in the course of this inquiry, have testified to the exercise of this desire; they have also referred to the readiness, and even spontaneity, of married people in admitting a deliberate restriction in the number of their children by recourse to artificial checks. In addition to this, we recognize that there may be a certain number of instances in which the restraint of natural impulse is effective in marriage as well as in postponing marriage. The reason almost invariably given by people for restricting procreation is that they cannot conveniently afford to rear more than a certain number of children. In some instances we believe the people are sincere in stating this as their reason; and that they honestly, though mistakenly, believe want of adequate means to be a sufficient justification for interference with the course of nature. The witnesses themselves, however, suggest that, in the majority of cases, this is not the true reason; they say that there are:

1. An unwillingness to submit to the strain and worry of children;

2. A dislike of the interference with pleasure and comfort involved in childbearing and childrearing;

[1] From the Report of the Royal Commission on the Decline of the Birth Rate and on the Mortality of Infants in New South Wales, Sydney, 1904, Vol. I, pp. 16–17.

3. A desire to avoid the actual physical discomfort of gestation, parturition, and lactation; and

4. A love of luxury and of social pleasures, which is increasing.

It will be seen that the reasons given for resorting to limitation have one element in common, namely, selfishness.[1] They are, in fact, indicative of the desire of the individual to avoid his obligations to the community; and they serve to exemplify the observation that "the effort of the race towards its increase in numbers is in inverse ratio to the effort of the individual towards his personal development." They are the same kind of reasons as might be expected to be given in any community where the phenomenon of the voluntary limitation of the size of families is observed.

The question, however, has presented itself to us, why, during the last twenty years or so, the avoidance of procreation in New South Wales should have become so prevalent as to materially reduce the birth rate. The answer seems to us to be, not so much that the future prospects for the rising generation are unfavorable, as some have suggested; but that the restraints which previously operated against the desire to regulate the size of families have lately been either weakened or removed. These restraints, we consider, have been mainly of two kinds: first, religious feeling, which, we think, formerly actuated a larger proportion of the people; and, second, ignorance of the means of accomplishing the desire. In regard to the latter we see that, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a wave of popular feeling spread over a great part of the civilized world, favorable to the individual control of the size of families; and with it there has been a general diffusion of the knowledge of methods by which restriction might be accomplished which previously was wanting. The history of this movement is matter of common knowledge. Despite Malthus's repudiation, early in the century, of artificial checks to the growth of population, these checks soon had their advocates; and, towards the end of the third quarter of the century, a prominent school of writers on social subjects

[1] It is worthy of note that the members of the Commission were all men. — ED.

arose, with Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant as its chief exponents, who thought they saw in the limitation of families a means of alleviating the burdens of poverty. Since then the followers of this school have availed themselves, in times and places of prosperity and plenty, of the instructions intended by the Neo-Malthusians only for the very poor, with the result that marriage rates and birth rates have diverged in many parts of the world. This propaganda of limitation of families was followed by a traffic in the materials used for the purpose of prevention, which, in its turn, has encouraged the popular tendency, and brought facilities for prevention within the knowledge and reach of a very large proportion of the community. In due course these doctrines and this branch of commerce established themselves in Australia, and their introduction and extension have been concomitant with the commencement and acceleration of the decline of the birth rate.

21. THE ETHICS OF NEO-MALTHUSIANISM[1]

The second great channel[2] through which the impulse towards the control of procreation for the elevation of the race is entering into practical life is by the general adoption, by the educated classes of all countries — and it must be remembered that, in this matter at all events, all classes are gradually beginning to become educated — of methods for the prevention of conception except when conception is deliberately desired. It is no longer permissible to discuss the validity of this control, for it is an accomplished fact and has become a part of our modern morality. "If a course of conduct is habitually and deliberately pursued by vast multitudes of otherwise well-conducted people, forming probably a majority of the whole educated class of the nation," as Sidney Webb rightly puts it, "we must assume that it does not conflict with their actual code of morality."[3]

[1] By Havelock Ellis. Adapted from Sex in Relation to Society, pp. 588–593. F. A. Davis Company, Philadelphia, 1913.

[2] The first is "the growing sense of sexual responsibility among women as well as men." — ED.

[3] Sidney Webb, *Popular Science Monthly*, 1906, p. 526 (previously published in the *London Times*, October 11, and October 16, 1906).

From time to time many energetic persons have noisily demanded that a stop should be put to the decline of the birth rate, for, they argue, it means "race suicide." It is now beginning to be realized, however, that this outcry was a foolish and mischievous mistake. It is impossible to walk through the streets of any great city, full of vast numbers of persons who, obviously, ought never to have been born, without recognizing that the birth rate is as yet very far above its normal and healthy limit. The greatest States have often been the smallest so far as mere number of citizens is concerned, for it is quality not quantity that counts. And while it is true that the increase of the best types of citizens can only enrich a State, it is now becoming intolerable that a nation should increase by the mere dumping down of procreative refuse in its midst. It is beginning to be realized that this process not only depreciates the quality of a people but imposes on a State an inordinate financial burden.

It is now well recognized that large families are associated with degeneracy, and, in the widest sense, with abnormality of every kind. Thus, it is undoubtedly true that men of genius tend to belong to very large families, though it may be pointed out to those who fear an alarming decrease of genius from the tendency to the limitation of the family, that the position in the family most often occupied by the child of genius is the first-born.[1] The insane, the idiotic, imbecile, and weak-minded, the criminal, the epileptic, the hysterical, the neurasthenic, the tubercular, all, it would appear, tend to belong to large families.[2] It has, indeed, been shown by Heron, Pearson, and Goring, that not only the eldest-born, but also the second-born, are specially liable to suffer from pathological defect (insanity, criminality, tuberculosis). There is, however, it would seem, a fallacy in the common interpretation of this fact. According to Van den Velden (as quoted in *Sexual-Probleme*, May, 1909, p. 381), this tendency is fully counterbalanced by the rising mortality of children from the first-born

[1] See Havelock Ellis, A Study of British Genius, pp. 115–120.

[2] See, *e.g.*, Havelock Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Toulouse, Les Causes de la Folie, p. 91; Harriet Alexander, "Malthusianism and Degeneracy," *Alienist and Neurologist*, January, 1901.

onward. The greater pathological tendency of the earlier children is thus simply the result of a less stringent selection by death. So far as they show any really greater pathological tendency, apart from this fallacy, it is perhaps due to premature marriage. There is another fallacy in the frequent statement that the children in small families are more feeble than those in large families. We have to distinguish between a naturally small family, and an artificially small family. A family which is small merely as the result of the feeble procreative energy of the parents is likely to be a feeble family; a family which is small as the result of the deliberate control of the parents, shows, of course, no such tendency.

The demand of national efficiency thus corresponds with the demand of developing humanitarianism, which, having begun by attempting to ameliorate the conditions of life, has gradually begun to realize that it is necessary to go deeper and to ameliorate life itself. For while it is undoubtedly true that much may be done by acting systematically on the conditions of life, the more searching analysis of evil environmental conditions only serves to show that in large parts they are based in the human organism itself and were not only prenatal, but preconceptional, being involved in the quality of the parental or ancestral organisms.

Putting aside, however, all humanitarian considerations, the serious error of attempting to stem the progress of civilization in the direction of procreative control could never have occurred if the general tendencies of zoölogical evolution had been understood, even in their elements. All zoölogical progress is from the more prolific to the less prolific; the higher the species the less fruitful are its individual members. The same tendency is found within the limits of the human species, though not in an invariable straight line; the growth of civilization involves a diminution in fertility. This is by no means a new phenomenon; ancient Rome and later Geneva, "the Protestant Rome," bear witness to it; no doubt it has occurred in every high center of moral and intellectual culture, although the data for measuring the tendency no longer exist. When we take a sufficiently wide and intelligent survey, we realize that the tendency of a community to slacken its natural rate of increase is an essential phenomenon of all advanced

civilization. The more intelligent nations have manifested the tendency first, and in each nation the more educated classes have taken the lead, but it is only a matter of time to bring all civilized nations, and all social classes in each nation, into line. This movement, we have to remember — in opposition to the ignorant outcry of certain would-be moralists and politicians — is a beneficent movement. It means a greater regard to the quality than to the quantity of the increase; it involves the possibility of combating successfully the evils of high mortality, disease, overcrowding, and all the manifold misfortunes which inevitably accompany a too exuberant birth rate. For it is only in a community which increases slowly that it is possible to secure the adequate economic adjustment and environmental modifications necessary for a sane and wholesome civic and personal life.[1] If those persons who raise the cry of "race suicide" in face of the decline of the birth rate really had the knowledge and intelligence to realize the manifold evils which they are invoking they would deserve to be treated as criminals.

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[1] I have developed these points more in detail in two articles in the *Independent Review*, November, 1903, and April, 1904. See also Bushee, "The Declining Birth Rate and its Causes," *Popular Science Monthly*, August, 1903.

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BOOK II

IMMIGRATION

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC FACTORS

Causes of European emigration, 243. — The industrial significance of recent immigration, 264. — Recent expansion of American industry, 264. — Reasons for the employment of recent immigrants, 268. — Industrial communities, 271. — Salient characteristics of the immigrant labor supply, 274. — Effect of immigrant competition on the American workman, 278. — Racial displacements in industry, 281. — Immigration and labor organizations, 297. — Effect of immigration upon industrial organization and methods, 309. — Working relations, 312. — Wages and hours of work, 312. — Establishment of new industries, 313. — Annual earnings of immigrant families, 315. — Occupations of the first and second generations of immigrants, 317. — The occupational distribution of the labor supply, 319. — Influence of immigration upon the native American birth rate, 321.

[Population problems in the United States are made more complicated and perhaps more difficult of practical solution than elsewhere because of the heterogeneity of our racial composition. So long as we continue to be a grain-exporting country, and so long as intensive farming has made no more progress than hitherto in this country, we cannot be said to be facing any immediate danger of overpopulation. But the decreasing exports of foodstuffs, the actual decreasing productivity of vast areas of our soil, and the rising expense of living, to say nothing of the more local problems of congestion of recent immigrant stocks in the cities and industrial communities of the northeastern states, give room for consideration of the history of immigration, both with regard to its amount and to its character, and for a careful comparison of the economic and social efficiency of the older and the newer racial stocks represented in the immigration statistics.

A great deal of attention has been centered upon the social and political effects of immigration, the relative contribution of foreign- and native-born to crime, pauperism, delinquency, and political corruption, as well as upon the treatment of the immigrant during transit and after arrival in this country. These are all matters of great importance, either to the immigrant or to the country as a whole, but the foundation for a proper understanding of the immigration problem, and for its practical solution, lies in a knowledge of industrial conditions and economic forces as influenced by immigration. The kernel of the problem is the economic standard of living and its maintenance and elevation. The simple, universally recognized fact is that where low wages, lack of organization, poor housing, overcrowding, and poor food are found there exist also alcoholism, political corruption, low physical, intellectual, and moral standards, and social stagnation. If immigration tends to raise the economic standard of living of the masses in this country, it is a beneficial movement; if it tends to lower the economic standard or to prevent its rise, it must be considered fundamentally detrimental to the social and political, as well as to the economic, destinies of the country.]

22. CAUSES OF EMIGRATION FROM EUROPE[1]

Primary Causes

The present movement of population from Europe to the United States is, with few exceptions, almost entirely attributable to economic causes. Emigration due to political reasons and, to a less extent, religious oppression, undoubtedly exists, but even in countries where these incentives prevail the more important cause is very largely an economic one. This does not mean, however, that emigration from Europe is now an economic necessity. At times in the past, notably during the famine years in Ireland, actual want forced a choice between emigration and literal starvation, but the present movement results, in the main, simply from

[1] Adapted from Report of the United States Immigration Commission on Emigration Conditions in Europe (61st Cong., 3d Session, Sen. Doc. No. 748), 1911, pp. 53–67.

a widespread desire for better economic conditions rather than from the necessity of escaping intolerable ones. In other words the emigrant of to-day comes to the United States not merely to make a living, but to make a better living than is possible at home.

With comparatively few exceptions the emigrant of to-day is essentially a seller of labor seeking a more favorable market. To a considerable extent this incentive is accompanied by a certain spirit of unrest and adventure and a more or less definite ambition for general social betterment, but primarily the movement is accounted for by the fact that the reward of labor is much greater in the United States than in Europe.

The desire to escape military service is also a primary cause of emigration from some countries, but on the whole it is relatively unimportant. It is true, moreover, that some emigrate to escape punishment for crime, or the stigma which follows such punishment, while others of the criminal class deliberately seek supposedly more advantageous fields for criminal activity. The emigration of criminals of this class is a natural movement not altogether peculiar to European countries and, although vastly important because dangerous, numerically it affects but little the tide of European emigration to the United States.

In order that the chief cause of emigration from Europe may be better understood, the Commission has given considerable attention to economic conditions in the countries visited, with particular reference to the status of emigrating classes in this regard. It was impossible for the commissioners personally to make more than a general survey of this subject, but because an understanding of the economic situation in the chief immigrant-furnishing countries is essential to an intelligent discussion of the immigration question, the results of the Commission's investigation in this regard have been supplemented by official data or well-authenticated material from other sources.

The purely economic condition of the wageworker is generally very much lower in Europe than in the United States. This is especially true of the unskilled-laborer class, from which so great a proportion of the emigration to the United States is drawn. Skilled labor also is poorly paid when compared with returns for

like service in the United States, but the opportunity for continual employment in this field is usually good and the wages sufficiently high to lessen the necessity of emigration. A large proportion of the emigration from southern and eastern Europe may be traced directly to the inability of the peasantry to gain an adequate livelihood in agricultural pursuits, either as laborers or proprietors. Agricultural labor is paid extremely low wages, and employment is quite likely to be seasonal rather than continuous.

In cases where peasant proprietorship is possible the land holdings are usually so small, the methods of cultivation so primitive, and the taxes so high that even in productive years the struggle for existence is a hard one, while a crop failure means practical disaster for the small farmer and farm laborer alike. In agrarian Russia, where the people have not learned to emigrate, a crop failure results in a famine, while in other sections of southern and eastern Europe it results in emigration, usually to the United States. Periods of industrial depression as well as crop failures stimulate emigration, but the effect of the former is not so pronounced for the reason that disturbed financial and industrial conditions in Europe are usually coincidental with like conditions in the United States, and at such times the emigration movement is always relatively smaller.

The fragmentary nature of available data relative to wages in many European countries makes a satisfactory comparison with wages in the United States impossible. Unfortunately, too, these data are missing for countries which are now the chief sources of European emigration to the United States. It is possible, however, to show the relative wages and hours of labor at a comparatively recent date in some leading occupations in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and France, and as the economic status of wageworkers is much higher in the three latter countries than in southern and eastern European countries the approximate difference between wages in such countries and in the United States may be inferred.

WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOR IN LEADING OCCUPATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN, GERMANY, AND FRANCE, 1903

[Compiled from Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor, No. 54, pp. 1120–1125]

Occupation	Wages per Hour in				Hours per Week in			
	United States	Great Britain	Germany	France	United States	Great Britain	Germany	France
Blacksmiths	$0.30	$0.17	$0.12	$0.16	56.56	53.67	60.19	60.19
Boiler makers	.28	.17	.11	.15	56.24	53.67	60.00	61.50
Bricklayers	.55	.21	.13	.13	47.83	51.83	56.50	63.00
Carpenters	.36	.20	.13	.15	49.46	50.17	55.30	60.00
Compositors	.45	.18	.14	.13	49.81	50.00	51.08	60.00
Hod carriers	.29	.13	.08	.10	47.98	51.83	59.50	63.91
Iron molders	.30	.17		.13	56.80	53.67		60.00
Laborers	.17	.10	.08	.10	56.29	52.50	56.36	60.00
Machinists	.27	.17	.13	.13	56.12	53.67	60.00	61.50
Painters	.35	.18	.12	.13	48.89	51.00	56.25	60.00
Plumbers	.44	.20	.11	.15	48.91	49.17	56.68	54.00
Stonecutters	.42	.20	.12	.14	48.67	50.17	54.00	60.00
Stonemasons	.46	.21	.13	.14	49.54	50.17	56.50	66.00

In the above table the figures for the United States cover a wide area, representing the smaller as well as the larger centers of industry, while those for the European countries were taken in two or three of the larger centers of industry in each country.

As before stated, there are available but little official data relative to wages in southern and southeastern Europe, but it is a well-known fact that they are very much lower there than in Great Britain, Germany, or France. The Commission found this to be true in the portions of Italy, Austria-Hungary, Greece, Turkey, Russia, and the Balkan States visited. In fact, it may safely be stated that in the latter countries the average wage of men engaged in common and agricultural labor is less than 50 cents per day, while in some sections it is even much lower. It is true that in some countries agricultural laborers receive from employers certain concessions in the way of fuel, food, etc., but in cases of this nature which came to the attention of the Commission

the value of the concessions was insufficient to materially affect the low wage scale.

It is a common but entirely erroneous belief that peasants and artisans in Europe can live so very cheaply that the low wages have practically as great a purchasing power as the higher wages in the United States. The low cost of living among the working people of Europe, and especially of southern and eastern Europe, is due to a low standard of living rather than to the cheapness of food and other necessary commodities. As a matter of fact, meat and other costly articles of food which are considered as almost essential to the everyday table of the American workingman cannot be afforded among laborers in like occupations in southern and eastern Europe.

Notwithstanding the bad economic conditions surrounding the classes which furnish so great a part of the emigration from southern and eastern Europe, the Commission believes that a laudable ambition for better things than they possess rather than a need for actual necessities is the chief motive behind the movement to the United States. Knowledge of conditions in America, promulgated through letters from friends or by emigrants who have returned for a visit to their native villages, creates and fosters among the people a desire for improved conditions which, it is believed, can be attained only through emigration. Unfortunately, but inevitably, the returned emigrant, in a spirit of braggadocio, is inclined to exaggerate his economic achievements in America. In consequence, some whose emigration is influenced by these highly colored statements, accompanied perhaps by a display of what to them seems great wealth, are doomed to disappointment. The latter, however, naturally hesitate to admit their failures, and consequently there is little to disturb the belief prevailing in southern and eastern Europe that success awaits all who are able to emigrate to the United States.

Political and Religious Causes

It is the opinion of the Commission that, with the exception of some Russian and Roumanian Hebrews, relatively few Europeans emigrate at the present time because of political or religious conditions. It is doubtless true that political discontent still influences the emigration movement from Ireland, but to a less degree than in earlier years. The survival of the Polish national spirit undoubtedly is a determining factor in the emigration from Germany, Russia, and Austria of some of that race, while dissatisfaction with Russian domination is to a degree responsible for Finnish emigration. In all probability some part of the emigration from Turkey in Europe, Turkey in Asia, as well as from the Balkan States, is also attributable to political conditions in those countries. There is, of course, a small movement from nearly every European country of political idealists who prefer a democracy to a monarchial government, but these, and in fact all, with the exception of the Hebrew peoples referred to, whose emigration is in part due to political or religious causes, form a very small portion of the present European emigration to the United States.

Contributory Causes

Contributory or immediate causes of emigration were given due consideration by the Commission. Chief of these causes is the advice and assistance of relatives or friends who have previously emigrated. Through the medium of letters from those already in the United States and the visits of former emigrants, the emigrating classes of Europe are kept constantly, if not always reliably, informed as to labor conditions here, and these agencies are by far the most potent promoters of the present movement of population.

The Commission found ample evidence of this fact in every country of southern and eastern Europe. Of the two agencies mentioned, however, letters are by far the most important. In fact, it is entirely safe to assert that letters from persons who have emigrated to friends at home have been the immediate cause of

by far the greater part of the remarkable movement from southern and eastern Europe to the United States during the past twenty-five years. There is hardly a village or community in southern Italy and Sicily but what has contributed a portion of its population to swell the tide of emigration to the United States, and the same is true of large areas of Austria, Hungary, Greece, Turkey, and the Balkans. There is a tendency on the part of emigrants from these countries to retain an interest in the homeland, and in consequence a great amount of correspondence passes back and forth. It was frequently stated to members of the Commission that letters from persons who had emigrated to America were passed from hand to hand until most of the emigrant's friends and neighbors were acquainted with the contents. In periods of industrial activity, as a rule, the letters so circulated contain optimistic references to wages and opportunities for employment in the United States, and when comparison in this regard is made with conditions at home it is inevitable that whole communities should be inoculated with a desire to emigrate. The reverse is true during seasons of industrial depression in the United States. At such times intending emigrants are quickly informed by their friends in the United States relative to conditions of employment, and a great falling off in the tide of emigration is the immediate result.

In an unpublished report to the Bureau of Immigration Inspectors Dobler and Sempsey, who, as elsewhere stated, visited Europe in 1906, refer to the "effect produced in peasant villages by the receipt of letters from America containing remittances of perhaps $60 to $100 . . . . The cottage of the recipient becomes at once the place to which the entire male population proceeds, and the letters are read and reread until the contents can be repeated word for word. When instances of this kind have been multiplied by thousands, it is not difficult to understand what impels poor people to leave their homes."

The word comes again and again that "work is abundant and wages princely in America." In an Italian village near Milan the Immigration Bureau's inspectors found an English-speaking peasant acting as receiver and distributer of letters from America.

Letters are sent from village to village by persons having friends in the United States, and one letter may influence in this way a score of peasants. The comment of another peasant who circulated letters from "American" friends is significant: "We all like America; it gives us good cheer to think about it." The effect of such a state of mind is obvious.

Emigrants who have returned for a visit to their native land are also great promoters of emigration. This is particularly true of southern and eastern European immigrants, who, as a class, make more or less frequent visits to their old homes. Among the returning emigrants are always some who have failed to achieve success in America, and some who through changed conditions of life and employment return in broken health. It is but natural that these should have a slightly deterrent effect on emigration, but on the whole this is relatively unimportant, for the returning emigrant, as a rule, is one who has succeeded and, as before stated, is inclined to exaggerate rather than minimize his achievements in the United States. In times of industrial inactivity in the United States the large number of emigrants who return to their native lands, of course, serve as a temporary check to emigration, but it is certain that in the long run such returning emigrants actually promote rather than retard the movement to the United States.

The investigators of the Bureau of Immigration were impressed by the number of men in Italy and in various Slavic communities who speak English and who exhibit a distinct affection for the United States. The unwillingness of such men to work in the fields at 25 to 30 cents a day; their tendency to acquire property; their general initiative; and, most concretely, the money they can show, make a vivid impression. They are dispensers of information and inspiration, and are often willing to follow up the inspiration by loans to prospective emigrants.

The Commission was informed that one third of the emigrants from Syria return for a time to their native country and later go back to the United States; but that in the meantime many of them build houses much superior to those of their neighbors and by such evidence of prosperity add to the desire for emigration among their countrymen. A man who left a little village in Transylvania

in 1904 with the proceeds of the sale of two head of cattle came back two years later with $500, and was the source of a genuine fever of emigration among his acquaintances, which has increased ever since. It is not to be wondered at that young men of spirit and ambition should want to emulate successful friends, and one can easily feel the truth of a statement made by a large land proprietor to the Royal Italian Agricultural Commission, elsewhere referred to: "Emigration is spontaneous. It becomes like a contagious disease. Even the children speak of going to America."

The importance of the advice of friends as an immediate cause of emigration from Europe is also indicated by the fact that nearly all European immigrants admitted to the United States are, according to their own statements, going to join relatives or friends. The United States immigration law provides that information upon this point be secured relative to every alien coming to the United States by water.

Nearly 95 per cent of the total number of European immigrants admitted to the United States during the two years under consideration had been preceded by relatives or friends whom they expected to join. Only one race — the Spanish, with 66.7 per cent — falls greatly below the average in this regard. The percentage of persons going to join relatives or friends is greater among the newer immigration from the south and east of Europe than among the elder immigrant races from northern and western European countries. The difference between the two groups in this regard is shown in the following table:

EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS (INCLUDING SYRIAN) GOING TO JOIN RELATIVES OR FRIENDS IN THE UNITED STATES DURING THE FISCAL YEARS 1908 AND 1909, BY CLASS

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner General of Immigration]

Class	Total Number	Going to Join Relatives or Friends	
		Number	Per cent
Old immigration	442,653	395,944	89.4
New immigration	1,023,050	992,366	97.0
Total	1,465,703	1,388,310	94.7

The above table not only indicates a very general relationship between admitted immigrants and those who follow, but it suggests forcibly that emigration from Europe proceeds according to well-defined individual plans rather than in a haphazard way.

The investigation of the Commission in Europe did not disclose that actual contracts involving promises of employment between employers in the United States and laborers in Europe were responsible for any very considerable part of the present emigration movement. It will be understood, however, that this statement refers only to cases where actual *bona fide* contracts between employers and laborers exist rather than to so-called contract-labor cases, as defined in the sweeping terms of the United States immigration law, which classifies as such all persons "who have been induced or solicited to migrate to this country by offers or promises of employment or in consequence of agreements, oral, written, or printed, express or implied, to perform labor in this country of any kind, skilled or unskilled. . . ."

Under a strict interpretation of the law above quoted it would seem that in order to escape being classified as contract laborers, immigrants coming to the United States must be entirely without assurance that employment will be available here. Indeed, it is certain that European immigrants, and particularly those from southern and eastern Europe, are, under a literal construction of the law, for the most part contract laborers, for it is unlikely that many emigrants embark for the United States without a pretty definite knowledge of where they will go and what they will do if admitted. Natural instinct dictates such a condition, even though the contract-labor law, in letter if not in spirit, forbids even the semblance of an agreement in this regard.

It should not be understood, however, that the committee believes that contract labor in its more serious form does not exist. Undoubtedly many immigrants come to the United States from southern and eastern Europe as the result of definite, if not open, agreements with employers of labor here, as is shown by the separate report of the Commission on the subject,[1] but, as previously

[1] Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol. II, Contract Labor and Assisted and Induced Immigration.

stated, actual and direct contract-labor agreements cannot be considered as the direct or immediate cause of any considerable proportion of the European emigration movement to the United States. As before stated, emigrants as a rule are practically assured that employment awaits them in America before they leave their homes for ports of embarkation, and doubtless in a majority of cases they know just where and what the employment will be. This is another result of letters from former emigrants in the United States. In fact, it may be said that immigrants, or at least newly arrived immigrants, are substantially the agencies which keep the American labor market supplied with unskilled laborers from Europe. Some of them operate consciously and on a large scale, but, as a rule, each immigrant simply informs his nearest friends that employment can be had and advises them to come. It is these personal appeals which, more than all other agencies, promote and regulate the tide of European emigration to America.

Moreover, the immigrant in the United States in a large measure assists as well as advises his friends in the Old World to emigrate. It is difficult and in many cases impossible for the southern and eastern European to save a sufficient amount of money to purchase a steerage ticket to the United States. No matter how strong the desire to emigrate may be its accomplishment on the part of the ordinary laborer dependent upon his own resources can be realized only after a long struggle. To immigrants in the United States, however, the price of steerage transportation to or from Europe is relatively a small matter, and by giving or advancing the necessary money they make possible the emigration of many. It is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy what proportion of the large amount of money annually sent abroad by immigrants is sent for the purpose of assisting relatives or friends to emigrate, but it is certain that the aggregate is large. The immediate families of immigrants are the largest beneficiaries in this regard, but the assistance referred to is extended to many others.

Just what proportion of the present immigration is assisted in this way cannot be determined. Some indication of this, however, is contained in the probable fact that about 25 per cent of

the immigrants admitted to the United States come on steamship tickets paid for in this country. In the calendar year 1907, 27.6 per cent or 64,384 of the 233,489 steerage passengers embarking at Naples for the United States were provided with prepaid tickets. In all probability this is a fair average for all European ports.

Next to the advice and assistance of friends and relatives who have already emigrated, the propaganda conducted by steamship ticket agents is undoubtedly the most important immediate cause of emigration from Europe to the United States. This propaganda flourishes in every emigrant-furnishing country of Europe, notwithstanding the fact that the promotion of emigration is forbidden by the laws of many such countries as well as by the United States immigration law.

It does not appear that steamship companies, as a rule, openly or directly violate the provisions of the United States immigration law quoted, but through local agents and subagents of such companies it is violated persistently and continuously. Selling steerage tickets to America is the sole or chief occupation of large numbers of persons in southern and eastern Europe, and from the observations of the Commission it is clear that these local agents, as a rule, solicit business, and consequently encourage emigration, by every possible means.

No data are available to show even approximately the total number of such agents and subagents engaged in the steerage-ticket business. One authority stated to the Commission that two of the leading steamship lines had five or six thousand ticket agents in Galicia alone, and that there was "a great hunt for emigrants" there. The total number of such agents is very large, however, for the steerage business is vastly important to all the lines operating passenger ships, and all compete for a share of it. The great majority of emigrants from southern and eastern European countries sail under foreign flags; Italian emigrants, a large proportion of whom sail under the flag of Italy, being the only conspicuous exception. Many Greek, Russian, and Austrian emigrants sail on ships of those nations, but the bulk of the emigrant business originating in eastern and southern European countries,

excepting Italy, is handled by the British, German, Dutch, French, and Belgian lines. There is at present an agreement among the larger steamship companies which, in a measure, regulates the distribution of this traffic and prevents unrestricted competition between the lines, but this does not affect the vigorous and widespread hunt for steerage passengers which is carried on throughout the chief emigrant-furnishing countries.

The Commission's inquiry and information from other sources indicates that the attempted promotion of emigration by steamship ticket agents is carried on to a greater extent in Austria, Hungary, Greece, and Russia than in other countries. The Russian law, as elsewhere stated, does not recognize the right of the people to emigrate permanently, and while the large and continued movement of population from the Empire to overseas countries is proof that the law is to a large degree inoperative, it nevertheless seems to restrict the activities of steamship agents. Moreover, there were, at the time of the Commission's inquiry, two Russian steamship lines carrying emigrants directly from Libau to the United States, and the Government's interest in the success of these lines resulted in a rather strict surveillance of the agents of foreign companies doing business in the Empire. Because of this much of the work of these agents is carried on surreptitiously. In fact, they were commonly described to the Commission as "secret agents." Emigration from Russia is, or at least is made to appear to be, a difficult matter, and the work of the secret agents consists not only of selling steamship transportation, but also in procuring passports, and in smuggling across the frontier emigrants who for military or other reasons cannot procure passports, or who because of their excessive cost elect to leave Russia without them.

The Hungarian law strictly forbids the promotion of emigration, and the Government has prosecuted violations so vigorously that at the time of the Commission's visit the emigration authorities expressed the belief that the practice had been effectually checked. It was stated to the Commission that foreign steamship lines had constantly acted in contravention of the Hungarian regulations by employing secret agents to solicit business, or through

agents writing personal letters to prospective emigrants advising them how to leave Hungary without the consent of the Government. Letters of this nature were presented to the Commission. Some of them are accompanied by crudely drawn maps indicating the location of all the Hungarian control stations on the Austrian border, and the routes of travel by which such stations can be avoided. The Commission was shown the records in hundreds of cases where the secret agents of foreign steamship companies had been convicted and fined or imprisoned for violating the Hungarian law by soliciting emigration. It was reported to the Commission that in one year at Kassa, a Hungarian city on the Austrian border, eight secret agents of the German lines were punished for violations of the emigration law.

In Austria at the time of the Commission's visit, there was comparatively little agitation relative to emigration. Attempts had been made to enact an emigration law similar to that of Hungary, but these were not successful. The solicitation of emigration, however, is forbidden by law, but it appeared that steamship ticket agents were not subjected to strict regulation as in Hungary. Government officials and others interested in the emigration situation expressed the belief that the solicitations of agents had little effect on the emigration movement, which was influenced almost entirely by economic conditions. It was not denied, however, that steamship agents do solicit emigration.

The Italian law strictly forbids the solicitation of emigration by steamship agents and complaints relative to violations of the law were not nearly so numerous as in some countries visited. Nevertheless there are many persons engaged in the business of selling steerage tickets in that country and the Commission was informed that considerable soliciting is done. This is confirmed by Hon. T. V. Powderly, of the Bureau of Immigration, who investigated emigration conditions in Italy in 1906. Mr. Powderly states that steamship agents solicit business much as insurance agents do, and that in many instances they do not concern themselves with the character or mental or physical condition of their customers, their sole object being to increase their commissions. He states that one method adopted is to translate editorials and

articles from American newspapers relative to the prosperity of the United States, which articles are distributed among prospective emigrants. He also reports a curious method of presenting at church doors cards containing verses and hymns in praise of the United States.

The Commission found that steamship agents were very active in Greece, and that the highly-colored posters and other advertising matter of the steamship companies were to be found everywhere. According to its population Greece furnishes more emigrants to the United States than any other country, and the spirit of emigration is so intense among the people that solicitation by steamship companies probably plays relatively a small part, even as a contributory cause of the movement.

The United States immigration law numbers among the excluded classes[1] "any person whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another, or who is assisted by others to come, unless it is affirmatively and satisfactorily shown that such person does not belong to one of the foregoing excluded classes, and that said ticket or passage was not paid for by any corporation, association, society, municipality, or foreign government, either directly or indirectly."

Emigration from Europe to the United States through public assistance is so small as to be of little or no importance. It is conceivable as well as probable that local authorities sometimes assist in the emigration of public charges and criminals, but such instances are believed to be rare. It is admitted that local officials in Italy sometimes issue to criminals passports to the United States in violation of the decree forbidding it, but even this is not a very common practice. As a matter of fact, European nations look with regret on the emigration of their young and able-bodied men and women, and the comity of nations would prevent the deportation of criminals and paupers to a country whose laws denied admission to such classes, however desirable their emigration might be. Besides, the assisted emigration to the United States of the aged or physically or mentally defective would be sure to result in failure because of the stringent provisions of the

[1] Immigration Act of February 20, 1907, section 2.

United States immigration law. In the earlier days of unrestricted immigration it is well known that large numbers of paupers and other undesirables were assisted to emigrate, or were practically deported, from the British Isles and other countries to the United States. Even at the present time, as shown in the Commission's report on the immigration situation in Canada, there is a large assisted emigration from England to Canada and other British colonies, but it does not appear that there is any movement of this nature to the United States.

On the other hand, various nations of the Western Hemisphere make systematic efforts in Europe to induce immigration. The Canadian government maintains agencies in all the countries of northern and western Europe, where the solicitation of emigration is permitted, and pays a bonus to thousands of booking agents for directing emigrants to the Dominion.[1] Canada, however, expends no money in the transportation of emigrants. Several South American countries, including Brazil and Argentine Republic, also systematically solicit immigration in Europe.

Several American States have attempted to attract immigrants by the distribution in Europe of literature advertising the attractions of such States. A few States have sent commissioners to various countries for the purpose of inducing immigration, but, although some measure of success has attended such efforts, the propaganda has had little effect on the movement as a whole.

In many cities of Europe are societies whose purpose is to assist the Jews of Russia and Roumania to emigrate and to protect them on their journey to ports of embarkation. It would be strange if some of these societies did not assist emigrating members of the race in violation of the letter of the United States law, although no such instances came directly to the attention of the Commission. From all that could be learned from and about the more important Jewish organization of this nature, however, it appears that they do not assist emigrants to the extent of affording them transportation to the United States.

[1] Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol. XL, "The Immigration Situation in Other Countries" (61st Cong., 3d Session, Sen. Doc. No. 761.).

The Roumanian agent of the Jewish Colonization Association, otherwise the Baron de Hirsch Fund, stated to the Commission that the society does not financially assist any Jew to go to the United States. He said that the organization sends to Canada and Argentina persons who have actually been expelled from farming villages and thereafter refused admission to some large city, in which cases the emigrant pays all the fare he is able to, and the organization pays the rest.

The foregoing attitude of the organization toward assisting emigration from Roumania to the United States is substantiated by the experience of a member of the Commission in conversation with workers in the sweatshops of the Jewish quarter in Bucharest, which is stated as follows:

> I went into each shop, without previous notice, and in nearly every shop some man or woman expressed a desire to go to America. Whenever such a wish was expressed, I asked, "Why not go to the Jewish Colonization Society?" And in every instance the people told me that the society only helps those who can pay their own way. One young man asked me if a hundred francs would take him to America, and I told him no, but suggested that he take his hundred francs to the society and ask them for the balance, but he said he knew this would be useless. Nearly every worker in these shops would go to America if possessed of the necessary money. At the various houses they brought me pictures of prosperous looking relatives in the United States, but in many instances they said that their relatives either had practically forgotten them, or that they seldom heard from them.

Officials of the Jewish Colonization Association in Paris stated the objects of that organization to the Commission. It was pointed out that every country from which many citizens emigrate was compelled to frame laws regulating this emigration, and protecting the emigrant from various frauds and abuses he is liable to meet with on his way. The Jews alone were up to recent date unprotected, and were easy prey of unscrupulous agents, runners, money changers, etc., and the association endeavored to protect them in this regard. Emigrants leaving Russia and Roumania were assisted in securing passports. In those countries, it was stated, the Jewish Colonization Association has an arrangement with the governments whereby passports are given gratis to Jewish emigrants who are recommended by the association, provided they declare

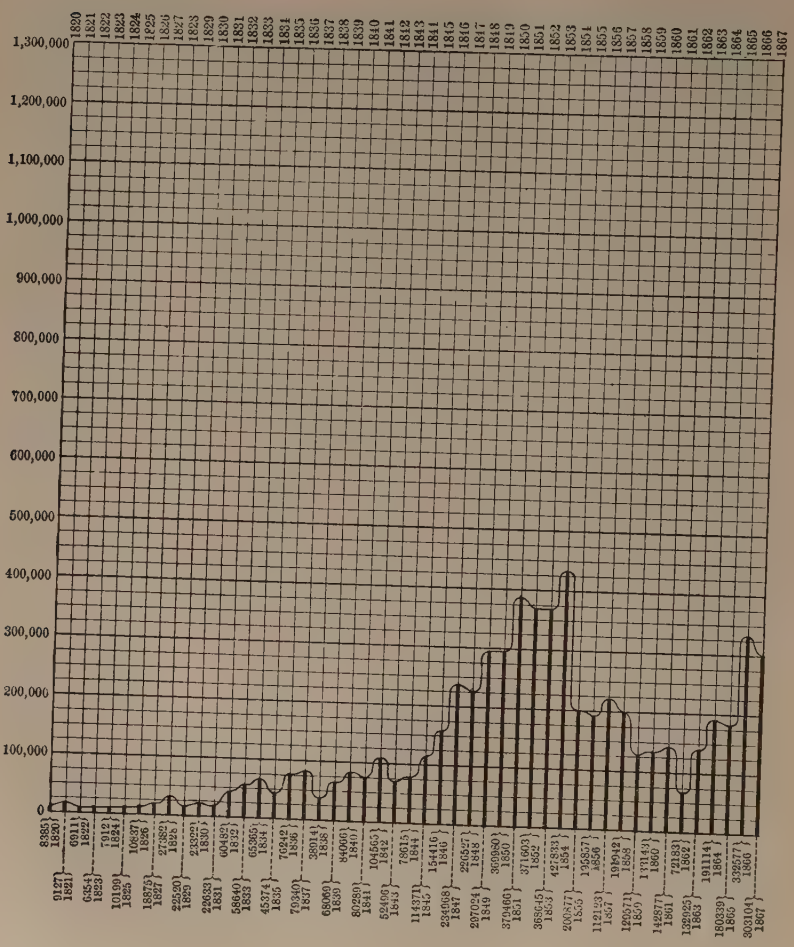
that they will never return to their native land, while in cases where the emigrants themselves apply for passports, the cost is about 30 rubles in Russia, and 25 lei in Roumania. Moreover, when an emigrant applies for a passport, he often has to wait weeks, even months before the document is issued, while the representatives of the association generally get the passport within a few days after applying. It was further stated that many emigrants do not know where it is best for them to go, and that the local committees of the association give such persons advice in this regard. Of late, the officials said, they are advising all those who express a desire to emigrate to the United States to go to the Southern and Western States. The Russian division of the association has issued tracts in the Russian and Yiddish languages describing in detail the resources of such States and the opportunities they offer to immigrants. Previously it was often the case that many emigrants who suffered from contagious eye and scalp diseases sold out all their belongings and went to ports of embarkation intending to embark for the United States. These were rejected by the steamship companies and many families were thus ruined, and often remained in the port cities, becoming public charges on the Jewish communities. To obviate this the Jewish Colonization Association has physicians who carefully examine all those intending to go to the United States, and who apply to them, before leaving their native cities.

The Commission was assured that this is all the assistance rendered to Jewish emigrants to the United States who come in contact with the association, and that under no circumstances are emigrants going to the United States given any material assistance. In exceptional cases, it was stated, as after an anti-Jewish riot in Russia or Roumania, when material assistance is absolutely necessary, the emigrants are assisted to go to Argentina, Brazil, or, rarely, to Canada, but that the United States as a destination in such cases is out of the question.

Emigration of Criminals

That former convicts and professional criminals from all countries come to the United States practically at will cannot and need not be denied, although it seems probable that in the popular belief the number is greatly exaggerated. This class emigrates and is admitted to this country, and, in the opinion of the Commission, the blame cannot equitably be placed elsewhere than on the United States. The Commission is convinced that no European government encourages the emigration of its criminals to this country. Some countries take no measures to prevent such emigration, especially after criminals have paid the legal penalties demanded, but others, and particularly Italy, seek to restrain the departure of former convicts in common with other classes debarred by the United States immigration law. The accomplishment of this purpose on the part of Italy is attempted by specific regulations forbidding the issuance of passports to intended immigrants who have been convicted of a felony or other crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude within the meaning of the United States law. Under the Italian system local officials furnish the record upon which is determined the intending emigrant's right to receive a passport, and it is not denied that some officials at times violate the injunctions of the Government in this regard, but, as a whole, the Commission believes the effort is honestly made and in the main successfully accomplished. The weakness and inefficiency of the system, however, lies in the fact that passports are not demanded by the United States as a requisite of admission, and although subjects of Italy may not leave Italian ports without them, there is little or nothing to prevent those unprovided from leaving the country overland without passports or with passports to other countries and then embarking for the United States from foreign ports. Thus it is readily seen that the precaution of Italy, however effective, is practically worthless without coöperation on the part of the United States.

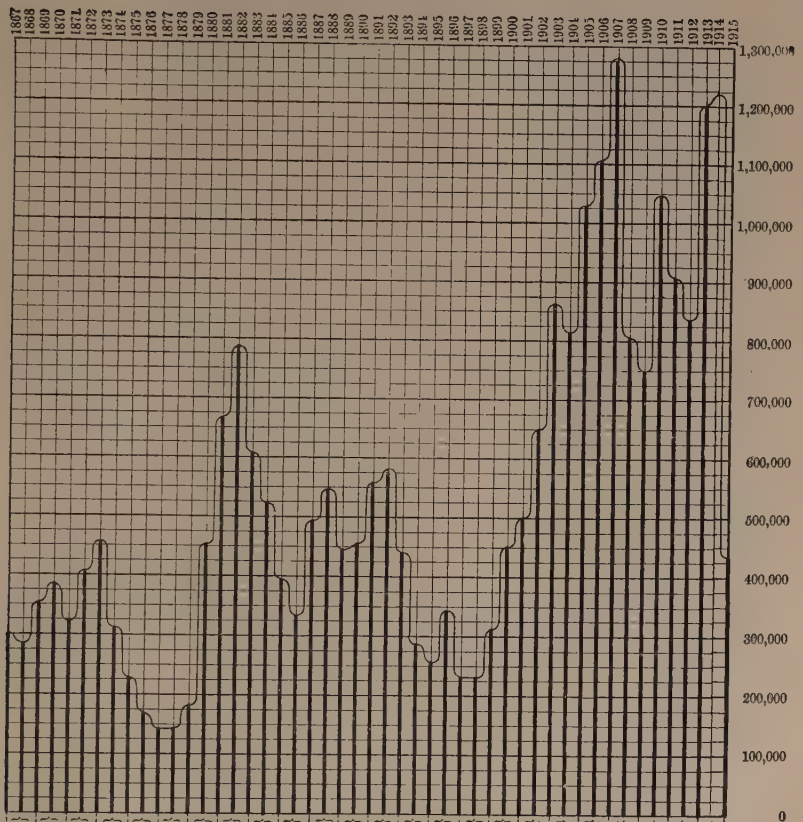
23. WAVE OF IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES,



ARRIVALS 1820 TO 1915, 32,354,124

Figures denoting immigration for the years 1832, 1843, 1850, 1857, represent respectively 15-month, 9-month, 15-month and 6-month periods, while 12-month periods for those years have been approximated in the graphic representation.

FROM ALL COUNTRIES, 1820—1915



ESTIMATED ARRIVALS 1776 TO 1820, 250,000

24. THE INDUSTRIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RECENT IMMIGRATION[1]

Recent Expansion of American Industry

Recent immigration is responsible for many social and political problems. Its chief significance, however, is industrial, and of the industrial phases of the subject none is of greater importance than the effect of recent immigration from southern and eastern Europe upon native Americans as well as upon wage-earners belonging to the races of past immigration from northern and western Europe and Great Britain. The changes are of almost equal importance to industrial organization, and industrial methods and processes resulting from the entrance of such large numbers of southern and eastern European and Asiatic immigrants into the industrial life of the country during the past thirty years. The effect of recent immigration upon the working and living conditions of wage-earners in industrial localities is also of great interest and importance.

The period covered by the past thirty years has been marked in the United States by an extraordinary industrial development, including manufacturing, mining, and all branches of industrial enterprise. This expansion has obviously been most pronounced in the manufacturing States east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac rivers. There has been, however, a considerable development in the territory between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains and in the South, although not so extensive as in the Middle West and the Middle and New England States. The remarkable growth in manufactures in the territory between the Rocky Mountains and the Atlantic seaboard during the twenty-five years 1880–1905, may be readily seen from the table below, which shows the amount of capital invested and the value of output of all manufacturing establishments during this period according to census years:

[1] Adapted from the United States Immigration Commission. Abstract of Report on Immigrants in Manufacturing and Mining, 1911, pp. 217–247, 256–267.

TOTAL CAPITAL AND VALUE OF PRODUCTS OF MANUFACTURES IN THE STATES EAST OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS, 1880–1905, BY CENSUS PERIODS[1]

Year	Total Capital	Value of Products
1905	$12,031,388,950	$13,987,674,015
1900	9,384,263,009	12,346,530,185
1890	6,268,979,279	9,011,543,324
1880	2,708,545,445	5,212,505,186

Increase in the Number of Wage-earners

The most significant fact regarding recent immigration disclosed by the industrial study is the unprecedented increase in the operating forces of the mines and manufacturing establishments accompanying the rapid extension of industrial activities. The number of employees of mines and manufacturing establishments in the territory east of the Rocky Mountains was more than doubled during the thirty years 1880–1909. The extent of this increase during the first twenty-five years of that period is shown in the table below, which sets forth, according to the federal census returns, the average number of wage-earners engaged in mining and manufacturing in the years specified:

Year	Number
1900	7,037,731
1890	5,618,306
1880	3,743,374

The great increase in laboring forces becomes more apparent when the agricultural States of the area under discussion are eliminated and those engaged principally in manufacturing and mining are considered. In order that the real significance of the situation may be seen, the growth in the number of wage-earners

[1] These computations are made solely for manufactures in the States chosen, as it is impossible to form parallel comparisons for the mines and quarries, owing to the various statistical forms used in their tabulation in the several censuses.

[in manufacturing and mining] in the principal manufacturing and mining States east of the Rocky Mountains is shown for the period 1880–1910 in the table which immediately follows:

State	1910[1]	1900	1890	1880
Alabama	136,760	78,004	48,870	21,622
Connecticut	260,398	175,773	150,120	114,307
Delaware	30,235	22,262	18,678	13,854
Illinois	822,203	479,894	353,621	203,960
Indiana	334,702	206,285	152,511	107,356
Kansas	128,951	71,769	62,245	36,104
Maryland	179,523	123,352	109,160	81,679
Massachusetts	777,079	560,387	484,706	363,142
Michigan	398,916	225,549	188,450	120,400
Minnesota	210,095	118,354	92,740	37,488
New Jersey	498,303	301,642	232,126	157,195
New York	1,603,794	1,031,020	854,920	621,936
Ohio	757,480	462,812	368,730	240,788
Oklahoma	85,992	8,823	2,213	*
Pennsylvania	1,579,344	982,290	770,979	528,873
Rhode Island	142,359	100,437	82,977	65,056
West Virginia	157,682	67,764	41,864	26,006
Wisconsin	285,513	175,267	136,456	82,111
Total	8,389,329	5,191,684	4,151,366	2,816,877

* Unobtainable

From these figures it will be noted that there has been a steady increase in the number of employees in the manufactures, mines, and quarries of each of the States specified. The total number of employees rises from 2,816,877 in 1880 to 5,191,684 in 1900, an increase of 84.3 per cent. Between 1880 and 1890 there was an increase of 47.4 per cent in the total number and the slightly decreased growth in the next decade can probably be attributed to the general introduction of labor-saving machinery during that period. In the case of the individual States, it will be noted that but three, Alabama, Indiana, and West Virginia, show their greater increase in numbers in the ten years from 1890 to 1900. Several western States show a great increase from

[1] Compiled from 13th Census, Vol. IV, Occupation Statistics, p. 44.— Ed.

1880 to 1890; for example, Illinois shows an increase of 73 per cent, Michigan of about 56 per cent, Minnesota of 147 per cent, and Wisconsin of 66 per cent. In the East and North the proportion has not been so great. The increase in number of wage-earners from 1880 to 1900 ranges from 51 per cent in the case of Maryland to 260.8 per cent in the case of Alabama.[1]

Employment of Immigrant Labor

The labor force that in large part was used for this industrial expansion was drawn from the recent immigration from southern and eastern Europe and Asia. The result has been that the racial composition of the industrial population of the country has within recent years undergone a complete change, and the cities and industrial localities of the United States have received large additions to their population in the form of industrial workers of alien speech, manners, and customs. The greater proportion of the wage-earners at the present time engaged in manufacturing and mining are of foreign birth, and of the total number of foreign-born employees the larger part consists of representatives of races from the south and east of Europe and from Asia. This condition of affairs is not limited to the manufacturing areas of the Middle States and New England. It prevails wherever manufacturing interests or mining operations are of any importance. The southern and eastern European is extensively employed in the iron ore and copper mines of Michigan and Minnesota, in the coal mines of the Middle West, Southwest, and South, and in the steel plants and glass factories of the Middle West and South, as well as in the mines, mills, and factories of Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey, and the cotton and woolen goods manufacturing establishments of New England. The presence of this class of wage-earners is not only characteristic of the basic industries of the country, but is also found in all minor divisions of manufacturing and mining. Moreover,

[1] Striking as are these increases up to 1900 — the latest date for which statistics were available to the Commission — a slight study of the figures for 1910, which we have inserted, reveals the remarkable later growth. — Ed.

railroad and canal construction, together with other temporary and seasonal work, in all sections of the country is now being done by members of races of recent immigration. There is not an industrial community of any importance east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac rivers which does not include within its borders a considerable number of industrial workers of races of recent immigration. Of the total number of wage-earners employed in the principal industries within this area from whom information was secured, about 60 per cent are of foreign birth, 39 per cent being from southern and eastern Europe and Asia. Of the total number of foreign-born about 6.7 per cent are of races of southern and eastern Europe and Asia.

Reasons for the Employment of Recent Immigrants

It is not possible to determine definitely whether the recent rapid and unprecedented expansion of industry has been the cause of the recent influx of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, or whether the existence of an available supply of cheap labor easily induced to immigrate was the cause of the industrial expansion. It is a possibility that if the demand for labor had not found so large a supply of cheap labor available, increased wages and better working conditions required to attract labor might have induced a continuation of immigration from northern and western Europe and the United Kingdom. On the other hand, less immigration of a character tending to keep down wages and working conditions might have been attended by a larger natural increase among the native-born portion of the population. There is ground for argument or speculation on each side of these various points. As a matter of fact, it has not appeared in the case of the industries covered by the present investigation that it was usual for employers to engage recent immigrants at wages actually lower than those prevailing at the time of their employment in the industry where they were employed. It is undoubtedly true that the expansion in all branches of industry between thirty and forty years ago was primarily responsible for

the original entrance of the southern and eastern Europeans into the operating forces of the mines and manufacturing establishments. They were found, from the standpoint of the employer, to be tractable and uncomplaining. Although they were possessed of a low order of industrial efficiency, it was possible to use them in a more or less satisfactory way. Upon the ascertainment of this fact by the employers and with the realization of the existence of this large source of labor supply, a reversal of conditions occurred. The industrial expansion which had originally caused the immigration of southern and eastern Europeans was in turn stimulated by their presence, and new industrial undertakings were doubtless projected on the assumption of the continuing availability of this class of labor. At the same time, the influx of southern and eastern Europeans brought about conditions of employment under which there was no sufficient inducement to the races of Great Britain and northern Europe to continue to seek work in those industries. It may be said, therefore, that industrial expansion was the original reason for the employment of races of recent immigration, but that after the availability of this labor became known further industrial expansion was stimulated by the fact of this availability, the original cause thus becoming largely an effect of the conditions it had created.

Conditions which made Possible the Extensive Employment of Recent Immigrants

An interesting point in this connection is the fact that it was possible to receive such a large body of employees of foreign birth into the American industrial system. The older immigrant labor supply was composed principally of persons who had had training and experience abroad in the industries which they entered after their arrival in the United States. English, German, Scotch, and Irish immigrants in textile factories, iron and steel establishments, or in the coal mines, usually had been skilled workmen in these industries in their native lands and came to the United States in the expectation of higher wages and better

working conditions. In the case of the more recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe this condition of affairs has been reversed. Before coming to the United States the greater proportion were engaged in farming or unskilled labor and had no experience or training in manufacturing or mining. As a consequence their employment in the mines and manufacturing plants of this country has been made possible only by the invention of mechanical devices and processes which have eliminated the skill and experience formerly required in a large number of occupations. Probably one of the best illustrations of this fact is to be found in the operation of coal, copper, and other metalliferous mines. In bituminous-coal mining, for example, the pick or hand miner was formerly an employee of skill and experience. He undercut the coal, drilled his own holes, fired his own shots, and, together with his helper, loaded the coal which came down upon the cars, and was paid so much per ton for the entire operation. By the invention of the mining machine, however, the occupation of the pick miner has been largely done away with, thereby increasing the proportion of unskilled workmen who load the coal on cars after it has been undercut and the holes drilled by machinery, and the coal knocked down by a blast set off by a shot firer specialized for that division of the labor. Such work can readily be done, after a few days' apprenticeship, by recent immigrants who, before immigrating to the United States, had never seen a coal mine. The same situation is found in the cotton factories, where unskilled and inexperienced immigrants can, after a brief training, operate the automatic looms and ring spinning frames which do the work formerly requiring skilled weavers and mule spinners. In the glass factories, also, which are engaged in the manufacture of bottles and window and plate glass, untrained immigrants, through the assistance of improved machinery, turn out the same products which in past years required the services of the highly trained glass blowers. In the iron and steel plants and other branches of manufacturing similar inventions have made it possible to operate the plants with a much smaller proportion of skilled and specialized employees than was formerly the case. It is this condition of industrial

affairs, as already stated, which has made it possible to give employment to the untrained, inexperienced, non-English-speaking immigrant of recent arrival in the United States.

Present-day Industrial Communities

The general effects of the extensive employment of immigrant labor in American industries are found in the municipal and civic problems which are the outgrowth of the presence of the alien population. The foreign or immigrant communities which have come into existence because of the recent industrial expansion and the resultant influx of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe are of two general types. The first type is a community which has, by a gradual process of social accretion, affixed itself to the original population of an industrial town or city which had already been established before the arrival of races of recent immigration. Foreign communities of this type are as numerous as the older industrial towns and centers of the country, any one of which in New England, in the Middle States, or in the Middle West or Southwest will be found to have its immigrant section or colony. The second type of immigrant community has come into existence within recent years because of the development of some natural resource, such as coal, iron ore, or copper, or by reason of the extension of the principal manufacturing industries of the country. They are usually communities clustering around mines or industrial plants, and their distinguishing feature is that a majority of their inhabitants, often practically all, are of foreign birth, the population being composed of Slavs, Italians, Magyars, and other peoples of recent immigration. Illustrations of this type of immigrant communities are common in the bituminous and anthracite coal-mining regions of Pennsylvania and in the coal-producing areas of Virginia, West Virginia, Alabama, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, and Oklahoma. In the Mesabi and Vermillion iron-ore ranges of Minnesota, as well as in the iron-ore and copper-mining districts of Michigan, many communities of this character are found. Although not so numerous, they are not infrequently established in connection with the leading industries,

such as the manufacture of iron and steel, glass, cotton and woolen goods, etc. As representative types of this class in different sections of the country there may be cited West Seneca or Lackawanna City, near Buffalo, New York, a steel town 10 years old, with a total population of 20,000, more than 80 per cent of which is foreign-born; Hungary Hollow, near Granite City and Madison, Illinois, another steel-producing community, established during the past seven years, which is the center of a Bulgarian colony of 15,000 persons; and Charleroi, Kensington, Tarentum, and Arnold, Pennsylvania, and Ford City, Ohio, which furnish illustrations of glass-manufacturing communities of this description. Charleroi, Pennsylvania, is at present a city having a population of 10,500, composed chiefly of French and French Belgians, with an admixture of races of recent immigration from southern and eastern Europe. The community was established in 1890, when the first glass factory was erected, and has grown in size and importance as the glass industry within its borders has been extended. Numerous other communities of this type might be mentioned, but the foregoing examples will serve to set forth the general situation.

In both classes of communities there has resulted a distinct segregation of the immigrant population which has been attracted to the locality by the opportunities for work. Between the immigrant colonies which have affixed themselves to the industrial centers, such as the New England textile manufacturing cities or the iron and steel manufacturing localities of Pennsylvania, and the older native-born portion of the towns or cities there is little contact or association beyond that rendered necessary by business or working relations. The immigrant workmen and their households usually live in sections or colonies according to race, attend and support their own churches, maintain their own business institutions and places of recreation, and have their own fraternal and beneficial organizations. There is some association of the immigrant wage-earners with native Americans in the necessary working relations of the industrial establishments, and, in the case of communities where labor unions prevail, the different races of employees are brought together for a common

purpose. Even in the mines and industrial establishments, however, there is a sharp line of division in the occupations or the departments in which recent immigrants and persons of native birth are engaged, and in unskilled labor the immigrant workmen are as a rule brought together in gangs composed of one race or closely related races. Even in industrial localities which are strongly unionized, the extent of the affiliation of immigrant workmen with native Americans is small. A large proportion of the children of foreign-born parents mingle with children of native birth in the public schools, but a considerable proportion are also segregated by race in the parochial schools.[1] The women of recent immigrant races, beyond the small degree of contact which they obtain by work in factories or as domestic servants, in many cases live in a condition entirely removed from Americanizing influences. As a consequence of this general isolation of immigrant colonies, the tendencies toward assimilation exhibited by the recent immigrant population are small, and the maintenance of old customs and standards leads to congestion and insanitary housing and living conditions. The native-born elements in the population of the type of industrial communities under discussion are in most cases ignorant of conditions which prevail in immigrant sections, and even when aware of them are usually found to be indifferent so long as such conditions do not become too pronounced a menace to the public health and welfare. Agencies for the Americanization and assimilation of the immigrant wage-earners and their families are still inadequate, though a number of agencies have recently developed to meet this need. As a rule, under normal conditions there is no antipathy to the immigrant population beyond the feeling uniformly met with in all sections that a certain stigma or reproach attaches to working with the recent immigrants or in the same occupations.

In the case of the second type of immigrant industrial communities, those which have recently come into existence through industrial development and which are almost entirely composed of foreign-born persons or in which the foreign-born elements

[1] See Reports of the Immigration Commission, "Children of Immigrants in Schools" (61st Cong., 2d Session, Sen. Doc. No. 749).

are predominant, a situation exists where an alien colony has been established on American soil, often composed of a large number of races, living according to their own standards and largely under their own systems of control, and practically isolated from all direct contact with American life and institutions. The Americanization of such communities, as compared with the immigrant colonies of old-established industrial towns and cities, must necessarily be slow. As serious as are the problems, therefore, presented by the first-mentioned type of immigrant communities which are the result of recent industrial expansion, those of the second type, which have arisen from the same cause, are much greater. In both cases these problems, however, are the general ones which confront a self-governing republic as a result of the influx of an immigrant population of alien speech, standards, and customs, and may be more properly considered in another connection. In the present discussion of the purely industrial aspects of immigration it is sufficient to note that these immigrant communities and the problems which they present are the direct outcome of the extraordinary industrial development which has been in progress in this country within recent years. The succeeding discussion will be limited to a consideration of the effects of recent immigration (1) upon native American and older immigrant wage-earners, (2) upon labor organizations, (3) upon industrial organizations and methods, and (4) upon the establishment of new industries.

Salient Characteristics of the Recent Immigrant Labor Supply

The real significance of the entrance of recent immigrants into American industry cannot be fully comprehended, however, without taking into account the personal and industrial characteristics of the wage-earners from southern and eastern Europe who have been employed in such large numbers. Preliminary to the discussion of the industrial effects of recent immigration, therefore, it will be necessary to review briefly the salient qualities of the recent immigrant labor supply.

(*a*) From a strictly industrial standpoint, one of the facts of greatest import relative to the new arrivals has been, as already pointed out, that an exceedingly small proportion have had any training or experience while abroad for the industrial occupations in which they have found employment in this country. The bulk of recent immigration has been drawn from the agricultural classes of southern and eastern Europe and most of the recent immigrants were farmers or farm laborers in their native lands. In this respect they afford a striking contrast to immigrants of past years from Great Britain and northern Europe, who were frequently skilled industrial workers before coming to the United States and who sought positions in this country similar to those which they had occupied abroad.

(*b*) In addition to lack of industrial training and experience, the new immigrant labor supply has been found to possess but small resources from which to develop industrial efficiency and advancement. The southern and eastern Europeans have, as a rule, given evidence of industriousness and energy, but, unlike the races of older immigration, they have been unable to use the English language, and a large proportion have been illiterate. Practically none of the races of southern and eastern Europe have been able to speak English at the time of immigration to this country, and, owing to their segregation and isolation from the native American population in living and working conditions, their progress in acquiring the language has been very slow. The incoming supply of immigrant labor has also been characterized by a high degree of illiteracy. Of a total of 290,059 industrial workers of foreign birth for whom detailed information was secured, 17 per cent were unable to read and write and 14.8 per cent could not read. In the case of the races from southern and eastern Europe, the proportions unable to read and write were even larger.

(*c*) Still another salient fact in connection with the recent immigrant labor supply has been the necessitous condition of the newcomers upon their arrival in American industrial communities in search of work. Recent immigrants have usually had but a few dollars in their possession when they arrived at the ports of disembarkation. Consequently they have found it absolutely

imperative to engage in work at once. They have not been in position to take exception to the wages or working conditions offered, but must needs go to work on the most advantageous terms they could secure.

(*d*) The standards of living of the recent industrial workers from the south and east of Europe have been low, and the conditions of employment, as well as the rates of remuneration in American industry, have not as a rule constituted to them grounds for dissatisfaction. During the earlier part, at least, of their residence in the United States, they have been content with living and working conditions offered to them, and it has only been after the most earnest solicitation, or sometimes even coercion, upon the part of the older employees, that they have been persuaded or forced into protests.

The living conditions of southern and eastern Europeans and the members of their households is shown in the detailed studies of the various industries, the most significant indication of congestion and unsatisfactory living arrangements being the low-rent payments each month per capita. The recent immigrant males being usually single, or, if married, having left their wives abroad, have been able to adopt in large measure a group instead of a family living arrangement, and thereby to reduce their cost of living to a point far below that of the American or older immigrant in the same industry or the same level of occupations. The method of living usually followed is that commonly known as the "boarding-boss" system. Under this arrangement a married immigrant or his wife, or a single man, constitutes the head of the household, which, in addition to the family of the head, will usually be made up of 2 to 16 boarders or lodgers. Each lodger pays the boarding boss a fixed sum, ordinarily from $2 to $3 per month, for lodging, cooking, and washing, the food being usually bought by the boarding boss and its cost shared equally by the individual members of the group. Another common arrangement is for each member of the household to purchase his own food and have it cooked separately. Under this general method of living, however, which prevails among the greater proportion of the immigrant households, the entire outlay

for necessary living expenses of each adult member ranges from $9 to $15 each month. The additional expenditures of the recent immigrant wage-earners have been small. Every effort has been made to save as much as possible. The life interest and activity of the average wage-earner from southern and eastern Europe has seemed to revolve principally about three points: (1) to earn the largest possible amount of immediate earnings under existing conditions of work; (2) to live upon the basis of minimum cheapness; and (3) to save as much as possible. Domestic economy, as well as all living arrangements, have been subordinated to the desire to reduce the cost of living to its lowest level.

(*e*) Another salient quality of recent immigrants who have sought work in American industries has frequently been that they have constituted a mobile, migratory, wage-earning class, constrained mainly by their economic interest, and move readily from place to place according to changes in working conditions or fluctuations in the demand for labor. This condition of affairs is made possible by the fact that so large a proportion of the recent immigrant employees, as already pointed out, are single men or married men whose wives are abroad, and by the additional fact that the prevailing method of living among immigrant workmen is such as to enable them to detach themselves from a locality or an occupation whenever they may wish. Their accumulations are also, as a rule, in the form of cash or quickly convertible into cash. In brief, the recent immigrant has no property or other restraining interests which attach him to a community, and a large proportion are free to follow the best industrial inducements. The transitory characteristic which has been developed as a result of these conditions is best illustrated by the racial movements from the larger industrial centers into railroad construction, seasonal and other temporary work, and by the development of a floating immigrant labor supply handled through labor agencies and padrones. There is also a pronounced movement, as in the racial migrations westward of bituminous-coal-mine workers, from place to place or from industry to industry, due to the ascertainment of relatively better working conditions or other inducements. During the industrial depression of

1907–1908 this migratory tendency was particularly noticeable in two ways: (1) By a large movement of southern and eastern Europeans out of the country because of the lack of employment, and (2) by the concentration of those who remained in this country in localities where there was opportunity for employment.

(*f*) To the above-described characteristics of recent immigrant wage-earners, should be added one other. The members of the larger number of races of recent entrance to the mines, mills, and factories as a rule have been tractable and easily managed. This quality seems to be a temperamental one acquired through present or past conditions of life in their native lands. When aroused by strikes or other industrial dissensions, some eastern European races have displayed an inclination to follow their leaders to any length, often to the point of extreme violence and disorder, but in the normal life of the mines, mills, and factories, the southern and eastern Europeans have exhibited a pronounced tendency toward being easily managed by employers and toward being imposed upon without protest, which has created the impression of subserviency. The characteristic of tractability, while strong, is confined, however, to the immigrant wage-earners of comparatively short residence.

Effect of the Competition of Recent Immigrants upon Native Americans and Older Immigrant Employees

If the foregoing characteristics of the immigrant labor supply from southern and eastern Europe be borne in mind, the effect of the influx of recent immigrants upon native American wage-earners and those of older immigration from Great Britain and northern Europe may be briefly stated. The remarkable expansion in manufacturing and mining during the past thirty years, by creating a constant demand for a relatively small number of additional places for experienced and trained employees in supervisory and skilled positions, has undoubtedly led to the advancement in the scale of occupations of a relatively small proportion of native Americans and of English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and members of other races who constituted the wage-earning classes

before the arrival of recent immigrants. On the other hand, the entrance into the operating forces of American industries of such large numbers of wage-earners of the races of southern and eastern Europe —

(1) Has exposed the original employees to unsafe and insanitary working conditions, and has led to or continued the imposition of conditions of employment which the Americans and older immigrants have considered unsatisfactory and in many cases unbearable;

(2) Has brought about or continued living conditions and a standard of life with which the native American and older employees have been unwilling, or have found it extremely difficult, to compete;

(3) Has led to the voluntary or involuntary displacement from certain occupations and industries of the native American and older immigrant employees;

(4) Has weakened the labor organizations of the original employees, and in some industries has led to their entire demoralization and disruption.

The existence of unsatisfactory working and living conditions because of the competition of the recent immigrant has been due to his lack of industrial training abroad, his tractability or subserviency, and his low standard of living. When the older employees have found unsafe and insanitary working conditions prevailing in the mines and industrial establishments, and have protested, the recent immigrant employees, usually through ignorance of mining or other working methods, have manifested a willingness to accept the alleged unsatisfactory conditions. The southern and eastern European employee also, because of his tractability, necessitous condition, and low standards, has been inclined as a rule to acquiesce in the demand upon the part of employers for extra work or longer hours. The industrial workers of recent immigration have also accepted without protest the system of so-called company stores and houses which prevails so extensively in bituminous and anthracite coal, iron-ore, and copper mining, and other industrial localities. The impossibility of competition between the older employees and those with standards

of living like the standards of the recent immigrant, may be readily inferred from what has already been said relative to the methods of domestic economy of immigrant households and the cost of living of their members. In addition to these conditions brought about by the influx of southern and eastern European industrial workers, another factor, mainly psychological in its nature, but no less powerful in its effect, has been operative in the displacement of native Americans and older immigrant employees. In all industries and in all industrial communities a certain reproach has come to be associated with native American or older immigrant employees who are engaged in the same occupations as southern and eastern Europeans. This feeling on the part of the older employees is mainly due to the habits of life and conduct, and to the ready acceptance of conditions by recent immigrants, but is also largely attributable to the conscious or unconscious antipathy, often arising from ignorance or prejudice, toward races of alien customs, institutions, and manner of thought. The same psychological effect was produced upon the native Americans in all branches of industrial enterprise who first came into working contact with the older immigrants from Great Britain and northern Europe. In the decade 1840–1850, when the Irish immigrant girls were first employed in the New England cotton mills, the native women who had previously been the textile operatives protested; twenty years later the Irish girls, after they had become firmly fixed in the industry, rebelled because of the entrance of French-Canadian girls into the spinning rooms, just as the French-Canadian women are refusing to be brought into close working relations with the Polish and Italian females who are entering the cotton mills at the present time. Whatever may be the cause of this aversion of older employees to working by the side of the newer arrivals, the existence of the feeling has been crystallized into one of the most potent causes of racial substitution in manufacturing and mining occupations.

Racial Displacement in the Various Industries

The racial displacements which have been a result of the conditions outlined above have manifested themselves in three ways. In the first place, a larger proportion of native Americans and older immigrant employees from Great Britain and northern Europe have left certain industries, such as bituminous and anthracite coal mining and iron and steel manufacturing. In the second place, a part of the earlier employees, as already pointed out, who remained in the industries in which they were employed before the advent of the southern and eastern European have been able, because of the demand growing out of the general industrial expansion, to attain to the more skilled and responsible technical and executive positions which required employees of training and experience. In the larger number of cases, where the older employees remained in a certain industry after the pressure of the competition of the recent immigrant had begun to be felt, they relinquished their former occupations and segregated themselves in certain occupations. This tendency is best illustrated by the distribution of employees according to race in the bituminous coal mines. In this industry all the so-called "company" occupations, which are paid on the basis of a daily, weekly, or monthly rate, are occupied by native Americans or older immigrants and their children, while the southern and eastern Europeans are confined to pick mining and to the unskilled and common labor. The same situation exists in iron and steel and glass manufacturing, the textile manufacturing industries, and in all divisions of manufacturing enterprise. It is largely due to the reproach which has become attached to the fact of working in the same occupations as the southern and eastern Europeans that in some cases, as in the bituminous coal-mining industry, has led to the segregation of the older class of employees in occupations which, from the standpoint of compensation, are less desirable than those occupied by recent immigrants. In most industries the native Americans and older immigrant workmen who have remained in the same occupations as those in which the recent immigrants are predominant are made up of

the thriftless, unprogressive elements of the original operating forces. The third striking feature resulting from the competition of southern and eastern Europeans is seen in the fact that in the case of most industries, such as iron and steel, textile, and glass manufacturing and the different forms of mining, the children of native Americans and older immigrants from Great Britain and northern Europe are not entering the industries in which their fathers have been employed. Manufacturers of all kinds claim that they are unable to secure a sufficient number of native-born employees to insure the development of the necessary number of workmen to fill the positions of skill and responsibility in their establishments. This condition of affairs is attributable to three factors: (1) General or technical education has enabled a considerable number of the children of the industrial workers of the passing generation to command business, professional, or technical occupations more desirable than those of their fathers; (2) the conditions of work which the employment of recent immigrants has largely made possible have rendered certain industrial occupations unattractive to the prospective wage-earner of native birth; and (3) occupations other than those in which southern and eastern Europeans are engaged are sought for the reason that popular opinion attaches to them a higher degree of respectability.

It is obviously extremely difficult to form generalizations as to the effect of the competition of recent immigrant industrial workers upon native Americans and employees of the immigration of former years without referring to certain industries and taking into account certain exceptions. The general displacements and their causes, it is believed, as applicable to manufacturing and mining as a whole are succinctly set forth above. Specific reference as to the conditions in any of the principal industries may be had by referring to the detailed reports.[1] In the present connection, for the purpose of illustrating the points already made, a brief account is submitted of the racial movements to and racial displacements in several representative industries. No other large

[1] Reports of the Immigration Commission, "Immigrants in Industries" (61st Cong., 2d Session, Sen. Doc. No. 633).

industry in the United States, with the possible exception of iron and steel and textile manufacturing, has absorbed such a number of recent immigrants or such a diversity of races as bituminous coal mining, and the racial movements to, and displacements in, the operating forces of the bituminous coal mines may be set forth as representative of the situation which has developed to a more or less marked degree in the other leading industries of the country.

Bituminous Coal-Mining Fields

Remarkable development has been in progress in the bituminous coal-producing areas of Pennsylvania during the past forty years. A conception of the expansion in bituminous mining operations in this State during the period mentioned may be gathered from the fact that the output in short tons was 150,143,177 in 1907, as compared with 7,798,518 short tons in 1870, and by the additional fact that the average number of wage-earners in bituminous coal mining in 1907 was 163,295, as contrasted with only 16,851 in 1870. During the decade 1880–1890, the operating forces of the Pennsylvania bituminous mines consisted of native Americans and members of the English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and German races who had, as a rule, been practical miners before immigrating to this country, and who after their arrival in the United States, as might be expected, sought work in the industry in which they had had experience abroad. The predominance of mine workers from Great Britain and northern Europe continued up to 1890, but after that year the entrance of these races into the bituminous coal mines practically stopped. Because of the rapid development of the industry and the consequent need of labor, Slovaks had been employed in the Pennsylvania mines as early as 1880. This race was soon followed by the Magyars or Hungarians, Poles, North and South Italians, Croatians, Russians, Bulgarians, Roumanians, Ruthenians, Syrians, Armenians, and Servians. These races from southern and eastern Europe, particularly the Slovaks, Magyars, Poles, and Italians, have gradually supplanted the older immigrants in the less skilled and responsible positions, and during the past ten years have not

only gained the ascendancy in numbers but have also begun to advance in the scale of occupations. The pioneer operatives, under the increasing pressure and competition which arose from the influx of the southern and eastern European immigrants, have, in constantly growing numbers since 1890, left the Pennsylvania coal fields for localities in the Middle West or Southwest in search of better working conditions or, on the other hand, have entirely abandoned the coal industry to engage in other pursuits made available by the industrial development which has been in progress in western Pennsylvania during the same period as that in which the expansion of bituminous coal-mining operations occurred. Those that remained in the bituminous mines have in most cases attained to the skilled and responsible executive positions created by the development of the industry, such as those of engineers and foremen.

An extraordinary and similar expansion in coal mining was in progress during the same period in the Middle West and the Southwest as in Pennsylvania. In 1870, in the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, 5,589,318 short tons of coal were mined, and 15,237 men were employed, as compared with an output of 97,445,278 short tons and an operating force of 133,436 men in 1907. The greatest development in the Southwest came somewhat later.

In the Middle West, as in the State of Pennsylvania, there were very few mine workers prior to 1890 who were not native Americans or representatives of races from Great Britain and Germany. Races of southern and eastern Europe, principally North and South Italians, Lithuanians, Poles, Russians, French, and French Belgians, entered the Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois fields during the decade 1890–1900, and during the past ten years have rapidly increased in numbers. The races of older immigration, however, have never lost the ascendancy in the mines of the Middle West, because of a large migration to that section of English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and German miners from Pennsylvania and West Virginia during the ten years 1890–1900, as mentioned above. But the miners of northern Europe and Great Britain did not remain permanently in the coal fields of the

Middle West. Many of them, in the effort to attain more satisfactory working conditions, when the pressure of recent immigration began to be felt, moved onward to the newly opened mines of the Southwest. Moreover, at the same time that the natives and older immigrants were leaving the West Virginia and Pennsylvania mines for those of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, others migrated directly to the coal fields of Oklahoma (then Indian Territory). As a matter of fact, when the mines of Kansas and Oklahoma were, in the year 1880, first opened on a commercial basis, the operating forces were brought by special trains and carloads from Pennsylvania and the Middle West. The Americans, English, Irish, and Scotch were predominant among these pioneer mine workers, although there were among them a few representatives of the German, Polish, Lithuanian, French, and Croatian races. The rapid increase of the British and northern European races continued in Oklahoma (then Indian Territory) up to 1890, and in Kansas until 1895. In 1890, the Americans, English, Irish, and Scotch in large numbers left the Oklahoma mines and sought employment in the Kansas fields. The number of mining employees in the Southwest belonging to races of southern and eastern Europe rapidly increased in the twenty years subsequent to 1890, this supply of labor being used to take the places of the natives and older immigrants who left Oklahoma after 1890, and to meet the demand for labor growing out of the expansion in the coal industry in both Oklahoma and Kansas. During the same period, and especially since 1900, there has also been a movement, of smaller extent but quite pronounced, of the natives, English, Irish, Scotch, and Welsh, farther to the West and Southwest. Some have left Kansas and Oklahoma for the recently developed mines of Texas and New Mexico. Others have gone to the bituminous mining fields of Colorado. A small number have forsaken coal mining for the Colorado and other gold fields, and a considerable proportion, especially of the second generation of English, Irish, Scotch, and Welsh, have engaged in lead and zinc mining in Missouri.

Of the total number of bituminous mine workers at present, slightly more than three fifths are foreign-born. Among the

foreign-born comparatively small proportions are of the English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and German races of the older immigration; the greater part of the persons of foreign birth are Croatians, North and South Italians, Lithuanians, Magyars, Poles, Russians, Slovaks, Slovenians, and other races of recent immigration. The South exhibits the lowest percentage of foreign-born mining employees and Pennsylvania the highest.

The racial substitutions in, and the present racial composition of, the operating forces of the bituminous coal mines of the country may be considered typical of all other extractive industries, with the exception of agriculture. On the other hand, the racial movements to the cotton-goods manufacturing industry may be presented as representative of conditions in the different branches of manufacturing industry in which the factory system has reached its highest form of development.

New England Cotton Mills

The first employees for the New England cotton mills were secured almost exclusively from the farm and village population immediately adjacent to the early cotton-goods manufacturing centers. These employees consisted in the main of the children of farmers, usually the daughters, who undertook work in the mills for the purpose of assisting their fathers or in order to lay aside sums for their own dowries. The young women were attractive and, as a rule, well educated, and the young men sober, intelligent, and reliable. At the time of the erection of the first modern cotton mills, about 1813, there was a strong prejudice in New England against the so-called factory system, because of the conditions which prevailed among cotton-mill operatives in Great Britain. As a consequence, the chief endeavor of the promoters of the new industry was to secure housing and living conditions under such restrictions as would warrant the parents of New England in permitting their sons and daughters to enter the mills. This policy was successful, and sufficient labor rapidly moved into the new textile manufacturing towns.

In the light of the changed conditions which afterwards became prevalent in the New England textile manufacturing towns it will be instructive to consider somewhat in detail this early class of operatives and the conditions under which they lived. A distinguished French traveler, who visited the United States in 1834, in the words which follow gave his impressions of the operatives of Lowell, Massachusetts, Lowell then being the most representative cotton-goods manufacturing center in New England.[1] He stated:

> The cotton manufacture alone employs 6000 persons in Lowell. Of this number nearly 5000 are young women from 17 to 24 years of age, the daughters of farmers from the different New England States, and particularly from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont. They are here remote from their families and under their own control. On seeing them pass through the streets in the morning and evening and at their meal hours, neatly dressed; on finding their scarfs and shawls, and green silk hoods which they wear as a shelter from the sun and dust (for Lowell is not yet paved), hanging up in the factories amidst flowers and shrubs, which they cultivate, I said to myself, "This, then, is not like Manchester"; and when I was informed of the rate of their wages I understood that it was not at all like Manchester.

The measures which made possible this intelligent and efficient class of operatives are explained by a later historian of Lowell.[2] The author states:

> While devoting his inventive skill in the perfecting of machinery, Mr. Lowell gave considerable thought to the improvement of those he employed. He had seen the degraded state of operatives in England, and his chief endeavor, next after the fitting of his mill, was to insure such domestic comforts and restrictions as would warrant the parents of New England in letting their daughters enter his employment. He provided boarding houses conducted by reputable women, furnished opportunities for religious worship, and established rules which were a safeguard against the evils which assail the young who are beyond parental supervision. . . .
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> When the —— mills were first established the operatives were drawn from the towns and villages of New England. They were sober, industrious, and reliable people. The building of the mills attracted immigrant labor. It was also of a sober and reliable quality, for fares were high in those days and it

[1] Chevalier, United States, 1834, p. 137.

[2] Bayles, Lowell: Past, Present, and Prospective, pp. 7–15.

was only those who were seeking homes that came to the new town of Lowell. This foreign labor mingled with the native element and imbibed the best of its many admirable qualities. . . .

As the industries developed, there was demand for men skilled in the art of calico printing, and a superior class of workmen accordingly came from England and from other countries to add their intelligent influence to the moral progress of the community. . . .

The corporations were under necessity to provide food and shelter for those they employed. They adopted Mr. Lowell's plan so effectively instituted at Waltham, and built boarding and tenement houses. Over these a rigid supervision was maintained. The food in the former was required to be of a certain standard. The rules governing the conduct of those who lived in the boarding houses were rather strict, but they were wholesome.

One of the New England girls who worked in the Lowell mills during this period has given an interesting account of the situation which existed during her employment. In writing of the methods by which the mill girls were secured, and the conditions under which they lived and worked, her description affords a pleasing contrast with the Lowell of the present.[1] She writes:

Troops of young girls came by stages and baggage wagons, men often being employed to go to other States and to Canada to collect them at so much per head and deliver them to the factories.

A very curious sight these country girls presented to young eyes accustomed to a more modern style of things. When the large covered baggage wagon arrived in front of a block of the corporation they would descend from it, dressed in various and outlandish fashions, and with their arms brimful of bandboxes containing all their worldly goods. On each of these was sewed a card, on which one could read the old-fashioned New England name of the owner. . . .

Except in rare instances, the rights of the early mill girls were secure. They were subject to no extortion; if they did extra work they were always paid in full, and their own account of labor done by the piece was always accepted. They kept the figures and were paid accordingly. This was notably the case with the weavers and drawing-in girls. Though the hours of labor were long, they were not overworked; they were obliged to tend no more looms and frames than they could easily take care of, and they had plenty of time to sit and rest. . . .

Their life in the factory was made pleasant to them. In those days there was no need of advocating the doctrine of the proper relation between employer and employed. . . .

[1] Robinson, Loom and Spindle.

The knowledge of the antecedents of these operatives was the safeguard of their liberties. The majority of them were as well born as their "overlookers," if not better; and they were also far better educated. . . .

Those of the mill girls who had homes generally worked from eight to ten months in the year; the rest of the time was spent with parents or friends. A few taught school during the summer months. . . .

The life in the boarding houses was very agreeable. These houses belonged to the corporation, and were usually kept by widows (mothers of mill girls) who were often the friends and advisers of their boarders. . . .

Each house was a village or community of itself. There fifty or sixty young women from different parts of New England met and lived together. When not at their work, by natural selection they sat in groups in their chambers, or in a corner of the large dining room, busy at some agreeable employment; or they wrote letters, read, studied, or sewed, for, as a rule, they were their own seamstresses and dressmakers.

Charles Dickens, during his tour of the United States, visited Lowell and has recorded his observations in his American Notes. Concerning the American girl operatives and the impression they made upon him, he had the following to say:[1]

These girls, as I have said, were all well dressed; and that phrase necessarily includes extreme cleanliness. They had serviceable bonnets, good warm cloaks and shawls, and were not above clogs and pattens. Moreover, there were places in the mill in which they could deposit these things without injury; and there were conveniences for washing. They were healthy in appearance, many of them remarkably so, and had the manners and deportment of young women; not of degraded brutes of burden. . . .

The rooms in which they worked were as well ordered as themselves. In the windows of some there were green plants, which were trained to shade the glass; in all, there was as much fresh air, cleanliness, and comfort as the nature of the occupation would possibly admit of. Out of so large a number of females, many of whom were only then just verging upon womanhood, it may be reasonably supposed that some were delicate and fragile in appearance; no doubt there were. But I solemnly declare that, from all the crowd I saw in the different factories that day, I cannot recall or separate one young face that gave me a painful impression; not one young girl whom, assuming it to be a matter of necessity that she should gain her daily bread by the labor of her hands, I would have removed from those works if I had had the power. . . .

I am now going to state three facts which will startle a large class of readers on this side of the Atlantic very much.

[1] Charles Dickens, American Notes 1841, pp. 56–57.

Firstly, there is a joint-stock piano in a great many of the boarding houses. Secondly, nearly all these young ladies subscribe to circulating libraries. Thirdly, they have got up among themselves a periodical."

The state of affairs and the operative class described above continued until about 1840, when the expansion of the industry exceeded the local labor resources and it became necessary to secure operatives from localities in this country outside of New England, as well as from Canada, Great Britain, and northern Europe.

Immigration to the industry from Canada and Great Britain was characteristic of the period 1840–1880. Members of the English, Irish, and Scotch races, as already mentioned, immigrated to the New England cotton goods centers at an early date. Small numbers of skilled English operatives were secured from the British textile-manufacturing towns in the early history of the development of the industry in New England. Considerable numbers of Irish were also employed in the unskilled work in connection with the erection of the mills and the construction of the locks and canals in certain localities, such as Lowell, to furnish the necessary water power. Although these races continued to enter the industry, the heavy immigration of the Irish did not set in until after 1840, and of the English until thirty years later. The Irish were employed in the mills in the largest numbers during the forties and fifties and the English during the seventies, both races, however, continuing to seek work in the cotton mills in gradually diminishing numbers up to 1895. Although the Scotch and Germans were early settlers in the mill towns and have always been represented among the cotton-mill operatives, the extent to which these races have been employed in the industry has always been of comparatively small importance. By the year 1895 the immigration of all races from Great Britain and northern Europe to the cotton-goods manufacturing centers of the North Atlantic States had practically stopped.

As soon as the expansion of the cotton industry in New England rendered it necessary to go beyond the local labor supply, an attempt was made to secure operatives from Canada. Considerable numbers of French-Canadians entered the mills during the fifties, but the heaviest immigration of this race was during the

period of ten years following immediately upon the close of the civil war. During the next thirty-five years they continued to arrive in large numbers, but during the past decade small additions to the operating forces have been made by this race.

Since the year 1885, and especially during the past fifteen years, the operatives of the cotton mills have been mainly recruited from the races of southern and eastern Europe and from the Orient. There were very few representatives of these races in the mills before 1890. During the decade 1890–1900, however, the movement of races from the south and east of Europe set in rapidly. Immigration from Great Britain and northern Europe, as already noticed, had practically ceased, and from Canada was on a reduced basis as compared with former years. Of the new immigrant operatives, the Greeks, Portuguese and Bravas from the Western Islands, Poles, Russians, and Italians came in the largest numbers. During the past ten years the immigration of all the above-mentioned races has continued in undiminished proportions. Other races have also sought work in the cotton mills, the most important in point of numbers having been the Lithuanians, Hebrews, Syrians, Bulgarians, and Turks. At the present time immigration from the older sources has ceased or been reduced to unimportant proportions, and the races of recent immigration, so far as numbers are concerned, are rapidly attaining an ascendancy in the industry.

The Americans, who formerly composed the bulk of the cotton-mill operatives in the North Atlantic States, at the present time form only about one tenth of the total number of the employees in the cotton mills, and are divided in about equal proportions between males and females. If the employees of the second generation of immigrant races, or, in other words, persons native-born of foreign father, be added to this pure American stock, or those native-born of native father, the total number of native-born operatives amounts to about three tenths of the operating forces of the North Atlantic mills. The remaining part of the operatives, or about seven tenths, is composed of employees of foreign birth. Of the total foreign-born operatives, about one half are representatives of races of southern and eastern Europe and

the Orient, the remainder being composed mainly of English, Irish, and French-Canadians, with a relatively small number of Scotch, Germans, Swedes, Dutch, and French. The French-Canadians, among the foreign-born, are employed at present in greater proportions than any other race, the proportion of French-Canadian cotton-mill operatives exceeding that of the Americans. The English furnish about one tenth and the Irish about one twentieth of the total number of employees in the industry. Of the operatives from southern and eastern Europe, the Poles, Portuguese, and Greeks, in the order named, furnish the largest proportions, the total number of these races constituting more than one fourth of the total number employed. More than thirty other races from southern and eastern Europe are working in the cotton mills of the North Atlantic States; the North and South Italians, Lithuanians, and Russians are numerically the most important. Several oriental races, including Turks, Persians, and Syrians, are also found. The larger part of the female employees at the present time is made up of English, Irish, and French-Canadian operatives, of both the first and second generations, together with large proportions of Portuguese and Polish women. The American females, as already stated, form only about one tenth of the total number of female operatives.

Fall River, New Bedford, and Lowell, Massachusetts, Manchester, New Hampshire, and other centers of the same sort, all have a large proportion of French-Canadians, Manchester showing the highest percentage of employees of that race. Manchester has also the largest proportion of Polish operatives, although that race is well represented in the other three cities. The Irish and English, who are employed extensively in all localities, have their largest representation in Lowell and New Bedford. The Portuguese are employed in largest proportions in New Bedford and Fall River. Only an unimportant percentage of Greeks are working in Fall River and New Bedford, but in Manchester, New Hampshire, the Greeks make up one twentieth, and in Lowell more than one-seventh, of the total number of operatives. The other races are scattered in comparatively small numbers through all the localities.

Clothing-Manufacturing Industry

The manufacture of clothing is based upon another form of industrial organization and has an operating force of a different character from that of the textiles or bituminous coal mining. A brief review of the racial substitutions which have occurred in the industry will therefore be of value, and a history of the racial changes which have occurred in connection with the industry in the large clothing manufacturing centers of Chicago, New York, and Baltimore may be considered as representative of racial displacements in the industry as a whole.

From the beginning until as late as 1890 Germans were almost exclusively employed in shops and by establishments engaged in the manufacturing of clothing in Baltimore, Maryland. During the past twenty years, however, a very large number of Russian Hebrews have come to this locality, most of whom have obtained employment in this industry. Although many of this race were tailors by trade, they entered the less skilled occupations in the shops and factories of Baltimore. A very short time afterwards, or in 1895, the Lithuanians entered the industry, and they were followed, in 1900, by the Bohemians, Poles, Italians, and representatives of a few of the other races from Austria-Hungary. Since 1905, the Russian Hebrew, Lithuanian, and Italian have been the principal races from which the manufacturers have obtained their necessary supply of labor. The early history of clothing manufacturing establishments in Chicago differs from that of the establishments in Baltimore, in that not only the Germans but German Jews, Bohemians, and a few Americans and Poles were the first employees. About fifteen years ago the Scandinavians entered the industry and within a short time became very proficient. Following the Scandinavians came the Russian Jews, who were employed prior to either the Italians or Lithuanians. In recent years, however, the number of Russian Jews entering the industry has increased rapidly, and it is from this source that clothing manufacturing establishments have secured the greater proportion of employees. Unlike the tailoring shops of Baltimore and Chicago, those in New York depended originally upon the

Irish, who predominated from 1850 to 1888. The introduction of machines has made it possible to employ a less intelligent and less skilled force than when all work was done by hand. From 1865 to 1888 a few Swedes, and from 1880 to 1890 the Germans, entered the industry. Russian and Polish Hebrews first obtained employment in large numbers from 1890 to 1895, while the Italians, many of whom were employed as early as 1880, entered the industry in largely increased numbers in 1895, and are now supplanting the Russian Hebrews.

Glass Manufacturing

Racial displacements in the glass manufacturing industry are of peculiar interest because of the invention of machinery within recent years which has made possible the extensive employment of unskilled labor in factories engaged in the manufacture of plate and window glass and glass bottles. In the early development of the industry, it was necessary to secure skilled glassworkers from glass manufacturing centers in Europe. At the present time it is possible to recruit a large proportion of the operating forces from the untrained and inexperienced immigrant labor supply of southern and eastern Europe. A brief account of the history of immigration within recent years to a number of representative glass manufacturing localities in different sections of the country will illustrate the racial displacements which have occurred in the industry.[1]

Community A

The total population of the town is about 2600, and its history of immigration is contained in the history of the racial changes which have taken place in the glass plant.

The plate-glass plant was started in 1886, as the property of an important glass company, with a nucleus of Belgian, English, and German workers who were brought from other plants of the company in the United States to serve as skilled workers. All of the work at that time was done by hand, and native Americans

[1] The description of only one of these communities is here reproduced.— Ed.

served as unskilled laborers and were apprenticed with the idea of taking the place of the foreign skilled workman as the latter dropped out.

When this company first began operation in its factories in other sections of the United States, the English method of glass-making was adopted. In 1885 a change was made to the Belgian method. In both instances skilled workers were imported from England first and afterwards from Belgium and from sections of Germany where the Belgian methods were used. There were no skilled American workmen to be secured, as the plate-glass industry was new in America. The importation of foreign workmen was thus indispensable in establishing the plate-glass industry in this country. The skilled workmen among the Americans and recent immigrant races have learned their trade under Belgian tutoring.

After 1895, however, most of the American employees, except those who had become skilled workmen or who held responsible positions of an executive nature, were drawn away from the glass industry into the steel plants in and about Pittsburgh by reason of the higher wages, and it was necessary for the company to look elsewhere for ordinary labor, as well as for material out of which to develop future skilled labor. As early as 1888 a few Poles, Russians, and Slovaks were secured, but not in sufficient numbers to meet the demands for unskilled labor until after 1890. They gradually took the place of American workers after that date, and at the present time not more than 30 per cent of the entire force of the plant is composed of Americans.

With the change to machine methods in making plate glass and the gradual exodus of the original skilled hand workers and of unskilled Americans to other industries, the demand for labor was met by a supply of Slovaks, Poles, and Russians. In 1900 the superintendent of the plant realized the change which was taking place and that his plant faced a competition with the tin and steel mills, as well as other plate-glass plants, in the labor market. The supply of skilled labor was being reduced, and the material out of which future skilled workers could be drawn was being lowered by the racial change from American to cheap foreign labor.

In 1902 the total number of employees in the manufacturing department of the plant numbered about 560, consisting of 16 foremen, 290 skilled workmen (52 per cent), at an average rate of pay of 20 cents per hour, and 254 unskilled workmen, at an average rate of pay of 13 cents per hour. An experiment had been made to raise the level of the unskilled labor in 1900 by increasing the rate of pay of workers in the construction department from $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents per hour to 15 cents; but in 1902, out of 300 laborers in this department, there were fewer than 25 Americans even at this increased rate of pay, the rest of them being unskilled Slovaks, Poles, and Russians.

The plant was confronted, therefore, with (1) a lessening number of skilled glassworkers; (2) an increasing number of unskilled Slovak, Polish, and Russian immigrants, who could not, the company believed, be advanced into skilled occupations; and (3) an unsuccessful competition for American labor with the various branches of the steel industry.

It soon became possible to substitute machinery for some of the skilled occupations, such as laying, grinding, and polishing, and this the racial changes practically demanded. The Belgians and other skilled glassworkers were retained in those positions requiring skill in hand work, while Americans and workmen of other races who possessed enough intelligence were put in charge of the machines. Each machine displaced several skilled hand workers, but the increase in the output required an increase of about the same number of unskilled workers in the casting rooms.

Within recent years not only Poles and Slovaks have come to the locality, but also a number of Macedonians, together with a few Italians. Several racial movements may thus be distinguished in the history of the plate-glass plant, which can be grouped as follows:

First, the use of skilled glassworkers imported by the company from England to plants in other parts of the United States and then brought to the new plant in Community A.

Second, the change from the English methods of glassmaking to the Belgian method and the importation of Belgians and Germans to the various older plants of the company whence they

were taken to serve as skilled workers in the new plant. At this time a system of apprenticeship was also inaugurated in the hope that native Americans would learn glassmaking.

Third, the drawing away of native unskilled workmen into the steel mills and of skilled Belgians and English into new independent glass plants.

Fourth, the coming of Slovaks, Poles, Russians, and Macedonians into the unskilled occupations.

Fifth, the advancement of a few natives, nearly all of the second-generation Belgians, Germans, and English glassmakers, and of a small number of Slovaks and Poles into the skilled occupations.

Effect of the Employment of Recent Immigrants upon Labor Organizations

The extensive employment of southern and eastern European immigrants in manufacturing and mining has in many places resulted in the weakening of labor organizations or in their complete disruption. This condition has been due to the character of the recent immigrant labor supply and to the fact that such large numbers of recent immigrants found employment in American industry within a short period of time. On account of their lack of industrial training and experience before reaching this country, their low standards of living as compared with native American wage-earners, their necessitous condition on finding employment in this country, and their tractability, the southern and eastern Europeans, as already noted, have been willing to accept the rates of compensation and the working conditions as they have found them in the United States. The tendency of recent immigrants to thrift and their desire for immediate gains have made them reluctant to enter into labor disputes involving loss of time, or to join labor organizations to which it was necessary to pay regular dues. As a consequence, the recent immigrant has not, as a rule, affiliated himself with labor unions unless compelled to do so as a preliminary step toward acquiring work, and after becoming a member of a labor union he has manifested but little interest

in the tenets or policy of the organization. Where he has united with the labor organizations he has usually refused to maintain his membership for any extended period of time, thus rendering difficult the unionizing of the occupation or industry in which he has been engaged. Furthermore, the fact that the recent immigrants are usually of non-English-speaking races has made their absorption by the labor organizations of the native Americans and older immigrants very slow and expensive. The high degree of illiteracy among recent arrivals has also added to the difficulties of the situation from the standpoint of the labor unions, and in many cases the conscious policy of the employers of mixing the races in certain departments and divisions, the diversity of tongues, and racial prejudice, preventing concert of action on the part of the employees, have rendered the stable unionization of the recent immigrants almost impossible

The attitude of the labor unions toward the southern and eastern Europeans has been receptive, aggressive, and at times coercive. Not only have they been willing to receive the immigrant into the organizations, but they have entered into expensive and extended agitation and organizing in order to secure the support of the southern and eastern European wage-earner. On the other hand, when the newer immigrants have entered the union the native American and older immigrant members have, as a result of the personal and industrial characteristics of the recent immigrants, often adopted a coercive attitude toward them until they have become able to take an active and independent part in the affairs of the organization.

A significant result of the whole situation, however, has been that the influx of the southern and eastern Europeans has been too rapid to permit of their complete absorption by the labor organizations which were in existence before the arrival of the recent immigrant wage-earners. In some industries the influence and power of the labor unions are concerned only with those occupations in which the competition of the southern and eastern European has been but indirectly or remotely felt, and consequently the labor organizations have not been seriously affected. In the occupations and industries in which the pressure of the

competition of the immigrant wage-earner has been directly felt, either because the nature of the work was such as to permit the immediate employment of the immigrant or because through the invention of improved machinery his employment was made possible in occupations which formerly required training and apprenticeship, the labor organizations have been completely overwhelmed and disrupted. In other industries and occupations in which the elements of skill, training, or experience were requisite, such as in certain divisions of the glass-manufacturing industry, the effect upon labor organizations of the employment of the recent immigrant has not been followed with such results.

The displacement of older employees and the effect of the competition of recent immigrant industrial workers upon labor unions may be seen in greater detail by a consideration of the results which have manifested themselves in a number of representative industries since the competition of the wage-earner from southern and eastern Europe began. One of the best illustrations in this connection is afforded by the conditions which have been developed in the bituminous mining industry.

Labor Unions in the Bituminous Coal-Mining Industry

It will be recalled that the southern and eastern European races, so far as the bituminous coal-mining industry is concerned, were originally employed in the Pennsylvania mines, and consequently the competition of the races of recent immigration was first felt in the coal fields of that State. As the influx of the different races became greater and greater its significance was brought home to the pioneer mine workers by the realization that, if they wished to perpetuate the existing standards of workmanship and the working conditions to which they were accustomed, and if they were to hope for better conditions and higher wages in the future, they must control the incoming thousands and educate them as to what they considered proper conditions of employment, standards of living, and rates of compensation. Labor organizations were formed among the Pennsylvania mine workers in the early seventies, but considerable friction occurred

between rival organizations until 1890, when all organizations united under the control of the United Mine Workers of America.

The problem confronting the labor unions at the outset was difficult, and it steadily grew harder and more exacting. The new workers in the field were without previous experience in mining and without knowledge as to what wages, hours, or conditions of work they should seek. Most of the incoming foreigners were without resources and under the necessity of obtaining work immediately on the best terms that could be secured. Very few could speak the English language, and agitation among them had to be conducted through interpreters. Under normal conditions of industrial peace it was very difficult to make the recent immigrant see the necessity, from the union standpoint, of contributing regularly to the union, and consequently strike funds could not be accumulated. A significant outcome of each strike was the fact that a greater or less number of natives, English, Irish, Scotch, and Germans became dissatisfied with the result and left Pennsylvania in search of better working conditions in the Middle West or the localities in the Southwest or West to which the recent immigrants had not penetrated in important numbers. These employees were, as a rule, the most ambitious and aggressive in the field and often were leaders in the labor organizations. For this reason the conclusion of each strike found the unions in a weaker condition than when it occurred, and the succession of dissensions and controversies marked an advancing state of demoralization and dissolution.

The above-described characteristics of the incoming immigrants, together with the constantly increasing number of arrivals, rendered it impossible for the labor organizations to assimilate and control the newcomers, and finally the old employees were forced to give up the effort and practically retire from the Pennsylvania field. As typical of the inundation and disruption of the unions by the influx of recent immigrant employees, the case of the territory surrounding Greensburg, Connellsville, Scottdale, Uniontown, and Latrobe, which is popularly and scientifically

known as the Connellsville coke region, may be cited. Slovaks, Magyars, Poles, and Italians, as the result of the expansion in mining operations, were employed in this area as early as the year 1882, and from that time forward, as the coal industry developed, other races of southern and eastern Europe entered the territory in large numbers. In 1882 the Americans, English, and Irish were in control of the labor organizations in the district. At that time the number of recent immigrants employed was small, and the unions were able to maintain their standing. Following a strike in 1884, however, some of the older employees were discharged and others voluntarily left the field. The result of a strike in 1886 was a defeat for the Amalgamated Association of Mining Employees, which at that time controlled the labor movements. As a matter of fact, the strike left the association so weak and disorganized that the next year it was taken over by the Knights of Labor. It had been well organized among the recent immigrants, but the results of the strike so discouraged them that, instead of vigorously attempting to build up the organization, they dropped their membership. In 1890 the United Mine Workers of America entered the field and absorbed the Knights of Labor and other organizations of the mines. The next year the local organizations in the Connellsville regions entered upon another general strike without the consent of the general council of the United Mine Workers and were defeated. The recent immigrants, as in the case of the two preceding strikes, shared in this strike and participated in much rioting. After the loss of the strike, however, they, as usual, dropped their membership in the unions. Many of the older immigrants and native mine workers had, as already pointed out, left the industry or the coke region after the strikes of 1884 and 1886, and many more were forced to move away or voluntarily left the Connellsville territory after the unsuccessful strike of 1891. Their departure, together with the withdrawal of the recent immigrants, completely demoralized the labor organizations. Three years later, when a general strike was called by the United Mine Workers of America, the old local unions in the coke region were revived and a prolonged strike inaugurated, but its unsuccessful conclusion completely

destroyed the labor organizations and ended the existence of the labor movement in the field.

This experience in the coke region was representative of conditions everywhere in the Pennsylvania bituminous mining area. The entire period from 1870 to 1894 was marked by a series of labor dissensions and strikes, each of which left the labor organizations in a weaker condition than did its predecessor, for the reason that the older employees, who were the leaders in the movement for higher wages and better working conditions, finding themselves unable to control the conditions imposed by the increasing employment of recent immigrants, and finally realizing that it was impossible to control the incoming supply of immigrant labor, abandoned the Pennsylvania mines and sought similar employment in other bituminous localities where the pressure of competition of recent immigrants was not so strong, or, on the other hand, found work along different lines.

The tables in this report show that the average earnings of mine workers in this section are 42 cents per day less than the average earnings in the territory of the Middle West and Southwest, to which the older mine workers migrated, and in which they have been able to maintain their organizations. In the few localities in Pennsylvania where unions still exist higher rates of wages and better conditions of employment prevail than in the sections where they have been driven out.

Practically the same situation with the same results was experienced in the mines of West Virginia. Recent immigrants did not enter the mines of that State in large numbers, as has already been seen, until after the year 1890. The competition was soon felt, however, and the significance of their presence revealed by the strikes which occurred in the Fairmont, Elk Garden, and other fields in the years 1894 and 1895. Natives and older immigrant employees left the mines, as they had done in Pennsylvania, thus creating vacancies which were filled by the employment of additional numbers of recent immigrants, who reduced the strength of the labor organizations. The rapid expansion of the mining operations after 1894 also brought into the mining fields a constantly growing number of southern and eastern

Europeans who completely inundated the older employees and unconsciously but effectually demoralized the labor unions and put a stop to any efforts toward organization.

After this effort in the Pennsylvania and West Virginia fields the older employees who had not entered other industries and occupations or advanced to the more skilled and responsible positions in the mines moved westward in search of better working conditions. The sons of Americans and races of older immigration had already ceased entering the industry and, with the exception of the residuum of the inert and thriftless representatives of natives and older immigrants and the relatively small number of natives, Irish, English, Scotch, and Welsh engaged in the skilled and supervisory positions, the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were left in undisputed control of the situation.

Natives, together with immigrants from Great Britain and Germany, it will be recalled, were almost exclusively employed in the mines of the Middle West prior to 1890. During the period 1890–1900 the additional demand for labor was principally supplied by the Americans, Germans, Irish, Scotch, and Welsh who migrated from Pennsylvania and West Virginia. A considerable number of North Italians and Lithuanians, as well as some Croatians and South Italians, had also joined the movement to the Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio fields, but the older immigrants and natives were still in the ascendancy and constituted in 1900 more than 75 per cent of the mine-operating forces. The labor organizations had maintained their bargaining power unimpaired in this field. The immigrants coming here were almost all former mine workers who were in full sympathy with the tenets and policy of labor organization, and they constituted an addition to the labor-union cause and not a disintegrating force, as had been the case during the influx of recent immigrants into Pennsylvania. Moreover, a considerable proportion of the incoming North Italians and Lithuanians were of an extended period of residence in the United States and had been educated to the standards and ideas of the labor organizations in the Pennsylvania anthracite and bituminous regions. Those of the newcomers who were not trade unionists were energetically instructed and forced to comply with

the regulations of the organization as a condition of working in the mines. In the many controversies during this period the mine workers' union was successful. Working conditions were improved and increased rates of pay for both machine and pick mining secured.

During the past ten years, however, although the labor unions have largely maintained their strength, conditions have changed and the preservation of the standards of the organization has been a matter of the greatest difficulty. Mining operations have undergone a great expansion, and recourse has been had to races of recent immigration in greater and greater numbers, principally South Italians, Croatians, Poles, and Lithuanians, some of whom have come from other localities in the United States but the greater number direct from Europe. These newcomers have entered the labor organizations principally because they have considered it a necessary step preliminary to securing work in the mines, and not because they have had any sympathy or interest in the labor-union program. They have also manifested comparatively little activity in its behalf. The result has been strongly apparent in dissatisfaction among the former mine workers, who have considered the recent immigrant indifferent to the working and sanitary conditions in the mines. As the pressure resulting from the increase in numbers of the recent immigrants has become stronger, the tendency has been for the older immigrants and natives who had not secured more skilled or responsible positions to move from localities and mines where the competition of the southern and eastern European has been most strongly felt to other localities in the Middle West or Southwest or to abandon the coal-mining business entirely for the purpose of engaging in other work. The children of natives, as well as those of the Scotch, Irish, English, Welsh, and Germans, have also entered the mines in decreasing numbers, and there has been a constantly growing tendency toward the ascendancy of the southern and eastern Europeans. At the same time the effort has been made by the labor organizations to train the southern and eastern Europeans to their standards and methods. In the case of the North Italians and Lithuanians the attempt has been

successful, and, on the other hand, a compliance, either forced or voluntary, has been secured from mining employees of other races. Moreover, the dissatisfaction with the recent immigrant and the pressure of his competition has not only been strongly reflected in the exodus of old employees but in the gradual separation of the operating forces of the mines into two distinct groups — (1) the natives and older immigrants who have entered the company or day occupations and those demanding skill and responsibility, and (2) the members of races of recent immigration who are almost exclusively employed as loaders, pick miners, and laborers. The Middle West, however, as compared with Pennsylvania, has had an advantage in meeting the problems brought about by recent immigration, because the influx has been smaller, the time covered as compared with the number of arrivals has been longer, elements of strength up to 1900 were received in the form of large additions to the mine-working forces of persons of the same type as those at first employed, and considerable numbers of the southern and eastern Europeans who have entered the territory have been trained miners or strong unionists. The greatest demoralization of the labor-union movement has occurred during the past ten years by the arrival in large numbers of inexperienced immigrants direct from the south and east of Europe.

At the time when the older employees in large numbers migrated from Pennsylvania to the Middle West, others went to the mines of the Southwest. Miners from Great Britain and Germany had already entered Oklahoma (then Indian Territory) mines as early as 1880, and after their numbers had been increased by the displaced trades-unionists of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, labor organizations were formed and demand made for concessions from the operators. A long and bitter strike resulted in the early nineties, the settlement of which in many particulars was unfavorable to the labor leaders and the unions. As a consequence many of the English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and Germans left the mines of Oklahoma (then Indian Territory) and sought work in the Kansas coal fields. Since that time the coal mines of Kansas have been the stronghold of unionism in the Southwest and the greatest point of concentration for the

mine workers from Great Britain and northern Europe. The effects of the increasing numbers of recent immigrants in Kansas and Oklahoma, however, during the past few years have begun to be strongly apparent. Segregation of the representatives of the old and the new immigration according to occupations has, as in the Middle West, been adopted in the southwestern fields. A slow but steady displacement has also been noticeable throughout the whole territory and is constantly brought to the attention by the departure of Americans and individual members of the English, Irish, Scotch, and Welsh races for the coal fields of New Mexico and for the coal and metal mines of Colorado. The native Americans and the children of the older immigrants have not been entering the Kansas and Oklahoma mines.

From the standpoint of the natives and the older immigrant employees, it therefore seems clearly apparent that the competition of recent immigrants has caused a gradual displacement, commencing in Pennsylvania and extending westward, until at the present time the representatives of the pioneer employees in the bituminous mining industry are making their last stand in the Southwest, and especially in Kansas, where they are gradually being weakened and are withdrawing to the newly opened fields of the West, to which the recent immigrant has not come in important numbers. Along with this displacement of the older employees in the different coal-producing areas has proceeded the elimination of a correspondingly large proportion from the industry and the development of such working and living conditions that the sons of natives and the second generation of immigrant races have only to a very small extent consented to enter the industry. On the other hand, as regards the pioneer employees and their descendants who have remained within the industry, two facts are noteworthy: (1) a small part, consisting of the inert, unambitious, thriftless element, have remained on the lower level of the scale of occupations where they are in open competition with the majority of the races of recent immigration, in comparison with whom they are generally considered less efficient; and (2) the larger proportion of those remaining, including the most efficient and progressive element, have, as a result of the

expansion of the industry, secured advancement to the more skilled and responsible positions or, as in the Middle West and Southwest, have largely entered the day or regularly paid occupations where they have little, if any, contact with recent immigrant employees. In the Pennsylvania mines, where the sharpest and longest competition has been felt, the displacements have been more extensive than in other coal-mining districts. The employees of native and older immigrant stock are either at the top or at the bottom of the industrial scale, and recent immigrant mine workers have been employed in all occupations except the more skilled and responsible.

Another illustration of the effects of recent immigration upon the labor unions of industrial workers, which revolves primarily around the question of improved mechanical appliances, is furnished by the cotton-goods manufacturing industry. The discussion of conditions which have developed in that industry follows.

Labor Organizations in the Cotton-Goods Manufacturing Industry

In the cotton-goods manufacturing industry the fact that the American and older immigrant employees from Great Britain have entered the skilled occupations, as weaving and tending the slashers, and have been able to secure control of the immigrant employees before these were advanced to the skilled occupations, has prevented the complete disruption of labor organization in the industry. At present it is only in Fall River, Massachusetts, that the unions of the employees have any recognized standing, although the wage agreements made in Fall River dominate the rates of pay in the whole industry in the North Atlantic States. In Fall River five occupations are unionized — the weavers, carders, mule spinners, slasher tenders, and loom fixers. Only about 9000 of the total 30,000 operatives in that city belong to the labor organizations, but as the rates of pay in all occupations are adjusted to the rates received by the weavers, the unions have practically the unanimous support of the operatives. The strong unionist tendencies in Fall River are traceable to the influences of the early English immigrants, who formed the first

organizations and who educated later comers to the tenets of unionism. The Irish have always been strong supporters of the labor organizations, and the French-Canadians were trained to be so shortly after they entered the industry. The more recent immigrant employees from southern and eastern Europe and Asia, however, have been a constant menace to the labor organizations, and have been directly and indirectly instrumental in weakening the unions and threatening their disruption. The divergencies in language and the high degree of illiteracy and ignorance among the recent immigrant operatives have made the work of organization among them very difficult and expensive. The greatest difficulty against which the labor leaders have had to contend, however, has been the low living and working standards of the southern and eastern Europeans and their willingness to accept conditions of employment which the older employees consider unsatisfactory. The recent immigrants have also been reluctant to identify themselves with the unions and to pay the regular dues under normal conditions, thus preventing the labor organizations from accumulating large resources for use in strengthening their general conditions and in maintaining their position in time of strikes. Although the recent immigrants have not been used as strike breakers, they have taken advantage of labor difficulties and strikes to secure a foothold in the industry, and especially in the more skilled occupations. This was especially noticeable during the textile strike of 1903. Toward the conclusion of this strike — when the controversy had practically been gained by the mills, a large proportion of the operatives had resumed work, and the unions were hesitating relative to ordering a return to work — the southern and eastern Europeans entered the mills; and when the older employees finally applied for work they found recent immigrants occupying a large proportion of the skilled positions which, before the strike, had been exclusively held by the English, Irish, and French-Canadians. The mill corporations, with keen foresight, had realized that by placing the recent immigrants in these positions they would break the strength of unionism for at least a generation, and the southern and eastern Europeans had been quick to see that

the strike offered them an opportunity for an advancement in the industry which, in the regular order of affairs, would require a considerable period of years.

The pressure of the recent immigrant labor supply and its eagerness to advance in earning capacity made it possible for the employers to carry out their policy of undermining the unions' elements of strength and control in the industry. Since 1903, outside of Fall River, the labor organizations are without recognition and practically demoralized. Moreover, the advancement in large numbers of the southern and eastern Europeans to weaving, spinning, beaming, and similar occupations has tended to bring them into more direct competition with the Americans and older immigrant employees and to destroy the advantage which the latter class, who control and direct the unions, formerly possessed.

Effect of the Employment of Recent Immigrants upon Industrial Organization and Methods

The only effect observable upon the organization of the operating forces of mines and manufacturing plants as the result of the extensive employment of recent immigrants has been the increase in the number of subordinate foremen in a great many industries. This situation might naturally be expected because of the fact that the wage-earners from southern and eastern Europe and Asia are of non-English-speaking races and require a greater amount of supervision and direction than the native Americans and the older immigrants from Great Britain. As a matter of fact, in most instances the subordinate foremen referred to are usually little more than interpreters. The body of non-English-speaking employees is subdivided into smaller groups, which are placed under their direction in order to insure more ease in handling and a greater degree of efficiency.

From what has already been said relative to the lack of any industrial experience of the larger proportion of recent immigrant industrial workers it is clear that their employment has increased the liability to accidents and disease in mines and industrial establishments. This situation is due to ignorance upon the part

of recent immigrant wage-earners and their consequent willingness to accept dangerous working conditions and not to insist upon safety devices and proper methods of protection. In certain industries their ignorance also leads them to neglect the sanitary rules which have been formulated for the protection of themselves and their fellow workmen.

In a large number of cases the lack of training and experience of the southern and eastern European affects only his own safety. On the other hand, his ignorant acquiescence in dangerous or insanitary working conditions may make the continuance of such conditions possible and, as a result, he may become a menace to a part or to the whole of an operating force of an industrial establishment. This fact in some industries largely accounts for the withdrawal of native Americans and the older immigrant employees from certain occupations in which the recent immigrant has become predominant. In the mining occupations the presence of an untrained employee may constitute an element of danger to the entire body of workmen. There seems to be a direct causal relation between the extensive employment of recent immigrants in American mines and the extraordinary increase within recent years in the number of mining accidents. This tendency may be illustrated by the character of recent immigration to the bituminous coal mines and in the increase in accidents, of both a fatal and a nonfatal character. It is an undisputed fact that the greater number of accidents in bituminous mines arises from two sets of causes: (1) the recklessness, and (2) the ignorance and inexperience, of employees. When the lack of training of the recent immigrant while abroad is considered in connection with the fact that he becomes an employee in the mines immediately on his arrival in this country, and when it is recalled that a large proportion of the new arrivals are not only illiterate and unable to read any precautionary notices posted in the mines, but also unable to speak English and consequently without ability to comprehend instructions intelligently, the inference is plain that a direct causal relation exists between the employment of recent immigrants and the increase in the number of fatalities and accidents in the mines. No complete statistics have been compiled

as to the connection between accidents and races at work, but the figures available clearly indicate the conclusion that there has been a direct connection between the employment of untrained foreigners and the prevalence of mining casualties.[1] The mining inspectors of the several coal-producing States, the United States Geological Survey, and the older employees in the industry also bear testimony in this respect to the effect of the employment of the southern and eastern European. The opinion of the Geological Survey is of special interest and may be briefly quoted.[2]

> Another important factor in the United States is to be found in the nationality of the miners. Most of the men are foreign-born, a large proportion of them are unable to understand English freely, and a still larger number are unable to read or write that language. Some of them are inexperienced and do not take proper precautions either for their own safety or for the safety of others. This becomes a most serious menace unless they are restrained by carefully enforced regulations.

Another effect upon the personnel of the working forces resulting from recent immigration is seen in the fact that cheap immigrant male labor in some industries has been substituted for native and sometimes foreign-born female labor. This condition of affairs has largely grown out of state legislation prohibiting night work of women and children, and the willingness of the southern and eastern European to accept low wages has made it possible to employ him in occupations formerly held by women and children. An illustration of this tendency may be found in the racial composition of the cotton mills in New England and of textile manufacturing establishments in other localities, and in the fact that Greeks are employed to do the night work in New England mills formerly done by women and children.

The recent immigrant, by his low standards and tractability, has also made the continuance of the so-called company store and house system possible and its adoption more extensive than would otherwise have been the case had he not been employed.

[1] See Reports of the Immigration Commission, "Immigrants in Industries: Bituminous Coal Mining" (61st Cong., 2d Session, Sen. Doc. No. 633, Part I).

[2] Bulletin 333 of the United States Geological Survey, entitled "Coal Mining Accidents: their Causes and Prevention."

Effect of the Employment of Recent Immigrants upon Working Relations

As has already been pointed out, there has been a sharp segregation of the native and older immigrant employees into distinct occupations in the mines and manufacturing establishments growing out of the employment of southern and eastern Europeans. This segregation also obtains, as already noted, in the case of living and business relations. The general attitude of the native-born industrial workers toward the recent immigrant is one of antipathy and superiority, but this attitude does not manifest itself except under special provocation. Normally the recent immigrant in the mines and manufacturing establishments is treated with indifference by the classes of older employees who are not directly associated with him. Practically the only cases of open hostility on the part of the native Americans and older immigrants from Great Britain and northern Europe toward the southern and eastern European, met with during the course of the general industrial study, arose from the unusual pressure of competition due to the curtailment of employment during the industrial depression of 1907–1908. During that period the tendency of the recent immigrant to concentrate in localities where employment was available and to accept abnormal working conditions often led to acts of hostility or coercion upon the part of the native American and older immigrant wage-earners.

Effect of the Employment of Recent Immigrants upon Wages and Hours of Work

It has not appeared in the industries covered by this investigation of manufactures and mining that it is usual for employers to engage immigrants at wages actually lower than those prevailing at the time in the industry where they are employed, whatever the ultimate tendency of the large immigration may be. It is hardly open to doubt, however, that the availability of the large supply of recent immigrant labor prevented the increase in wages which otherwise would have resulted during recent years from the

increased demand for labor. The low standards of the southern and eastern European, his ready acceptance of a low wage and existing working conditions, his lack of permanent interest in the occupation and community in which he has been employed, his attitude toward labor organizations, his slow progress toward assimilation, and his willingness seemingly to accept indefinitely without protest certain wages and conditions of employment, have rendered it extremely difficult for the older classes of employees to secure improvements in conditions or advancement in wages since the arrival in considerable numbers of southern and eastern European wage-earners. As a general proposition, it may be said that all improvement in conditions and increases in rates of pay have been secured in spite of the presence of the recent immigrant. The recent immigrant, in other words, has not actively opposed the movements toward better conditions of employment and higher wages, but his availability and his general characteristics and attitude have constituted a passive opposition which has been most effective.

Effect of the Employment of Recent Immigrants upon the Establishment of New Industries

The extensive employment of recent immigrant labor has not resulted in the establishment of new industries of any importance. As a result of the presence of southern and eastern European immigrants in American industrial communities small and unimportant industries have been established to supply the peculiar demands of the immigrant population in food products and similar articles. Very few of the recent arrivals, however, had any training abroad which qualified them for manufacturing or mining pursuits of any description. By way of contrast, it will be recalled that a large proportion of the earlier immigrant laborers were originally induced to come to this country to contribute their skill and experience toward the establishment of new industries, such as mining and textile, glass, and iron and steel manufacturing, or after these industries had been developed in the United States, English, Irish, Scotch, German, and Scandinavian wage-earners

employed in similar work abroad immigrated to this country in search of better wages and working conditions.

On the other hand, the presence of the recent immigrant wage-earner and his household has had a pronounced effect upon the distribution of certain industries. Cigar and tobacco factories, silk mills, and men's and women's clothing manufacturing establishments and other small industries have been located in iron and steel, anthracite coal mining, and other localities, developed in connection with some of the principal industries of the country. The reason for this policy has been the availability of cheap woman and child labor of the immigrant households the heads of which were employed in the steel mills or furnaces, the coal mines, or some other basic industry. One of the best illustrations of this tendency is seen in the localization of the silk industry in the anthracite coal-producing area of Pennsylvania. The erection and operation of large cigar and tobacco factories in localities in which the primary industry consists in the manufacture of iron and steel also furnishes another example of the same tendency.

25. THE ANNUAL EARNINGS OF IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

PER CENT OF FAMILIES HAVING A TOTAL YEARLY INCOME OF EACH SPECIFIED AMOUNT (APPROXIMATE), BY GENERAL NATIVITY AND RACE OF HEAD OF FAMILY

[This table includes only races with twenty or more families reporting. The totals, however, are for all races. Twenty-two families are included which report income as "none."]

General Nativity and Race of Head of Family	Number of Families Included	Average Family Income	Per Cent of Families having a Total Income				
			Under $300	Under $500	Under $750	Under $1000	Under $1500
Native-born of native father:							
White	1070	$865	2.2	13.5	45.1	72.7	93.6
Negro	124	517	4.0	55.6	88.7	97.6	99.2
Native-born of foreign father, by race of father:							
Bohemian and Moravian	24	621	.0	33.3	75.0	100.0	100.0
Canadian, French	27	891	3.7	14.8	51.9	74.1	85.2
English	42	842	.0	23.8	47.6	69.0	92.9
German	213	894	1.9	11.7	46.0	73.7	89.7
Irish	292	926	1.7	15.8	41.8	64.0	89.7
Polish	77	681	1.3	29.9	64.9	85.7	100.0
Foreign-born:							
Armenian	101	730	8.9	27.7	57.4	84.2	95.0
Bohemian and Moravian	437	773	3.7	22.4	60.2	80.8	94.1
Brava	29	562	.0	44.8	89.7	96.6	100.0
Canadian, French	477	903	1.9	10.9	44.2	72.1	91.0
Croatian	560	702	10.4	37.9	68.9	84.1	93.8
Cuban	43	881	2.3	4.7	23.3	67.4	97.7
Dutch	129	772	1.6	16.3	56.6	79.8	94.6
English	425	956	1.9	11.8	37.9	62.4	88.9
Finnish	137	781	2.2	6.6	43.8	90.5	95.6
Flemish	79	798	7.6	17.7	50.6	82.3	93.7
French	130	757	3.8	26.9	56.2	80.0	96.2
German	887	878	2.4	15.1	44.9	70.9	91.5
Greek	49	632	16.3	51.0	75.5	81.6	93.9
Hebrew	660	685	9.1	33.5	69.4	87.0	97.0
Irish	675	999	2.1	12.1	38.4	61.0	84.1
Italian, North	583	657	9.1	36.4	70.8	88.7	96.7
Italian, South	1380	569	16.6	50.9	79.5	91.4	98.5
Lithuanian	763	636	6.9	33.2	73.9	90.8	97.6
Magyar	860	611	12.9	40.2	75.5	90.7	98.0
Mexican	39	472	7.7	69.2	92.3	97.4	100.0
Norwegian	26	1015	.0	3.8	11.5	50.0	96.2
Polish	2038	595	10.5	44.0	79.0	91.4	97.8
Portuguese	258	790	2.3	27.9	60.9	79.8	90.7
Roumanian	69	805	10.1	29.0	62.3	76.8	88.4
Russian	76	494	6.6	57.9	89.5	98.7	100.0
Ruthenian	571	569	10.0	43.3	82.1	94.4	98.9
Scotch	123	1142	.0	9.8	31.7	47.2	77.2
Servian	59	462	32.2	66.1	86.4	93.2	98.3
Slovak	1243	582	10.9	43.8	77.9	92.0	98.9
Slovenian	163	684	6.1	37.4	72.4	87.7	95.1
Spanish	37	1099	.0	2.7	13.5	37.8	91.9
Swedish	460	974	.9	6.3	34.8	66.7	89.1
Syrian	142	594	17.6	47.2	76.1	88.0	97.2
Welsh	90	893	6.7	17.8	45.6	60.0	90.0
Grand total	15,726	721	7.6	31.3	64.0	82.6	95.0
Total native-born of foreign father	707	866	1.7	17.3	47.9	72.1	91.5
Total native-born	1,901	843	2.2	17.6	49.0	74.1	93.2
Total foreign-born	13,825	704	8.4	33.2	66.0	83.8	95.2

OLD AND NEW IMMIGRATION COMPARED WITH RESPECT TO AVERAGE ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME OF THE FOREIGN-BORN, BY RACE

Old Immigration	Average Family Income	New Immigration	Average Family Income
Canadian, French	$903	Armenian	$730
Dutch	772	Croatian	702
English	956	Hebrew	685
German	878	Italian, North	657
Irish	999	Italian, South	569
Norwegian	1015	Lithuanian	636
Scotch	1142	Magyar	611
Swedish	974	Polish	595
Welsh	893	Portuguese	790
		Ruthenian	569
		Slovak	582
		Slovenian	684
		Syrian	594

Upon comparing the yearly incomes of the two classes of immigrants, it is seen that the highest average shown by any race of recent immigration is below the lowest average shown by any race of past immigration.

[The preceding table is from the United States Immigration Commission, Summary Report on Immigrants in Manufacturing and Mining (61st Congress, 2d Session, Sen. Doc. No. 633), pp. 125–127. A total of 17,141 households, the heads of which were miners or wage-earners in manufacturing establishments, were studied in detail in the course of the general investigation of immigrants in industries in the territory between the Rocky Mountains and the Atlantic seaboard. These households were selected upon the following basis: (1) A certain maximum number was allotted to each industry studied; (2) the number of the households of each recent immigrant race studied in connection with each industry was apportioned according to the relative numerical importance of the several races in the operating force, and a limited number of households the heads of which were native Americans or older immigrants without reference to the number of such employees in the industry were secured for the purpose of comparison with the households the heads of which were wage-earners of recent immigration.]

26. OCCUPATIONS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND GENERATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS

The differences between the occupations of the immigrants and those of their children born in this country are of great interest because they throw light both upon the tendency of the immigrant stock to rise from relatively unskilled and poorly paid occupations to higher callings and upon the trend of the competition which the immigrant stock is exerting upon the native-born Americans of native parentage. Some of the nationalities are represented by very small numbers of the second generation born in this country. This is especially the case with some of the races in the newer immigration — Austrians, Hungarians, Italians, Poles, and Russians. In some of the older immigrant stocks, like the Irish and Germans, on the contrary, the numbers in the second generation are very large.

"As a result of these variations in the relative size of the two generations the racial composition of the first generation of foreign breadwinners differs in a marked degree from that of the second. Thus of the first generation of male breadwinners of foreign origin, 26.1 per cent are Germans and 14.6 per cent are Irish; while in the second generation these percentages are much larger, the percentage of Germans being 36 and that of Irish, 26.3. The first generation, therefore, is 40.7 per cent Irish and German, the second 62.3 per cent. Accordingly the characteristics of the Irish and Germans have more influence upon the second generation, taken as a whole, than upon the first.

"On the other hand, the Italians, Poles, and Russians constitute, respectively, 5.7, 3.7, and 3.9 per cent of the first generation, as compared with 0.4, 0.6, and 0.4 per cent of the second generation. In the aggregate these three nationalities represent 13.3 per cent of the first generation and only 1.4 per cent of the second.

"Because of this difference in the racial composition of the two generations it becomes difficult to determine the significance of the difference between the two generations as regards the

occupations which they follow unless the comparison is made for each nationality separately."[1]

The Immigration Commission made the comparison by races, but as such a detailed comparison involves separate tables for

MALES[2]

	Laborers	Miners and Quarrymen	Iron and Steel Workers	Textile Mill Operatives	Building Trades	Clerical Pursuits	Salesmen, Commercial Travelers, and Agents	Professional Service	Agriculture
All classes	10.5	2.4	1.2	1.1	5.1	3.1	3.3	3.5	39.5
Native white of native parentage	8.0	1.5	.8	.8	5.0	3.4	3.8	4.4	47.3
White of foreign parentage	11.8	3.8	2.0	1.9	6.3	3.7	3.6	2.9	23.3
Foreign-born	14.4	5.1	2.1	2.2	6.3	2.0	2.5	2.4	21.2
Native-born of foreign parentage	8.6	2.3	1.9	1.5	6.2	5.7	4.8	3.6	25.9

FEMALES[2]

	Servants and Waitresses	Needle Trades	Textile Mill Operatives	Clerical Pursuits	Saleswomen	Teachers
All classes	24.1	12.1	5.2	4.6	2.8	6.2
Native white of native parentage	18.2	14.4	5.1	6.5	3.2	10.8
White of foreign parentage	28.4	16.6	8.7	5.8	4.2	5.1
Foreign-born	37.8	13.6	10.0	2.3	2.0	2.0
Native-born of foreign parentage	21.5	18.9	7.7	8.4	5.8	7.5

[1] Abstract of the Report of the Immigration Commission on Occupations of the First and Second Generations of Immigrants, pp. 8, 9.

[2] Breadwinners, ten years of age and over. The figures are percentages of the total number of individuals in each class. Compiled from Abstract of Report on Occupations of the First and Second Generations of Immigrants in the United States, 1911.

each race, all that it is possible to give here is a summary for the different nativity groups and for the more important occupation groups. While the figures here given are of no value in tracing the tendencies in any given race, a comparison of the percentages in each occupation in the "foreign-born" and "native born of foreign parentage" groups is of considerable significance.

27. PROPOSITIONS CONCERNING THE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE LABOR SUPPLY[1]

I

A. One large factor in the bad distribution of wealth is the bad distribution of men among the different occupations, too many crowding into the unskilled and too few going into the skilled and the learned occupations.

B. Children born of parents who have not been able to rise out of the poorly paid occupations are themselves less likely, *on the average*, to rise out of these occupations than are the children of parents who have risen into the more highly skilled and better paid occupations.

C. Therefore it would help matters if the birth rate could be reduced among those who remain in the overcrowded, underpaid, and unskilled occupations.

II

So long as immigrants enter the ranks, particularly the lower ranks, of labor[2] in larger proportions, and the ranks of the business and professional classes in smaller proportions than the native-born, continuous immigration will produce the following results:

A. As to Distribution. It will keep competition more intense among laborers, particularly in the lower ranks, and less intense among business and professional men, than it otherwise would be. This will tend to increase the incomes of the employing classes, and to depress wages, particularly the wages of the lower grades of labor.

[1] By T. N. Carver. From Bulletin of the American Economic Association, April, 1911, pp. 204–206.

[2] Cf. Commons, Races and Immigrants in America. Table between pages 108 and 109.

B. As to Production. It will give a relatively low marginal productivity to a typical immigrant, particularly in the lower grades of labor, and make him a relatively unimportant factor in the production of wealth — a few more or a few less will make relatively little difference in the total production of national wealth.[1]

C. As to Organization of Industry. Because of their low individual productivity, they can only be economically employed at low wages *and in large gangs*.[2]

D. As to Agriculture. If immigrants go in large numbers into agriculture, it will lead to one or the other of the following results, *in all probability the latter:*

1. The continuous *morcellement* or subdivision of farms, resulting in an inefficient and wasteful application of labor, and smaller crops per man, though probably larger crops per acre; or

2. The development of a class of landed proprietors on the one hand, and a landless agricultural proletariat on the other.[3]

[1] A disproportionately large supply of one grade of labor as compared with the supply of other grades of labor with which it has to be combined in production, tends to make each laborer in that grade an unimportant factor in production, so that one laborer more in that grade adds very little to, and one laborer less subtracts very little from, the total quantity which can be produced. By way of illustration, charcoal, sulphur, and saltpeter have to be mixed in the production of gunpowder. The proportions may vary within rather narrow limits. Suppose that there is more charcoal than can be satisfactorily combined with the existing supply of sulphur and saltpeter. No matter how much demand for gunpowder there may be, no more can be made than the scarcer factors will permit. However excellent the charcoal may be, it cannot all be used advantageously. Under such conditions, one pound of charcoal more or less will have very little influence on the total production of gunpowder.

The different factors of production, including the various kinds of human ability, have to be combined in production. The proportions may vary within somewhat wider limits than can the ingredients in the manufacture of gunpowder, but the principle is the same.

[2] Just as scarce labor and abundant land lead inevitably to extensive farming where a small quantity of the scarce factor, labor, is combined with a large quantity of the abundant factor, land, so a relatively small supply of managing ability and a relatively large supply of the kind of labor which must be superintended leads inevitably to a combination of a small quantity of the scarce form with a large quantity of the abundant form, *i.e.*, one superintendent, foreman, or boss, over a large gang. Again, just as in the former case there will be high wages and low rent, so in the latter case there will be high salaries and low wages.

[3] So long as labor is scarce and dear, and land abundant and cheap, the way is easy from the position of farm laborer to that of farm owner, and many there

III

If there are large numbers of immigrants belonging to races or nationalities which do not fuse with the rest of the population by free intermarriage, or with which the rest of the population will not intermarry freely, there will result one of the three following conditions:

1. Geographical separation of races; or

2. Social separation of races, *i.e.*, in the formation of classes or castes; one race or the other becoming subordinate; or

3. Continual race antagonism, frequently breaking out into race war.

28. THE INFLUENCE OF IMMIGRATION UPON THE NATIVE BIRTH RATE[1]

Between 1850 and 1870 the rate of increase in the preëxisting population of this country fell sharply off; and between 1870 and 1890 that decline has gone on at an accelerated ratio. From the first appearance of foreigners in large numbers in the United States the rate of increase among them has been greater than among those whom they found here; and this disproportion has tended continually, ever since, to increase. But has this result been due to a decline in physical vitality and reproductive vigor in that part of the population which we call, by comparison, American, or has it been due to other causes, *perhaps to the appearance of the foreigners themselves?* This is a question which requires us to go back to the beginning of the nation. The population of 1790 may be considered to have been, in a high sense, American. It is true that (leaving the Africans out of account) it was all of European stock; but immigration had practically ceased on the outbreak of the Revolution, in 1775, and had not been renewed, to any important extent, at the occurrence

be that find it; but when labor becomes abundant and cheap, and land scarce and dear, the way becomes hard, and few there will be who will find it.

[1] By Francis A. Walker. From Discussions in Economics and Statistics, Vol. II, pp. 120–122, 420–426. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1899. This paper was originally published in the *Forum*, Vol. II (1891), pp. 634–643.

of the first census; so that the population of that date was an acclimated, and almost wholly a native, population. Now, from 1790 to 1800, the population of the United States increased 35.10 per cent, or at a rate which would have enabled population to be doubled in twenty-three years; a rate transcending that maintained, so far as is known, over any extensive region for any considerable period of human history. And during this time the foreign arrivals were insignificant, being estimated at only 50,000 for the decade. Again, from 1800 to 1810, population increased by 36.38 per cent. Still the foreign arrivals were few, being estimated at only 70,000 for the ten years. Again, between 1810 and 1820, the rate of increase was 33.07 per cent, and still immigration remained at a minimum, the arrivals during the decade being estimated at 114,000. Meanwhile the population had increased from 3,929,214 to 9,633,822.

I have thus far spoken of the foreign arrivals at our ports, as estimated. Beginning with 1820, however, we have custom-house statistics of the numbers of persons annually landing upon our shores. Some of these, indeed, did not remain here; yet, rudely speaking, we may call them all immigrants. Between 1820 and 1830, population grew to 12,866,020. The number of foreigners arriving in the ten years was 151,000. Here, then, we have for forty years an increase, substantially all out of the loins of the four millions of our own people living in 1790, amounting to almost nine millions, or 227 per cent. Such a rate of increase was never known before or since, among any considerable population, over any extensive region.

About this time, however, we reach a turning point in the history of our population. In the decade 1830–1840 the number of foreign arrivals greatly increased. Immigration had not, indeed, reached the enormous dimensions of these later days. Yet, during the decade in question, the foreigners coming to the United States were almost exactly fourfold those coming in the decade preceding, or 599,000. The question now of vital importance is this: Was the population of the country correspondingly increased? I answer, No! The population of 1840 was almost exactly what, by computation, it would have been had no increase in foreign

arrivals taken place. Again, between 1840 and 1850, a still further access of foreigners occurred, this time of enormous dimensions, the arrivals of the decade amounting to not less than 1,713,000. Of this gigantic total, 1,048,000 were from the British Isles, the Irish famine of 1846–1847 having driven hundreds of thousands of miserable peasants to seek food upon our shores. Again we ask, did this excess constitute a net gain to the population of the country? Again the answer is, No! Population showed no increase over the proportions established before immigration set in like a flood. In other words, as the foreigners began to come in larger numbers, the native population more and more withheld their own increase.

Now, this correspondence might be accounted for in three different ways: (1) It might be said that it was a mere coincidence, no relation of cause and effect existing between the two phenomena. (2) It might be said that the foreigners came because the native population was relatively declining, that is, failing to keep up its pristine rate of increase. (3) It might be said that the growth of the native population was checked by the incoming of the foreign elements in such large numbers.

The view that the correspondence referred to was a mere coincidence, purely accidental in origin, is perhaps that most commonly taken. If this be the true explanation, the coincidence is a most remarkable one. In another place,[1] I cited the predictions

[1] See *Forum*, Vol. II (1891), pp. 406–418. Mr. Walker in that article expressed himself as follows:

The first census of the United States showed 3,929,214 inhabitants. The second census discovered a population of 5,308,483, a gain of 35.1 per cent. In 1810 the population reached 7,239,881, a gain of 36.38 per cent in the decade. Taking these figures, Mr. Elkanah Watson, about 1815, constructed a table of the probable future population of the United States, which, for the next four censuses, showed a marvelous correspondence with the ascertained results, as will appear by the following table:—

	1820	1830	1840	1850
Watson's estimate	9,625,734	12,833,645	17,116,526	23,185,368
The census	9,633,822	12,866,020	17,069,453	23,191,876
Watson's error	−8,088	−32,375	+47,073	−6,508

What was it that enabled a prediction to be made so close as almost to savor of magic? Here was a man computing the population of his country, not to within 10, or 5, or 3 per cent,

as to the future population of the country, made by Elkanah Watson, on the basis of the censuses of 1790, 1800, and 1810, while immigration still remained at a minimum. Now let us place together the actual census figures for 1840 and 1850, Watson's estimates for those years, and the foreign arrivals during the preceding decade:

	1840	1850
The census	17,069,453	23,191,876
Watson's estimates	17,116,526	23,185,368
The difference	−47,073	+6,508
Foreign arrivals during preceding decade	599,000	1,713,000

but to within one-fourth part of one in a thousand; doing this thirty-five years in advance, when far more than two thirds of those who were to constitute that population were yet to be born, and when one half of the marriages from which such births were to result were yet to be contracted, not to speak of courtships to be conducted and acquaintanceships to be formed! Yet there was nothing especially deserving admiration in Watson's predictions. The author had no grasp upon the future beyond what other men possess. His estimates were not even based upon a careful survey of the soil and climate of the country. That which caused the growth of numbers through the earlier decades of our history to be so strikingly uniform was the principle of population operating absolutely without check among a people spread sparsely over the soil, with little of wealth and little of extreme poverty, and with nothing to make childbearing a burden. Under conditions like these, population increases at a geometrica ratio as regularly as a gas expands in a vacuum.

About 1850 great and momentous changes began to appear in the social and industrial life of the American people. Manufactures on the large scale were introduced, creating vast factory populations. Commerce began to build up great cities. The gold discoveries in California and Australia began to work changes almost as great as those wrought by the silver mines of Mexico and Peru three centuries before. The distinction between the very rich and the very poor appeared and became constantly aggravated. Fashion inaugurated its reign; luxurious habits and tastes spread rapidly; the integrity of the American family was impaired, and the vice of "boarding" grew fast by indulgence. In 1861 the Civil War broke out, checking population by its first effects, and by its subsequent influence magnifying all the causes that have been indicated. Finally, vast hordes of foreigners began to arrive upon our shores, drawn from the degraded peasantries of Europe, accustomed to a far lower standard of living, with habits strange and repulsive to our people. This, again, caused the native population more and more to shrink within themselves, creating an increasing reluctance to bring forth sons and daughters to compete in the market for labor.

Let us now see how the validity of Watson's further estimates was affected by these changes:

	1860	1870	1880	1890
Watson's estimate	31,753,824	42,328,432	56,450,241	77,266,989
The census	31,443,321	38,558,371	50,155,783	62,622,250
Watson's error	+310,503	+3,770,061	+6,294,458	+14,644,739

Watson's final estimate — that for 1900 — was 100,235,985.

Here we see that in spite of the arrival of 599,000 foreigners during the period 1830–1840, four times as many as had arrived during any preceding decade, the figures of the census coincided closely with the estimate of Watson, based on the growth of population in the pre-immigration era, falling short of it by only 47,073 in a total of 17,000,000; while in 1850 the actual population, in spite of the arrival of 1,713,000 more immigrants, exceeded Watson's estimates by only 6508 in a total of 23,000,000. Surely if this correspondence between the increase of the foreign element and the relative decline of the native element is a mere coincidence, it is one of the most astonishing in human history. The actuarial degree of improbability as to a coincidence so close, over a range so vast, I will not undertake to compute.

If, on the other hand, it be alleged that the relation of cause and effect existed between the two phenomena, this might be put in two widely different ways; either that the foreigners came in increasing numbers because the native element was relatively declining, or that the native element failed to maintain its previous rate of increase because the foreigners came in such swarms. What shall we say of the former of these explanations? Does anything more need to be said than that it is too fine to be the real explanation of a big human fact like this we are considering? To assume that at such a distance in space, in the then state of news-communication and ocean-transportation, and in spite of the ignorance and extreme poverty of the peasantries of Europe from which the immigrants were then generally drawn, there was so exact a degree of knowledge, not only of the fact that the native element here was not keeping up its rate of increase, but also of the precise ratio of that decline, as to enable those peasantries, with or without a mutual understanding, to supply just the numbers necessary to bring our population up to its due proportions, would be little less than laughable. To-day, with quick passages, cheap freights, and ocean cables, there is not a single wholesale trade in the world carried on with this degree of knowledge, or attaining anything like this point of precision in results.

The true explanation of the remarkable fact we are considering, I believe to be the last of the three suggested. The access

of foreigners, at the time and under the circumstances, constituted a shock to the principle of population among the native element. That principle is always acutely sensitive, alike to sentimental and to economic conditions. And it is to be noted in passing, that not only did the decline in the native element, as a whole, take place in singular correspondence with the excess of foreign arrivals, but it occurred chiefly in just those regions to which the newcomers most freely resorted.

But what possible reason can be suggested why the incoming of the foreigner should have checked the disposition of the native toward the increase of population at the traditional rate? I answer that the best of good reasons can be assigned. Throughout the northeastern and northern middle States, into which, during the period under consideration, the newcomers poured in such numbers, the standard of material living, of general intelligence, of social decency, had been singularly high. Life, even at its hardest, had always had its luxuries: the babe had been a thing of beauty, to be delicately nurtured and proudly exhibited; the growing child had been decently dressed, at least for school and church; the house had been kept in order, at whatever cost, the gate hung, the shutters in place, while the front yard had been made to bloom with simple flowers; the village church, the public schoolhouse, had been the best which the community, with great exertions and sacrifices, could erect and maintain. Then came the foreigner, making his way into the little village, bringing — small blame to him — not only a vastly lower standard of living, but too often an actual present incapacity even to understand the refinements of life and thought in the community in which he sought a home. Our people had to look upon houses that were mere shells for human habitations, the gate unhung, the shutters flapping or falling, green pools in the yard, babes and young children rolling about half naked or worse, neglected, dirty, unkempt. Was there not in this a sentimental reason strong enough to give a shock to the principle of population? But there was, besides, an economic reason for check to the native increase. The American shrank from the industrial competition thus thrust upon him. He was unwilling himself to

engage in the lowest kind of day labor with these new elements of the population; he was even more unwilling to bring sons and daughters into the world to enter into that competition. For the first time in our history, the people of the free States became divided into classes. Those classes were natives and foreigners. Politically, the distinction had only a certain force, which yielded more or less readily under partisan pressure; but socially and industrially that distinction has been a tremendous power, and its chief effects have been wrought upon population. Neither the social companionship nor the industrial competition of the foreigner has, broadly speaking, been welcome to the native.

It hardly needs to be said that the foregoing descriptions are not intended to apply to all of the vast body of immigrants during this period. Thousands came over from good homes; many had had all the advantages of education and culture; some possessed the highest qualities of manhood and citizenship.

But let us proceed with the census. By 1860 the causes operating to reduce the growth of the native element, — to which had then manifestly been added the force of important changes in the manner of living, the introduction of more luxurious habits, the influence of city life, and the custom of "boarding," — had reached such a height as, in spite of a still-increasing immigration, to leave the population of the country 310,503 below the estimate. The fearful losses of the Civil War and the rapid extension of habits unfavorable to increase of numbers, make any further use of Watson's computations uninstructive; yet still the great fact protrudes through all the subsequent history of our population, that the more rapidly foreigners came into the United States, the smaller was the rate of increase, not merely among the native population separately, but throughout the population of the country, as a whole, including the foreigners. The climax of this movement was reached when, during the decade 1880–1890, the foreign arrivals rose to the monstrous total of five and a quarter millions (twice what had ever before been known), while the population, even including this enormous reënforcement, increased more slowly than in any other period of our history, except, possibly, that of the great Civil War.

If the foregoing views are true, or contain any considerable degree of truth, foreign immigration into this country has, from the time it first assumed large proportions, amounted, not to a reënforcement of our population, but to a replacement of native by foreign stock. That if the foreigners had not come, the native element would long have filled the places the foreigners usurped, I entertain not a doubt. The competency of the American stock to do this it would be absurd to question, in the face of such a record as that for 1790–1830. During the period from 1830–1860 the material conditions of existence in this country were continually becoming more and more favorable to the increase of population from domestic sources. The old man-slaughtering medicine was being driven out of civilized communities; houses were becoming larger; the food and clothing of the people were becoming ampler and better. Nor was the cause which, about 1840 or 1850, began to retard the growth of population here, to be found in the climate. . . . The climate of the United States has been benign enough to enable us to take the English shorthorn and greatly to improve it, as the reëxportation of that animal to England at monstrous prices abundantly proves; to take the English race horse and to improve him to a degree of which the startling victories of Parole, Iroquois, and Foxhall afford but a suggestion; to take the English man and to improve him too, adding agility to his strength, making his eye keener and his hand steadier, so that in rowing, in riding, in shooting, and in boxing, the American of pure English stock is to-day the better animal. Whatever were the causes which checked the growth of the native population, they were neither physiological nor climatic. They were mainly social and economic; and chief among them was the access of vast hordes of foreign immigrants, bringing with them a standard of living at which our own people revolted.

CHAPTER VIII

ASSIMILATION OF THE IMMIGRANT

Is immigration swamping America? 330. — Economic interests, 331. — Conflicting fears and hopes, 332. — The cost of exclusion, 333. — Amalgamation, 333. — The social barrier, 334. — Race prejudice, 334. — Assimilation inevitable, 336. — American influence preponderant, 336. — The unassimilated, 337. — The second generation, 337. — Should they learn English only? 339. — Parochial schools, 340. — The intoxication of making money, 343. — Democracy *vs.* the melting pot, 344. — Unity of national spirit dependent upon like-mindedness, 344. — Ethnic segregation, 346. — "Americanization," 347. — Ethnic dualism *vs.* economic dualism, 351. — Forces for and against assimilation, 358. — Nationalistic group-consciousness, 359. — Disappearance of the old unity of American spirit, 365. — Is assimilation possible or desirable? 366.

[Students of the immigration problem may for some purposes be divided into two groups, those who consider the main practical question to be the distribution and assimilation of immigrants after their arrival in this country, and those whose studies lead them to the conclusion that, however important the task of assimilation, it is made ever more difficult and increasingly less possible of accomplishment unless an effective check is placed upon the numbers of aliens coming to our shores. Those who emphasize the duty of distribution and assimilation are as a rule not advocates of the restriction of immigration. It is interesting to note that they are often women, or men of foreign birth or parentage, students who in one way or another have come into intimate personal contact with immigrants, either in social work or study abroad, and whose sympathies for the immigrant as a person are therefore keen and active. It is possible that the advocates of restriction, in their realization of the economic forces operative in the long run under unrestricted immigration to bring this country to the old-world level, are sometimes lacking in a vivid sympathy for the oppressed foreigner or the trials of the excluded alien turned back from Ellis Island. On the other hand

it is a question whether the more sympathetic students do not to some extent, in their realization of the specific evils of the present immigrant traffic, lose sight of the much greater evils possibly in store for the future inhabitants of this country, should the present nonrestrictive policy be persisted in. Meanwhile the fact that here and there a writer from one or another of the new immigrant stocks is rising to question the need of assimilation is not without significance.]

29. THE QUESTION OF ASSIMILATION[1]

Many Americans feel bitterly that this [American] unity is now seriously threatened by the increasing variety and number of the new contingents of immigrants. In the five-year period following 1900, the immigration other than English and English-speaking amounted to one in twenty of the population of 1900.[2] Moreover, the foreign population is known to multiply faster than the native element, at least in parts of the country where the data have been collected, and perhaps generally. It is therefore clear that as long as conditions remain unchanged, the relative amount of old American stock must progressively lessen.

We say, as long as conditions remain the same, but any of these conditions may change. For instance, on the one hand the volume of immigration may fall off from economic causes, or it may be checked by American action. On the other, the foreign element may reduce its rate of multiplication to the American rate or less as it becomes Americanized. As regards the volume of immigration, it is obvious that we need not stand passive, as before an uncontrollable natural phenomenon. It stands open to us to permit or refuse admission to the country.

Doubtless the most important issue involved is the racial one. But here we are paralyzed by our comprehensive ignorance of the actual results of race crossings. Those who should be expert give the most contrary opinions. "Only pure races are strong."

[1] By Emily Greene Balch. Adapted from Our Slavic Fellow-Citizens, pp. 400–425. Charities Publication Committee, New York, 1910.

[2] This is gross reckoning without allowance for emigrants returning to Europe.

"Only mixed races are strong." "Mixture within certain degrees of unlikeness is desirable; beyond that line, disastrous."

The investigation of the Immigration Commission under Professor Boas appears to point to an unexpected and very rapid assimilation of physical type among the children of immigrants, quite apart from racial intermixture.[1]

Whatever the truth as to national eugenics, in practice all other considerations are dwarfed by the economic interests involved. The question is and should be discussed in its physical, ethical, humanitarian, social, and political aspects, but it is decided, in our present stage of moral development, by bread-and-butter considerations, from the point of view of American interests. But economic interests themselves diverge and conflict. So far as the nation desires to increase national production, commercial prosperity, dividends, and rentals, so far it favors the inflow of labor to increase the product of our national "plant" — of our land capital, and directing energies. On the other hand, so far as the nation desires to raise the standard of living of the mass of the citizens, to extend democracy within the country on economic and social as well as on political lines, in a word, to raise wages and increase the influence of the workingman, — so far it is opposed to the admission of new and cheaper competitors on the labor market.

Hitherto the first set of interests has prevailed, with one main exception. Where, as in the case of the Chinese, race prejudice has reënforced the economic interests of the employee, those interests have prevailed and the aliens have been excluded. Otherwise the employer's policy has prevailed, subject to certain modifications, — to provisos as to personal character, health, etc., which are qualitatively valuable but negligible in a quantitative consideration. The same is true of the law against importing labor under contract, which modifies in the interests of the employee the terms under which immigrants may enter the country, but which is easily substantially evaded, does not necessarily cut down the number of arrivals, and is in several respects a two-edged weapon.

[1] See U. S. Immigration Commission, "Report on Changes in the Bodily Form of Immigrants."

In this counterpoise of conflicting class interests it is conceivable that the views of those who try to consider the interests of no one class, of no one nation, might turn the balance, or at least make themselves felt to some effect. But the idealists differ among themselves.

Some see in the American republic the trustee for humanity of an experiment in democracy, the greatest in scale, the most favored in conditions, of which there is any hope. They believe the Anglo-Saxon to have peculiar ability and tact in self-government, and they see in the dilution of this stock by others, and in every new complication of the problem by extraneous difficulties, a threat of a world-tragedy — the shipwreck of the American enterprise in democracy.

On the other hand, with still wider horizon and still more daring faith stand those who see in this enormous migration a new advance in the slow process of the growth of humanity. They see the newcomers drawn from layers of population where pressure is greatest and progress least possible, into situations where for the first time they meet opportunity; where they not only "have their chance," but where they, and still more their children, do actually gain, not in comfort only, but in freedom, thoughtfulness and self-respect; where, with all that they lose, they on the whole profit as men. They see this new freedom, these new demands on life, together with the skill and enterprise to make their realization possible, this new spirit of hope and progress reacting in turn on the old countries, helping them to reach higher levels. At the same time they hope that the newcomers in America will bring fresh, vigorous blood to a rather sterile and inbred stock, and that they will add valuable varieties of inheritance to a rather puritanical, one-sided culture rich in middle-class commonplace, but poor in the power of creating beauty except in the one great field of literature.

Before such a vast world movement as the modern wage migrations it is impossible not to feel awestruck, not to realize how little it is possible for contemporaries to gauge the results and to compute advantages. In the face of this doubt, the burden of proof seems to be on those who would interfere, who

would turn back to their crowded homelands the hordes who are moving in the direction of promised advantage to themselves, drawn by the demand of those who desire their services.

It is easy to talk lightly of more or less arbitrary exclusion rules, of illiteracy tests, and so forth, until one realizes the sort of social surgery that they involve. It is not possible to lower the portcullis without cutting into living flesh. A large proportion of those excluded will necessarily be people bound by the tenderest ties to those already in this country. The individual cases as they occur make this only too real to the spectator in an immigration inquiry court room. The most reasonable rules of exclusion work personal havoc. I have seen a mother fainting before the judges who excluded (as they were bound by law to do) her little feeble-minded boy. Such cases are inevitable under any hard and fast rule, and one must face them as one faces the cruel by-results of any well-meant legislation; but it should at least be realized that every exclusion provision multiplies such cases. There is no point at which the stream of immigration can be severed without the most tragic results to individual families. Certain measures can, however, be urged with a united front by persons of the most diverse opinions. Among these measures are, first, the abolition of the steerage and the requirement of the equivalent of the present second-cabin accommodations for all passengers; and secondly, the presence of a United States official and above all of a matron on every vessel bringing any considerable number of immigrants. These requirements, in making immigration more expensive, would restrict it in a natural way and without increasing the number of debarments and deportations.

But whatever the future dimensions of the stream of immigration, it has already irrevocably planted here a great collection of representatives of different peoples. Obviously, if the old unity is to be maintained or regained it must be in one of two ways Either there must be actual fusion through mingling of blood in intermarriage and the creation of one new common stock, with the unity that this implies, or short of this it must be a spiritual fusion alone — assimilation — the growth into similarity in speech, ways, and thoughts.

As regards the Slav in particular, there is not very much to be said in regard to racial amalgamation. In the first place, there is no physical barrier to intermarriage between Slavs and Americans, nor even so much physical unlikeness as in the case of Italians and Jews, with their more southern characteristics. A Slav of the second or third generation in America would be likely to look, for better or worse, much like "anybody else." I should judge that on the basis of bodily appearance the much-mixed Slavic peoples were at least as similar to the much-mixed American stock as, say, the French or the Scandinavians.

The barrier is social and psychical, not physical. This barrier is probably overcome most easily in the highest and lowest social classes; on the one hand, in the circles of society where people belong to a more or less cosmopolitan *monde*, on the other, at the bottom, where attractions of sex and personal convenience are not complicated by much regard for estranging abstract ideas.

Elsewhere intermarriage is likely to be deferred till the sense of national difference in the individual case has almost reached the vanishing point. The newcomer is likely to overcome his standoffishness sooner than the old resident. Partly on this account, but more because of the scarcity of foreign women, cases of mixed marriages in which the man, the active party in bringing about a marriage, is foreign while the wife is native-born, are, as the census figures indicate, over twice as many as cases of a foreign wife with a native husband. It is also interesting to notice that it is nearly five times as common for a foreigner and a native to marry, as for foreigners from two different countries to intermarry. Native, however, may mean of the same nationality as the other partner, only of the first generation in America.[1]

This deep-seated antipathy or contempt for the unlike — less than kin being regarded as naturally "less than kind" — is

[1] The figures that we have to go by are those of the 1900 census in regard to the percentage of white persons born in this country, and their meaning is subject to many qualifications. It must not be forgotten, for instance, that what appear to be mixed foreign marriages may involve no more mingling than a marriage between Russian and Polish Jews, or Austrian and Bavarian Germans. On the other hand, the 9,000,000 persons born of unmixed foreign marriages doubtless represent largely marriages contracted before coming to America.

especially to be regretted in a country like ours. The incoming groups bring it with them, and they find it here — and not only among the ignorant.

Especially is there always a tendency to undervalue any nationality which is known in real life only by representatives of its lower social strata. A rather imposing New York lady whom I met returning from Europe told me that she had been surprised to find Italy such a civilized country. I must have shown my wonder, for she excused herself by saying that of course she knew better, but she always thought of it as a country of fruit peddlers and dirty, ignorant laborers. To many a New England child the appreciation of the fact that there are Irish people of social prestige comes rather late and with some sense of surprise. So the Germans, the Greeks, the Jews, the Swedes, the Chinese, suffer in the estimation of the half-educated and snobbish whereever they are represented by the poor immigrant class.

It is a shock when we meet, not with humiliated acquiescence in our supercilious judgments, but with a corresponding contempt for ourselves, when we learn, for instance, that we are physically unpleasant to the Japanese owing to a personal odor which they associate with our meat eating. It is indeed hard for the idea that others do not admire us to penetrate our American minds, but when it does enter, it lets in light.

The reciprocal feeling of repulsion shows itself especially in the tendency of different nationalities to draw apart. The phenomenon is familiar enough in the tenement districts, but the same thing occurs, for instance, in a Texas country town where I found that the Germans and Bohemians, who were the main inhabitants, seemed to mix as little as oil and water. Each of these two nationalities had its own separate public school; in the one, named Germania, both English and German were taught; in the Bohemian school English only, Bohemian not being permitted by the authorities (county or state, I do not know which). The Americans who used to live in the place had, most of them, moved away. There seemed to be no friction, only a desire not to mingle. One constantly runs across this fact, that the old settlers tend to withdraw as soon as they begin to be irked by a foreign atmosphere.

Fusion, then, we can expect only as we outgrow these antipathies and invidious comparisons. Aside from these there is nothing to keep white peoples apart, and it is hard to resist the conclusion that after a lapse of time which no one can forecast, a fused and welded people will be the outcome, and that we are beholding the gradual creation of a new race of mankind.

To turn to the previous question, assimilation as distinct from fusion, it is clear that the difficulty often lies in the fact that the process is regarded as a one-sided one, as mere absorption or, indeed, as a form of conquest and extirpation. "We two shall be one and I will be the one." As a matter of fact, men grow alike in intercourse as inevitably as two communicating bodies of water reach the same level. But the level reached is a new one, not that of either before the interchange began.

In America each immigrant group exerts a certain influence on the community into which it comes, and some newly imported customs take root, either because they are attractive or useful in themselves, or because the newcomers are so represented as to have local prestige; but the laws of imitation work out on the whole to effect a much greater change in the immigrants than in the old settled American community.

In the first place, the convenience of unity makes for Americanization. The different immigrant groups neutralize one another's influence. In the steerage of an eastward bound liner one finds perhaps Roumanians, Croatians, Jews, Germans, Italians, using English as their *lingua franca*, — men, some of them from the same village at home, yet unable to speak with one another until now. It is *e pluribus unum* in a new sense.

Again, in America the way to success on a large scale (whether political or financial or social or literary success), the only way to a national influence or position, is the way out of the Ghetto, Little Italy or "Bohemian Town." Thus American ways have practical value, whether good or bad in themselves.

Further, the prestige of numbers is on the side of the American example, and the more so the more scattered the newcomers are. In a close colony the influence is the other way for those inside, yet even so, the attraction of the American mass makes

itself felt. The larger life tends to absorb the smaller group. Indeed, the prestige of America, and the almost hypnotic influence of this prestige on the poorer class of immigrants, is often both pathetic and absurd. They cannot throw away fast enough good things and ways that they have brought with them, to replace them by sometimes inferior American substitutes.

Thus, under the joint influence of convenience, ambition and the natural human desire to be like other people, and especially to be like those who occupy the high seats in the synagogue, the unifying change goes on. The early Polish immigrants, patriots and men of education, melted into the common life so completely that later comers could find no point of attachment with them. The recent Slavic immigrants, Poles and others, have come in much larger numbers; they have formed considerable colonies, and their hearts are set, with a strength of desire which we can hardly conceive, on having their children speak their own language as their proper tongue. The consequence is some degree of success in this aim, but it means, I am convinced, only a retardation of the process.

In Cleveland a Bohemian-American teacher who took the school census found one or two young people in their early "teens," born in this country, yet unable to understand English. This was considered, however, very unusual. I was told of a Hungarian who went to live in Prague, but there in the capital of Bohemia he never learned the language, as he found he could get on with German which he knew. Later he moved to Chicago and lived in the Bohemian quarter, where he found it indispensable to learn Bohemian, and did so, with toil and pains. I have heard of graduates of Polish schools in Chicago and Baltimore who do not understand English.

A thousand more items to show the separateness of the foreign life in our midst might be piled together, and in the end they would be as nothing against the irresistible influence through which it comes about that the immigrants find themselves the parents of American children. They are surprised, they are proud, they are scandalized, they are stricken to the heart with regret, — whatever their emotion, they are powerless. The change

occurs in different ways among the educated and the uneducated, but it occurs in either case.

The prestige of America and the hatred of children for being different from their playmates is something the parents cannot stand against. The result is often grotesque. A graduate at one of our women's colleges, the daughter of cultivated Germans, told a friend: "My father made me learn German and always was wanting me to read it. I hated to have anything to do with it. It seemed to me something inferior. People in the West call a thing 'Dutch' as a term of scorn. It was not till I was in college that I realized what German literature and philosophy have meant in the world, and that to be a German is not a thing to be ashamed of." Less educated parents, or those using a language less important than German, have a still more difficult task to hold the next generation. "I ain't no Hun, I'm an American," expresses their reaction on the situation.

In a Nebraska county town, in a district largely settled by Bohemians, one father of a family told me his experience. The older children, he said, spoke Bohemian excellently, they used to take part in private theatricals in the Bohemian opera house in the town and did well; but the younger children he simply could not induce to take to it. They knew so little that if he sent them with a message in Bohemian they were likely to make mistakes.

This, I think, is typical. In remote country settlements, or in city colonies of a marked national character, there are plenty of exceptions, but I am confident that the rule is as stated by the Nebraska Bohemian. I have found instances of individual Americans learning Polish, Bohemian or other languages as a matter of convenience, business or pleasure, or as children among play mates, but I have never heard of a community where the process worked in general away from English, not toward it.

With the acquisition of English the children are apt to lose their parents' language. Against this the parents strive. It is very common, for instance, for the parents to endeavor to have the children speak only the old language until they go to school, knowing that this is their one opportunity to acquire it, and foreseeing that after the children have entered school, they will speak

English not only outside of the home but within it, too, so that it will be impossible to keep English from becoming also the family language. Henceforth the parents must talk with their own children in a foreign medium in which they are consciously at a disadvantage. Is it strange if the parents desire to avoid these difficulties?

What should be the American's attitude toward this question? I personally have no doubt that the right thing to do is to wish the parents godspeed in their endeavor to have their children learn their language. One of the great evils among the children of foreigners, as everyone who knows them realizes, is the disastrous gulf between the older and the younger generations. Discipline, in this new freedom which both parents and children misunderstand, is almost impossible; besides which, the children, who have to act as interpreters for their parents and do business for them, are thrown into a position of unnatural importance, and feel only contempt for old-world ways, a feeling enhanced by the too common American attitude. One hears stories of Italian children refusing to reply to their mother if spoken to in Italian.[1]

In addition to these considerations, and to the sufficiently obvious fact that to possess two languages instead of one is in itself an intellectual advantage, it is to be remembered that the leaders and teachers of the newcomers must be men who can speak both languages, and that it would be a national misfortune if these were solely men of foreign birth, including none of the second, or later, generations in this country. A final and less important consideration is that to know any immigrant language is money in a man's pocket.

An unfortunate element of difficulty is a common American jealousy of any speech but English. I was amused at the tact with which this feeling was disarmed when some Bohemians once wanted to get permission to use a public schoolroom out of hours for a Bohemian class. "If there should ever be a war," their spokesman said, "our boys would be among the first to

[1] Cf. the wise and brief article on "The Struggle in the Family Life," by Miss McDowell, of The University of Chicago Settlement. *Charities*, Vol. XIII (Dec. 3, 1904), pp. 196–197.

volunteer. The Bohemian lad at the front would have to write in English to his mother, and though she could not read his letter she could readily find someone to translate it to her. But the Bohemian letters which he received from her, and which, among the demoralizing life of the camp have such precious possibilities of influence, would be entirely useless, for he would not be able to read a word of them." The use of the schoolroom was granted.

We cannot be surprised, however much we may regret it, that the duty of maintaining separate schools is urged on their people by clerical and other leaders, on both patriotic and religious grounds. Among the Slavs the Poles have done the most in this field. Both good priests who fear change on account of its threat to all that they hold most sacred, and greedy priests who desire to keep their hold for lower reasons, naturally strain every nerve to encourage parochial schools. Father Kruszka estimates that at the beginning of 1901 there were in the United States about 70,000 pupils in Polish Catholic schools alone. These schools undertake to train the children in religion and in the Polish language and Polish history, as well as in the regular public-school branches. English is taught as a subject throughout the classes, and generally some of the other subjects are taught in English, as for instance, geography, United States history, and bookkeeping and algebra for those who get so far. It is claimed by those interested, that children leaving these schools for the public schools enter classes above or on a level with those they have left.[1] I have seen parochial schools that were subject to criticism from the point of view of modern arrangements for the health and comfort of the pupils, and which were primitive in various ways (the same might be said, alas, of some public schools), but one must admire the devotion of these often very ignorant and poor people, who out of their slender means build and support all these schools, when free schools are already provided out of the taxes.

Outside of the Roman Catholic groups — for instance among the Greek Catholic Ruthenians and the freethinking Bohemians —

[1] There are, however, on the other hand critics of the parochial schools, not only among Americans, but among Poles.

it is very usual to find part-time supplementary schools for religious or patriotic instruction, or both. This would seem highly desirable on one condition — that the strain on the children is not too great. Sunday schools and any reasonable amount of vacation schooling seem quite safe, but it is easy to imagine that such extra work is not always relished by the children, and this is one more element of friction which makes it difficult to modify or delay the Americanizing process.

While it can be only an advantage to children to learn their parents' language, there can be no question that they should in any case learn English, and learn it well. A child has a right to be furnished with this key to success on precisely the same grounds that he has a right to be given a knowledge of those indispensable arts, reading and writing. And in some cases the state, as guardian of the rights of children, may have to require this, just as it has to require universal primary education.

Beyond fulfilling this duty to the children growing up in our midst, there should be no compulsion in this whole matter, no suspicion of coercion or interference, but a confident faith in freedom, a candid recognition of the right of all to be as different as they please, with no reserves and no jealousies. Public libraries should follow the good example of Passaic and other places, and provide books in the language in which they will be read. The complaints of Poles in a certain district that they lose their mail because postal employees can speak only English, should be met with a businesslike and cheerful response to their wants.

Apart from the prime reason that this is the just and friendly course, any other breeds ill will and discord out of all proportion to the points at issue. We are dealing often with men sore and irritable from European experiences. A panicky desire to denationalize our immigrants would result in unspeakable disaster, and would have no shadow of excuse. The process of change goes on too fast and too superficially as it is ; it needs not forcing, but rather guidance toward what is best in America.

Language is not the only, not even the main channel of influence. The example of personal conduct is even more effective. Biologists show us by what natural laws animals take the

color of their environment; for different reasons, but as surely, people do the same. Unfortunately, from the nature of the case the immigrant generally begins at the bottom. His helplessness makes him sought for as prey by sharpers and grafters; it is all that the immigration officials can do to keep them off as he lands. As soon as he leaves the paternal care of Ellis Island they attack in force. Boarding-house runners, shady employment agents, sellers of shoddy wares, extortionate hack drivers and expressmen beset his way. One hears all sorts of stories of abuses from both Americans and Slavs — of bosses who take bribes to give employment or to assign good chambers in the mine, of ill usage at the hands of those who should be officers of justice, of arrests for the sake of fees,[1] of unjust fines, of excessive costs paid rather than incur a greater expense.

The suffering and loss are less serious — bad as they are — than the evil lesson. In school the boy who has been cruelly hazed is apt to be cruel to the next crop of victims, and in the same way fraud and harshness tend to reproduce themselves in the larger world.

But it is not only direct ill treatment that is a peril; the economic pressure and low standards of our lowest industrial strata are in themselves disastrous.

" My people do not live in America, they live underneath America. America goes on over their heads. America does not begin till a man is a workingman, till he is earning two dollars a day. A laborer cannot afford to be an American."

These words, which were said to be by one of the wisest Slav leaders that I have ever met, have rung in my mind during all the five years since he spoke them.[2] Beginning at the bottom, " living not in America but underneath America," means living

[1] See Report of the Commission on Immigration of the State of New York, 1909, especially pp. 54–61. See also H. V. Blaxter, " The Aldermen and their Courts," *Charities and the Commons*, Vol. XXI (February 6, 1909), pp. 851–858, and Koukol, " The Slav's a Man for A' That," *ibid.*, pp. 589–598.

[2] Father Paul Tymkevich, a Ruthenian Greek Catholic priest of Yonkers. Had he been spared, he could have helped his countrymen and us. See " A Shepherd of Immigrants," for some account of his work. *Charities*, Vol. XIII (December, 1909), pp. 193–194.

among the worst surroundings that the country has to show, worse, often, than the public would tolerate, except that "only foreigners" are affected. Yet to foreigners they are doubly injurious because, coming as they often do, with low home standards, but susceptible, eager, and apt to take what they find as the American idea of what ought to be, they are likely to accept and adopt as "all right" whatever they tumble into.

The intoxication of the change from homes where there is no money to be made and no chance for any sort of advancement, to the boundless financial opportunities (or what appear such) of America, often results in a moral degeneration. Too often the educated immigrant has been imbued by what he has read before coming here with the idea that America is "the land of the almighty dollar," and arrives neither expecting nor desiring anything else of the country than the opportunity to get as rich as possible. It is a tragi-comedy to see at once the native American upbraiding the newcomer with having come here solely to make money (while he himself, very likely, is living in a town which he has chosen purely for the same reason, and which he makes no effort to serve), and the newcomer, making no move to get into touch with American strivings toward ideals, proclaiming to everyone that America is a country where no one cares for anything but material success.

What then ought we to be doing for these strangers in our midst? If we ought not to try to "Americanize" them, have we no obligations toward them at all?

It is obviously our plain duty to give the immigrant (and everyone else) fair treatment and honest government, and to maintain conditions making wholesome, decent living possible. This is the minimum required at our hands, not by the Golden Rule — that asks much more — but by the most elementary ethic of civilization. Yet as a matter of fact, this simple, fundamental thing we cannot do. It is not in our power.

We can and must do what in the end will be a better thing. We must get our new neighbors to work with us for these things. If their isolation is not to continue, America must come to mean to them, not a rival nationality eager to make them forget their

past, and offering them material bribes to induce them to abandon their ideals. We must learn to connect our ideals and theirs, we must learn, as Miss Addams has demonstrated, to work together with them for justice, for humane conditions of living, for beauty and for true, not merely formal, liberty.

Clubs and classes, libraries and evening schools, settlements, and, above all, movements in which different classes of citizens join to bring about specific improvements in government or in living conditions, are of infinite value as they conduce to this higher unity, in which we may preserve every difference to which men cling with affection, without feeling ourselves any the less fellow citizens and comrades.

30. DEMOCRACY VERSUS THE MELTING POT — A STUDY OF AMERICAN NATIONALITY[1]

In 1776 the mass of white men in the colonies *were* actually, with respect to one another, rather free and rather equal. I refer, not so much to the absence of great differences in wealth, as to the fact that the whites were *like-minded.* They were possessed of ethnic and cultural unity; they were homogeneous with respect to ancestry and ideals. Their century-and-a-half-old tradition as Americans was continuous with their immemorially older tradition as Britons. They did not, until the economic-political quarrel with the mother country arose, regard themselves as other than Englishmen, sharing England's dangers and England's glories. When the quarrel came they remembered how they had left the mother country in search of religious liberty for themselves; how they had left Holland, where they had found this liberty, for fear of losing their ethnic and cultural identity, and what hardships they had borne for the sake of conserving both the liberty and the identity. Upon these they grafted that political liberty the love of which was innate, perhaps, but the expression of which was occasioned by the economic warfare with the merchants of England. This grafting was not, of course, conscious. The

[1] By Horace M. Kallen. Adapted from the *Nation*, February 18 and February 25, 1915, pp. 190–194, 217–220.

continuity established itself rather as a mood than as an articulate idea. The economic situation *was* only an occasion, and not a cause. The cause lay in the homogeneity of the people, their *like-mindedness*, and in their *self-consciousness*.

Now, it happens that the preservation and development of any given type of civilization rests upon these two conditions — like-mindedness and self-consciousness. Without them art, literature — culture in any of its nobler forms — is impossible: and colonial America had a culture — chiefly of New England — but representative enough of the whole British-American life of the period. Within the area of what we now call the United States this life was not, however, the only life. Similarly animated groups of Frenchmen and Germans, in Louisiana and in Pennsylvania, regarded themselves as the cultural peers of the British, and because of their own common ancestry, their like-mindedness and self-consciousness, they have retained a large measure of their individuality and spiritual autonomy to this day, after generations of unrestricted and mobile contact and a century of political union with the dominant British populations.

In the course of time the state, which began to be with the Declaration of Independence, became possessed of all the United States. French and Germans in Louisiana and Pennsylvania remained at home; but the descendants of the British colonists trekked across the continent, leaving tiny self-conscious nuclei of population in their wake, and so established ethnic and cultural standards for the whole country. Had the increase of these settlements borne the same proportion to the unit of population that it bore between 1810 and 1820, the Americans of British stock would have numbered to-day over 100,000,000. The inhabitants of the country do number over 100,000,000; but they are not the children of the colonists and pioneers: they are immigrants and the children of immigrants, and they are not British, but of all the other European stocks.

Now, of all these immigrant peoples the greater part are peasants, vastly illiterate, living their lives at fighting weight, with a minimum of food and a maximum of toil. Mr. Ross[1] thinks

[1] See E. A. Ross, The Old World in the New. The Century Co., 1914.

that their coming to America was determined by no spiritual urge; only the urge of steamship agencies and economic need or greed. However generally true this opinion may be, he ignores, curiously enough, three significant and one notable exception to it. The significant exceptions are the Poles, the Finns, the Bohemians — the subjugated Slavic nationalities generally. Political and religious and cultural persecution plays no small rôle in the movement of the masses of them. The notable exception is the Jews. The Jews come far more with the attitude of the earliest settlers than any of the other peoples; for they more than any other present-day immigrant group are in flight from persecution and disaster; in search of economic opportunity, liberty of conscience, civic rights. They have settled chiefly in the Northeast, with New York City as the center of greatest concentration. Among them, as among the Puritans, the Pennsylvania Germans, the French of Louisiana, self-consciousness and like-mindedness are intense and articulate. But they differ from the subjugated Slavic peoples in that the latter look backward and forward to *actual*, even if enslaved, homelands; the Jews, in the mass, have thus far looked to America as their homeland.

In sum, when we consider that portion of our population which has taken root, we see that it has not stippled the country in small units of diverse ethnic groups. It forms rather a series of stripes or layers of varying sizes, moving east to west along the central axis of settlement, where towns are thickest; *i.e.*, from New York and Philadelphia, through Chicago and St. Louis, to San Francisco and Seattle. Stippling is absent even in the towns, where the variety of population is generally greater. Probably 90 per cent of that population is either foreign-born or of foreign stock; yet even so, the towns are aggregations, not units. Broadly divided into the sections inhabited by the rich and those inhabited by the poor, this economic division does not abolish, it only crosses, the ethnic one. There are rich and poor little Italys, Irelands, Hungarys, Germanys, and rich and poor Ghettos. The *common* city life, which depends upon like-mindedness, is not inward, corporate, and inevitable, but external, inarticulate, and incidental, a reaction to the need of amusement and the need of

protection, not the expression of a unity of heritage, mentality, and interest. Politics and education in our cities thus present the phenomenon of ethnic compromises not unknown in Austria-Hungary; concessions and appeals to "the Irish vote," "the Jewish vote," "the German vote"; compromise school committees where members represent each ethnic action, until, as in Boston, one group grows strong enough to dominate the entire situation.

South of Mason and Dixon's line the cities exhibit a greater homogeneity. Outside of certain regions in Texas the descendants of the native white stock, often degenerate and backward, prevail among the whites, but the whites as a whole constitute a relatively weaker proportion of the population. They live among nine million negroes, whose own mode of living tends, by its mere massiveness, to standardize the "mind" of the proletarian South in speech, manner, and the other values of social organization.

All the immigrants and their offspring are in the way of becoming "Americanized," if they remain in one place in the country long enough — say, six or seven years. The general notion, "Americanization," appears to denote the adoption of English speech, of American clothes and manners, of the American attitude in politics. It connotes the fusion of the various bloods, and a transmutation by "the miracle of assimilation" of Jews, Slavs, Poles, Frenchmen, Germans, Hindus, Scandinavians into beings similar in background, tradition, outlook, and spirit to the descendants of the British colonists, the Anglo-Saxon stock. Broadly speaking, the elements of Americanism are somewhat external, the effect of environment; largely internal, the effect of heredity. Our economic individualism, our traditional *laissez-faire* policy, is largely the effect of environment: where nature offers more than enough wealth to go round, there is no immediate need for regulating distribution. What poverty and unemployment exist among us is the result of unskilled and wasteful social housekeeping, not of any actual natural barrenness. And until the disparity between our economic resources and our population becomes equalized, so that the country shall attain an approximate economic equilibrium, this will always be the case. With our individualism go our optimism and our other

"pioneer" virtues: they are purely reactions to our unexploited natural wealth, and, as such, moods which characterize all societies in which the relation between population and resource is similar. The predominance of the "new freedom" over the "new nationalism" is a potent political expression of this relationship, and the overwhelming concern of both novelties with the economic situation rather than with the cultural or spiritual is a still stronger one. That these last alone justify or condemn this or that economic condition or program is a commonplace: "by their fruits shall ye know the soils and the roots."

The fruits in this case are those of New England. Eliminate from our roster Whittier, Longfellow, Lowell, Hawthorne, Emerson, Howells, and what have we left? Outstanding are Poe and Whitman, and the necromantic mysticism of the former is only a sick-minded version of the naturalistic mysticism of the latter, while the general mood of both is that of Emerson, who in his way expresses the culmination of that movement in mysticism from the agonized conscience of colonial and Puritan New England — to which Hawthorne gives voice — to serene and optimistic assurance. In religion this spirit of Puritan New England nonconformity culminates similarly: in Christian Science when it is superstitious and magical; in Unitarianism when it is rationalistic: in both cases, over against the personal individualism, there is the cosmic unity. For New England, religious, political, and literary interests remained coördinate and indivisible; and New England gave the tone to and established the standards for the rest of the American state. Save for the very early political writers, the "solid South" remains unexpressed, while the march of the pioneer across the continent is permanently marked by Mark Twain for the Middle West, and by Bret Harte for the Pacific slope. Both these men carry something of the tone and spirit of New England, and with them the "great tradition" of America, the America of the "Anglo-Saxon," comes to an end. There remains nothing large or significant that is unexpressed, and no unmentioned writer who is so completely representative.

The background, tradition, spirit, and outlook of the whole of the America of the "Anglo-Saxon," then, find their spiritual

expression in the New England school, Poe, Whitman, Mark Twain, Bret Harte. They realize an individual who has passed from the agonized to the optimistic conscience, a person of the solid and homely virtues tempered by mystic certainty of his destiny, his election, hence always ready to take risks, and always willing to face dangers. From the agony of Arthur Dimmesdale to the smug industrial and social rise of Silas Lapham, from the irresponsible kindliness of Huck Finn to the "Luck of Roaring Camp," the movement is the same, though on different social levels. In regions supernal its coördinate is the movement from the God of Jonathan Edwards to the Oversoul of Emerson and the Divinity of Mrs. Eddy. It is summed up in the contemporary representative "average" American of British stock — an individualist, English-speaking, interested in getting on, kind, neighborly, not too scrupulous in business, indulgent to his women, optimistically devoted to *laissez faire* in economics and politics, very respectable in private life, tending to liberalism and mysticism in religion, and moved, where his economic interests are unaffected, by formulas rather than ideas. He typifies the aristocracy of America. From among his fellows are recruited her foremost protagonists in politics, religion, art, and learning. He constitutes, in virtue of being heir of the oldest *rooted* economic settlement and spiritual tradition of the white man in America, the measure and the standard of Americanism that the newcomer is to attain.

Other things being equal, a democratic society which should be a realization of the assumptions of the Declaration of Independence, supposing them to be true, would be a leveling society such that all persons become alike, either on the lowest or the highest plane. The outcome of free social contacts should, according to the laws of imitation, establish "equality" on the highest plane; for imitation is of the higher by the lower, so that the cut of a Paris gown at $1000 becomes imitated in department stores at $17.50, and the play of the rich becomes the vice of the poor. This process of leveling up through imitation is facilitated by the so-called "standardization" of externals. In these days of ready-made clothes, factory-made goods,

refrigerating plants, it is almost impossible that the mass of the inhabitants of this country should wear other than uniform clothes, use other than uniform furniture or utensils, or eat anything but the same kind of food. In these days of rapid transit and industrial mobility it must seem impossible that any stratification of population should be permanent. Hardly anybody seems to have been born where he lives, or to live where he has been born. The teetering of demand and supply in industry and commerce keeps large masses of population constantly mobile; so that many people no longer can be said to have homes. This mobility reënforces the use of English — for a *lingua franca*, intelligible everywhere, becomes indispensable — by immigrants. And ideals that are felt to belong with the language tend to become "standardized," widespread, uniform, through the devices of the telegraph and the telephone, the syndication of "literature," the cheap newspaper and the cheap novel, the vaudeville circuit, the "movie," and the star system. Even more significantly, mobility leads to the propinquity of the different stocks, thus promoting intermarriage and pointing to the coming of a new "American race" — a blend of at least all the European stocks (for there seems to be some difference of opinion as to whether negroes also should constitute an element in this blend) into a newer and better being whose qualities and ideals shall be the qualities and ideals of the contemporary American of British ancestry. Apart from the unintentional impulsion towards this end, of the conditions I have just enumerated, there exists the instrument especially devised for this purpose which we call the public school — and to some extent there is the state university. That the end has been and is being attained, we have the biographical testimony of Jacob Riis, of Steiner, and of Mary Antin — a Dane and two Jews, intermarried, assimilated even in religion, and more excessively and self-consciously American than the Americans. And another Jew, Mr. Israel Zangwill, of London, profitably promulgates it as a principle and an aspiration, to the admiring approval of American audiences, under the device, "the melting pot."

All is not, however, fact, because it is hope; nor is the biography of an individual, particularly of a literary individual, the history of a group. The Riises and Steiners and Antins protest too much, they are too self-conscious and self-centered, their "Americanization" appears too much like an achievement, a *tour de force*, too little like a growth. As for Zangwill, at best he is the obverse of Dickens, at worst he is a Jew making a special plea. It is the work of the Americanized writers that is really significant, and in that one senses, underneath the excellent writing, a dualism and the strain to overcome it. The same dualism is apparent in different form among the Americans, and the strain to overcome it seems even stronger. These appear to have been most explicit at the high-water marks of periods of immigration: the Know-Nothing party was one early expression of it; the organization, in the '80's, of the patriotic societies — the Sons and the Daughters of the American Revolution, later on of the Colonial Dames, and so on — another. Since the Spanish War it has shown itself in the continual, if uneven, growth of the political conscience, first as a muckraking magazine propaganda, then as a nation-wide attack on the corruption of politics by plutocracy, finally as the altogether respectable and evangelical Progressive party, with its slogan of "Human rights against property rights."

In this process, however, the non-British American or Continental immigrant has not been a fundamental protagonist. He has been an occasion rather than a force. What has been causal has been "American." Consider the personnel and history of the Progressive party by way of demonstration: it is composed largely of the professional groups and of the "solid" and "upper" middle class; as a spirit it has survived in Kansas, which by an historic accident happens to be the one Middle Western State predominantly Yankee; as a victorious party it has survived in California, one of the few States outstandingly "American" in population. What is significant in it, as in every other form of the political conscience, is the fact that it is a response to a feeling of "something out of gear," and naturally the attention seeks the cause, first of all, outside of the self, not within. Hence the

interest in economico-political reconstruction. But the maladjustment in that region is really external. And the political conscience is seeking by a mere change in outward condition to abolish an inward disparity. "Human rights versus property rights" is merely the modern version of the Declaration of Independence, still assuming that men are men merely, as like as marbles and destined under uniformity of conditions to uniformity of spirit. The course of our economic history since the Civil War shows aptly enough how shrewd were, other things being equal, Marx's generalizations concerning the tendencies of capital towards concentration in the hands of a few. Attention consequently has fixed itself more and more upon the equalization of the distribution of wealth — not socialistically, of course. And this would really abolish the dualism if the economic dualism of rich and poor were the fundamental one. It happens merely that it is n't.

The Anglo-Saxon American, constituting as he does the economic upper class, would hardly have reacted to economic disparity as he has if that had been the only disparity. In point of fact, it is the ethnic disparity that troubles him. His activity as *entrepreneur* has crowded our cities with progressively cheaper laborers of Continental stock, all consecrated to the industrial machine, and towns like Gary, Lawrence, Chicago, Pittsburgh, have become industrial camps of foreign mercenaries. His undertakings have brought into being the terrible autocracies of Pullman and of Lead, South Dakota. They have created a mass of casual laborers numbering 5,000,000, and of work-children to the number of 1,500,000 (the latter chiefly in the South, where the purely "American" white predominates). They have done all this because the greed of the *entrepreneur* has displaced high-demanding labor by cheaper labor, and has brought into being the unnecessary problem of unemployment. In all things greed has set the standard, so that the working ideal of the people is to get rich, to live, and to think as the rich, to subordinate government to the service of wealth, making the actual government "invisible." *Per contra* it has generated "labor unrest," the I. W. W., the civil war in Colorado.

Because the great mass of the laborers happen to be of Continental and not British ancestry, and because they are latecomers, Mr. Ross blames them for this perversion of our public life and social ideals. Ignoring the degenerate farming stock of New England, the "poor whites" of the South, the negroes, he fears the anthropological as well as the economic effects of the "fusion" of these Continental Europeans — Slavs, and Italians and Jews — with the native stock, and grows anxious over the fate of American institutions at their hands. Nothing could better illustrate the fact that the dualism is primarily ethnic and not economic. Under the *laissez-faire* policy the economic process would have been the same, of whatever race the rich, and of whatever race the poor. Only race prejudice, primitive, spontaneous, and unconscious, could have caused a trained economist to ignore the so obvious fact that in a capitalistic industrial society labor is useless and helpless without capital; that hence the external dangers of immigration are in the greed of the capitalist and the indifference of the Government. The restriction of immigration can naturally succeed only with the restriction of the *entrepreneur's* greed, which is its cause. But the abolition of immigration and the restoration of the supremacy of "human rights" over "property rights" will not abolish the fundamental ethnic dualism; it may aggravate it.

The reason is obvious. That like-mindedness in virtue of which men are as nearly as is possible in fact "free and equal" is not primarily the result of a constant set of external conditions. Its prepotent cause is an intrinsic similarity which, for America, has its roots in that ethnic and cultural unity of which our fundamental institutions are the most durable expression. Similar environments, similar occupations, do, of course, generate similarities: "American" is an adjective of similarity applied to Anglo-Saxons, Irish, Jews, Germans, Italians, and so on. But the similarity is one of place and institution, acquired, not inherited, and hence not transmitted. Each generation has, in fact, to become "Americanized" afresh, and, withal, inherited nature has a way of redirecting nurture, of which our public schools give only too much evidence. If the inhabitants of the United States

are stratified economically as "rich" and "poor," they are stratified ethnically as Germans, Scandinavians, Jews, Irish, and although the two stratifications cross more frequently than they are coincident, they interfere with each other far less than is hopefully supposed. The history of the "International" in recent years, the present *débâcle* in Europe, are indications of how little "class consciousness" modifies national consciousness. To the dominant nationality in America nationality, in the European sense, has had no meaning; for it had set the country's standards and had been assimilating others to itself. Now that the process seems to be slowing down, it finds itself confronted with the *problem* of nationality, just as do the Irish, the Poles, the Bohemians, the Czechs, and the other oppressed nationalities in Europe. "We are submerged," writes a great American man of letters, who has better than anyone I know interpreted the American spirit to the world, "we are submerged beneath a conquest so complete that the very name of us means something not ourselves. . . . I feel as I should think an Indian might feel, in the face of ourselves that were."

The fact is that similarity of class rests upon no inevitable external condition, while similarity of nationality is inevitably intrinsic. Hence the poor of two different peoples tend to be less like-minded than the poor and the rich of the same peoples. At his core no human being, even in "a state of nature," is a mere mathematical unit of action like the "economic man." Behind him in time, and tremendously in him in quality, are his ancestors; around him in space are his relatives and kin, looking back with him to a remoter common ancestry. In all these he lives and moves and has his being. They constitute his, literally, *natio*, and in Europe every inch of his nonhuman environment wears the effects of their action upon it and breathes their spirit. The America he comes to, beside Europe, is nature virgin and inviolate: it does not guide him with ancestral blazings: externally he is cut off from the past. Not so internally: whatever else he changes, he cannot change his grandfather. Moreover, he comes rarely alone; he comes companioned with his fellow nationals; and he comes to no strangers, but to kin and friend who have

gone before. If he is able to excel, he soon achieves a local habitation. There he encounters the native American to whom he is a Dutchman, a Frenchy, a Mick, a wop, a dago, a hunky, or a sheeny, and he encounters these others who are unlike him, dealing with him as a lower and outlandish creature. Then, be he even the rudest and most primeval peasant, heretofore totally unconscious of his nationality, of his categorical difference from other men, he must inevitably become conscious of it. Thus, in our industrial and congested towns, where there are real and large contacts between immigrant nationalities the first effect appears to be an intensification of spiritual dissimilarities, always to the disadvantage of the dissimilarities.

The second generation, consequently, devotes itself feverishly to the attainment of similarity. The older social tradition is lost by attrition or thrown off for advantage. The merest externals of the new one are acquired — *via* the public school. But as the public school imparts it, or as the settlement imparts it, it is not really a *life*, it is an abstraction, an arrangement of words. America is a word: as an historic fact, a democratic ideal of life, it is not realized at all. At best and at worst — now that the captains of industry are becoming disturbed by the mess they have made, and "vocational training" is becoming a part of the educational program — the prospective American learns a trade, acquiring at his most impressionable age the habit of being a cog in the industrial machine. And this he learns, moreover, from the sons and daughters of earlier immigrants, themselves essentially uneducated and nearly illiterate, with what spontaneity and teaching power they have squeezed out in the "normal" schools by the application of that Pecksniffian "efficiency" press called pedagogy.

But life, the expression of emotion and realization of desire, the prospective American learns from the yellow press, which has set itself explicitly the task of appealing to his capacities. He learns of the wealth, the luxuries, the extravagances, and the immoralities of specific rich persons. He learns to want to be like them. As that is impossible in the mass, their amusements become his crimes or vices. Or suppose him to be strong enough

to emerge from the proletarian into the middle class, to achieve economic competence and social respectability. He remains still the Slav, the Jew, the German, or the Irish citizen of the American commonwealth. Again, in the mass, neither he nor his children nor his children's children lose their ethnic individuality. For marriage is determined by sexual selection and by propinquity, and the larger the town, the less the likelihood of mixed marriage. Although the gross number of such marriages is greater than it was fifty years ago, the relative proportions, in terms of variant units of population, tend, I think, to be significantly less. As the stratification of the towns echoes and stresses the stratification of the country as a whole, the likelihood of a new "American" race is remote enough, and the fear of it unnecessary. But equally remote also is the possibility of a universalization of the inwardness of the old American life. Only the externals succeed in passing over.

It took over two hundred years of settled life in one place for the New England school to emerge, and it emerged in a community in which like-mindedness was very strong, and in which the whole ethnic group performed all the tasks, economic and social, which the community required. How when ethnic and industrial groups are coincident? When ethnic and social groups are coincident? For there is a marked tendency in this country for the industrial and social stratification to follow ethnic lines. The first comers in the land constitute its aristocracy, are its chief protagonists of the pride of blood as well as of the pride of pelf, its formers and leaders of opinion, the standardizers of its culture. Primacy in time has given them primacy in status, like all "first-born," so that what we call the tradition and spirit of America is theirs. The non-British elements of the population are practically voiceless, but they are massive, "barbarian hordes," if you will, and the effect, the unconscious and spontaneous effect, of their pressure has been the throwing back of the Anglo-American upon his ancestry and ancestral ideals. This has taken two forms: (1) the "patriotic" societies — not, of course, the Cincinnati or the Artillery Company, but those that have arisen with the great migrations, the Sons and Daughters of the American

Revolution, the Colonial Dames; and (2) the specific clan or tribal organizations consisting of families looking back to the same colonial ancestry — the societies of the descendants of John Alden, etc., etc. The ancient hatred for England is completely gone. Wherever possible, the ancestral line is traced across the water to England; old ancestral homes are bought; and those of the forbears of national heroes like John Harvard or George Washington become converted into shrines. More and more public emphasis has been placed upon the unity of the English and American stock — the common interests of the "Anglo-Saxon" nations, and of "Anglo-Saxon" civilization, the unity of the political, literary, and social tradition. If all that is not ethnic nationality returned to consciousness, what is it?

Next in general estimation come the Germans and the Irish, with the Jews a close third, although the position of the last involves some abnormalities. Then come the Slavs and Italians and other central and south Europeans; finally, the Asiatics. The Germans have largely a monopoly of brewing and baking and cabinetmaking. The Irish shine in no particular industries unless it be those carried on by municipalities and public-service corporations. The Jews mass in the garment-making industries, tobacco manufacture, and in the "learned professions." The Scandinavians appear to be on the same level as the Jews in the general estimation, and going up. They are farmers, mostly, and outdoor men. The Slavs are miners, metal workers, and packers. The Italians tend to fall with the negroes into the "pick and shovel brigade." Such a country-wide and urban industrial and social stratification is no more likely than the geographical and sectional stratification to facilitate the coming of the "American race"! And as our political and "reforming" action is directed upon symptoms rather than fundamental causes, the stratification, as the country moves towards the inevitable equilibrium between wealth and population, will tend to grow more rigid rather than less. Thus far the pressure of immigration alone has kept the strata from hardening. Eliminate that, and we may be headed for a caste system based on ethnic diversity and mitigated to only a negligible degree by economic differences.

The array of forces for and against that like-mindedness which is the stuff and essence of nationality aligns itself as follows: For it, make social imitation of the upper by the lower classes, the facility of communications, the national pastimes of baseball and motion picture, the mobility of population, the cheapness of printing, and the public schools. Against it, make the primary ethnic differences with which the population starts, its stratification over an enormous extent of country, its industrial and economic stratification. We are an English-speaking country, but in no intimate and inevitable way, as is New Zealand or Australia, or even Canada. English is to us what Latin was to the Roman provinces and to the Middle Ages — the language of the upper and dominant class, the vehicle and symbol of culture: for the mass of our population it is a sort of Esperanto or Ido, a *lingua franca* necessary less in the spiritual than the economic contacts of the daily life. This mass is composed of elementals, peasants — Mr. Ross speaks of their menacing American life with "peasantism" — the proletarian foundation material of all forms of civilization. Their self-consciousness as groups is comparatively weak. This is a factor which favors their "assimilation," for the more cultivated a group is, the more it is aware of its individuality, and the less willing it is to surrender that individuality. One need think only of the Puritans themselves, leaving Holland for fear of absorption into the Dutch population; of the Creoles and Pennsylvania Germans of this country, or of the Jews, anywhere. Peasants, however, having nothing much to surrender in taking over a new culture, feel no necessary break, and find the transition easy. It is the shock of confrontation with other ethnic groups and the feeling of aliency that generates in them a more intense self-consciousness, which then militates against Americanization in spirit by reënforcing the two factors to which the spiritual expression of the proletarian has been largely confined. These factors are language and religion. Religion is, of course, no more a "universal" than language. The history of Christianity makes evident enough how religion is modified, even inverted, by race, place, and time. It becomes a principle of separation, often the sole repository of the national spirit, almost always the conservator of the

national language and of the tradition that is passed on with the language to succeeding generations. Among immigrants, hence, religion and language tend to be coördinate: a single expression of the spontaneous and instinctive mental life of the masses, and the primary inward factors making against assimilation.

Anxiety would, I think, be more than justified were it not that religion in these cases always does more than it intends. For it conserves the inward aspect of nationality rather than mere religion, and tends to become the center of exfoliation of a higher type of personality among the peasants in the natural terms of their own *natio*. This *natio*, reaching consciousness first in a reaction against America, then as an effect of the competition with Americanization, assumes spiritual forms other than religious: the parochial school, to hold its own with the public school, gets secularized while remaining national. *Natio* is what underlies the vehemence of the "Americanized" and the spiritual and political unrest of the Americans. It is the fundamental fact of American life to-day, and in the light of it Mr. Wilson's resentment of the "hyphenated" American is both righteous and pathetic. But a hyphen attaches, in things of the spirit, also to the "pure" English American. His cultural mastery tends to be retrospective rather than prospective. At the present time there is no dominant American mind. Our spirit is inarticulate, not a voice, but a chorus of many voices, each singing a rather different tune. How to get order out of this cacophony is the question for all those who are concerned about those things which alone justify wealth and power, concerned about justice, the arts, literature, philosophy, science. What must, what *shall* this cacophony become — a unison or a harmony?

For decidedly the older America, whose voice and whose spirit was New England, is gone beyond recall. Americans still are the artists and thinkers of the land, but they work, each for himself, without common vision or ideals. The older tradition has passed from a life into a memory, and the newer one, so far as it has an Anglo-Saxon base, is holding its own beside more and more formidable rivals, the expression in appropriate form of the national inheritances of the various populations concentrated

in the various States of the Union, populations of whom their national self-consciousness is perhaps the chief spiritual asset. Think of the Creoles in the South and the French Canadians in the North, clinging to French for so many generations and maintaining, however weakly, spiritual and social contacts with the mother country; of the Germans, with their *Deutschtum*, their *Männerchöre*, *Turnvereine*, and *Schützenfeste*; of the universally separate Jews; of the intensely nationalistic Irish; of the Pennsylvania Germans; of the indomitable Poles, and even more indomitable Bohemians; of the 30,000 Belgians in Wisconsin, with their "Belgian" language, a mixture of Walloon and Flemish welded by reaction to a strange social environment. Except in such cases as the town of Lead, South Dakota, the great ethnic groups of proletarians, thrown upon themselves in a new environment, generate from among themselves the other social classes which Mr. Ross misses so sadly among them: their shopkeepers, their physicians, their attorneys, their journalists, and their national and political leaders, who form the links between them and the greater American society. They develop their own literature, or become conscious of that of the mother country. As they grow more prosperous and "Americanized," as they become freed from the stigma of "foreigner," they develop group self-respect: the "wop" changes into a proud Italian, the "hunky" into an intensely nationalist Slav. They learn, or they recall, the spiritual heritage of their nationality. Their cultural abjectness gives way to cultural pride; and the public schools, the libraries, and the clubs become beset with demands for texts in the national language and literature.

The Poles are an instance worth dwelling upon. There are over a million of them in the country, a backward people, prolific, brutal, priest-ridden — a menace to American institutions. Yet the urge that carries them in such numbers to America is not unlike that which carried the Pilgrim Fathers. Next to the Jews, whom their brethren in their Polish home are hounding to death, the unhappiest people in Europe, exploited by both their own upper classes and the Russian conqueror, they have resisted extinction at a great cost. They have clung to their religion

because it was a mark of difference between them and their conquerors; because they love liberty, they have made their language of literary importance in Europe. Their aspiration, impersonal, disinterested, as it must be in America, to free Poland, to conserve the Polish spirit, is the most hopeful and American thing about them — the one thing that stands actually between them and brutalization through complete economic degradation. It lifts them higher than anything that, in fact, America offers them. The same thing is true for the Bohemians, 17,000 of them, workingmen in Chicago, paying a proportion of their wage to maintain schools in the Bohemian tongue and free thought; the same thing is true of many other groups.

How true it is may be observed from a comparison of the vernacular dailies and weeklies with the yellow American press which is concocted expressly for the great American masses. The content of the former, when the local news is deducted, is a mass of information, political, social, scientific; often translations into the vernacular of standard English writing, often original work of high literary quality. The latter, when the news is deducted, consists of the sporting page and the editorial page. Both pander rather than awaken, so that it is no wonder that in fact the intellectual and spiritual pabulum of the great masses consists of the vernacular papers in the national tongue. With them go also the vernacular drama, and the thousand and one other phenomena which make a distinctive culture, the outward expression of that fundamental like-mindedness wherein men are truly "free and equal." This, beginning for the dumb peasant masses in language and religion, emerges in the other forms of life and art and tends to make smaller or larger ethnic groups autonomous, self-sufficient, and reacting as spiritual units to the residuum of America.

What is the cultural outcome likely to be, under these conditions? Surely not the melting pot. Rather something that has become more and more distinct in the changing State and city life of the last two decades, and which is most articulate and apparent among the Scandinavians, the Germans, the Irish, the Jews.

It is in the area where Scandinavians are most concentrated that Norwegian is preached on Sunday in more churches than in Norway. That area is Minnesota, not unlike Scandinavia in climate and character. There, if the newspapers are to be trusted, the "foreign language" taught in an increasingly larger number of high schools is Scandinavian. The Constitution of the State resembles in many respects the famous Norwegian Constitution of 1813. The largest city has been chosen as the "spiritual capital," if I may say so, the seat of the Scandinavian "house of life," which the Scandinavian Society in America is reported to be planning to build as a center from which there is to spread through the land Scandinavian culture and ideals.

The eastern neighbor of Minnesota is Wisconsin, a region of great concentration of Germans. Is it merely a political accident that the centralization of State authority and control has been possible there to a degree heretofore unknown in this country? That the Socialist organization is the most powerful in the land, able under ordinary conditions to have elected the mayor of a large city and a congressman, and kept out of power only by coalition of the other parties? That German is the overwhelmingly predominant "foreign language" in the public schools and in the university? Or that the fragrance of *Deutschtum* pervades the life of the whole State? The earliest German immigrants to America were group conscious to a high degree. They brought with them a cultural tradition and political aspiration. They wanted to found a State. If a State is to be regarded as a mode of life of the mind, they have succeeded. Their language is the predominant "foreign" one throughout the Middle West. The teaching of it is required by law in many places, southern Ohio and Indianapolis, for example. Their national institutions, even to cooking, are as widespread as they are. They are organized into a great national society, the German-American Alliance, which is dedicated to the advancement of German culture and ideals. They encourage and make possible a close and more intimate contact with the fatherland. They endow Germanic museums, they encourage and provide for exchange professorships, erect monuments to German heroes, and disseminate translations of

the German classics. And there are, of course, the very excellent German vernacular press, the German theater, the German club, the German organization of life.

Similar are the Irish, living in strength in Massachusetts and New York. When they began to come to this country they were far less well off and far more passionately self-conscious than the Germans. For numbers of them America was and has remained just a center from which to plot for the freedom of Ireland. For most it was an opportunity to escape both exploitation and starvation. The way they made was made against both race and religious prejudice: in the course of it they lost much that was attractive as well as much that was unpleasant. But Americanization brought the mass of them also spiritual self-respect, and their growing prosperity both here and in Ireland is what lies behind the more inward phases of Irish Nationalism — the Gaelic movement, the Irish theater, the Irish Art Society. I omit consideration of such organized bodies as the Ancient Order of Hibernians. All these movements alike indicate the conversion of the negative nationalism of the hatred of England to the positive nationalism of the loving care and development of the cultural values of the Celtic spirit. A significant phase of it is the voting of Irish history into the curriculum of the high schools of Boston. In sum, once the Irish body had been fed and erected, the Irish mind demanded and generated its own peculiar form of self-realization and satisfaction.

And, finally, the Jews. Their attitude towards America is different in a fundamental respect from that of other immigrant nationalities. They do not come to the United States from truly native lands, lands of their proper *natio* and culture. They come from lands of sojourn, where they have been for ages treated as foreigners, at most as semicitizens, subject to disabilities and persecutions. They come with no political aspirations against the peace of other states such as move the Irish, the Poles, the Bohemians. They come with the intention to be completely incorporated into the body politic of the state. They alone, as Mr. H. G. Wells notes, of all the immigrant peoples have made spontaneously conscious and organized efforts to prepare themselves

and their brethren for the responsibilities of American citizenship. There is hardly a considerable municipality in the land, where Jews dwell, that has not its Hebrew Institute, or its Educational Alliance, or its Young Men's Hebrew Association, or its Community House, especially dedicated to this task. They show the highest percentage of naturalization. Yet of all self-conscious peoples they are the most self-conscious. Of all immigrants they have the oldest civilized tradition, they are longest accustomed to living under law, and are at the outset the most eager and the most successful in eliminating the external differences between themselves and their social environment. Even their religion is flexible and accommodating, as that of the Christian sectaries is not, for change involves no change in doctrine, only in mode of life.

Yet, once the wolf is driven from the door and the Jewish immigrant takes his place in our society a free man and an American, he tends to become all the more a Jew. The cultural unity of his race, history, and background is only continued by the new life under the new conditions. Mr. H. G. Wells calls the Jewish quarter in New York a city within a city, and with more justice than other quarters because, although it is far more in tune with Americanism than the other quarters, it is also far more autonomous in spirit and self-conscious in culture. It has its sectaries, its radicals, its artists, its literati; its press, its literature, its theater, its Yiddish and its Hebrew, its Talmudical colleges and its Hebrew schools, its charities and its vanities, and its coördinating organization, the Kehilla, all more or less duplicated wherever Jews congregate in mass. Here not religion alone, but the whole world of radical thinking, carries the mother tongue and the father tongue, with all that they imply. Unlike the parochial schools, their separate schools, being national, do not displace the public schools; they supplement the public schools. The Jewish ardor for pure learning is notorious. And, again, as was the case with the Scandinavians, the Germans, the Irish, democracy applied to education has given the Jews their will that Hebrew shall be coördinate with French and German in the regent's examination. On a national scale of organization there is the American Jewish Committee, the Jewish Historical Society, the Jewish Publication

Society. Rurally, there is the model Association of Jewish Farmers, with their coöperative organization for agriculture and for agricultural education. In sum, the most eagerly American of the immigrant groups are also the most autonomous and self-conscious in spirit and culture.

Immigrants appear to pass through four phases in the course of being Americanized. In the first phase they exhibit economic eagerness, the greed of the unfed. Since external differences are a handicap in the economic struggle, they "assimilate," seeking thus to facilitate the attainment of economic independence. Once the proletarian level of such independence is reached, the process of assimilation slows down and tends to come to a stop. The immigrant group is still a national group, modified, sometimes improved, by environmental influences, but otherwise a solitary spiritual unit, which is seeking to find its way out on its own social level. This search brings to light permanent group distinctions, and the immigrant, like the Anglo-Saxon American, is thrown back upon himself and his ancestry. Then a process of dissimilation begins. The arts, life, and ideals of the nationality become central and paramount; ethnic and national differences change in status from disadvantages to distinctions. All the while the immigrant has been using the English language and behaving like an American in matters economic and political, and continues to do so. The institutions of the Republic have become the liberating cause and the background for the rise of the cultural consciousness and social autonomy of the immigrant Irishman, German, Scandinavian, Jew, Pole, or Bohemian. On the whole, Americanization has not repressed nationality. Americanization has liberated nationality.

Hence what troubles so many Anglo-Saxon Americans is not really inequality; what troubles them is *difference*. Only things that are alike in fact and not abstractly, and only men that are alike in origin and in spirit and not abstractly, can be truly "equal" and maintain that inward unanimity of action and outlook which make a national life. The writers of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution were not confronted by the practical fact of ethnic dissimilarity among the whites of the country.

Their descendants are confronted by it. Its existence, acceptance, and development provide one of the inevitable consequences of the democratic principle on which our theory of government is based, and the result at the present writing is to many worthies very unpleasant. Democratism and the federal principle have worked together with economic greed and ethnic snobbishness to people the land with all the nationalities of Europe, and to convert the early American nation into the present American state. For in effect we are in the process of becoming a true federal state, such a state as men hope for as the outcome of the European War, a great republic consisting of a federation or commonwealth of nationalities.

Given, in the economic order, the principle of *laissez faire* applied to a capitalistic society, in contrast with the manorial and guild systems of the past and the Socialist utopias of the future, the economic consequences are the same, whether in America, full of all Europe, or in England, full of the English, Scotch, and Welsh. Given, in the political order, the principle that all men are equal and that each, consequently, under the law at least, shall have the opportunity to make the most of himself, the control of the machinery of government by the plutocracy is a foregone conclusion. *Laissez faire* and unprecedentedly bountiful natural resources have turned the mind of the state to wealth alone, and in the haste to accumulate wealth considerations of human quality have been neglected and forgotten, the action of government has been remedial rather than constructive, and Mr. Ross's "peasantism," *i.e.*, the growth of an expropriated, degraded industrial class, dependent on the factory rather than on land, has been rapid and vexatious.

The problems which these conditions give rise to are important, but not primarily important. Although they have occupied the minds of all our political theorists, they are problems of means, of instruments, not of ends. They concern the conditions of life, not the *kind of life*, and there appears to have been a general assumption that only one kind of human life is possible in America. But the same democracy which underlies the evils of the economic order underlies also the evils — and the promise —

of the ethnic order. Because no individual is merely an individual, the political autonomy of the individual has meant and is beginning to realize in these United States the spiritual autonomy of his group. The process is as yet far from fruition. We are, in fact, at the parting of the ways. A genuine social alternative is before us, either of which parts we may realize if we will. In social construction the will is father to the fact, for the fact is nothing more than the concord or conflict of wills. What do we *will* to make of the United States — a unison, singing the old Anglo-Saxon theme "America," the America of the New England school, or a harmony, in which that theme shall be dominant, perhaps, among others, but one among many, not the only one?

The mind reverts helplessly to the historic attempts at unison in Europe — the heroic failure of the pan-Hellenists, of the Romans, the disintegration and the diversification of the Christian Church, for a time the most successful unison in history; the present-day failures of Germany and of Russia. Here, however, the whole social situation is favorable, as it has never been at any time elsewhere — everything is favorable but the basic law of America itself, and the spirit of American institutions. To achieve unison — it can be achieved — would be to violate these. For the end determines the means, and this end would involve no other means than those used by Germany in Poland, in Schleswig-Holstein, and in Alsace-Lorraine; by Russia in the Pale, in Poland, in Finland. Fundamentally it would require the complete nationalization of education, the abolition of every form of parochial and private school, the abolition of instruction in other tongues than English, and the concentration of the teaching of history and literature upon the English tradition. The other institutions of society would require treatment analogous to that administered by Germany to her European acquisitions. And all of this, even if meeting with no resistance, would not completely guarantee the survival as a unison of the older Americanism. For the program would be applied to diverse ethnic types, and the reconstruction that, with the best will, they might spontaneously make of the tradition would more likely than not be a far cry from the original. It is, already.

The notion that the program might be realized by radical and even enforced miscegenation, by the creation of the melting pot by law, and thus by the development of the new "American race," is, as Mr. Ross points out, as mystically optimistic as it is ignorant. In historic times, so far as we know, no new ethnic types have originated, and what we know of breeding gives us no assurance of the disappearance of the old types in favor of the new, only the addition of a new type, if it succeeds in surviving, to the already existing older ones. Biologically, life does not unify; biologically, life diversifies; and it is sheer ignorance to apply social analogies to biological processes. In any event we know what the qualities and capacities of existing types are; we know how by education to do something towards the repression of what is evil in them and the conservation of what is good. The "American race" is a totally unknown thing; to presume that it will be better because (if we like to persist in the illusion that it is coming) it will be later, is no different from imagining that, because contemporary, Russia is better than ancient Greece. There is nothing more to be said to the pious stupidity that identifies recency with goodness. The unison to be achieved cannot be a unison of ethnic types. It must be, if it is to be at all, a unison of social and historic interests, established by the complete cutting off of the ancestral memories of our populations, the enforced, exclusive use of the English language and English and American history in the schools and in the daily life.

The attainment of the other alternative, a harmony, also requires concerted public action. But the action would do no violence to our fundamental law and the spirit of our institutions, nor to the qualities of men. It would seek simply to eliminate the waste and the stupidity of our social organization, by way of freeing and strengthening the strong forces actually in operation. Starting with our existing ethnic and cultural groups, it would seek to provide conditions under which each may attain the perfection that is proper to its kind. The provision of such conditions is the primary intent of our fundamental law and the function of our institutions. And the various nationalities which compose our commonwealth must learn first of all this fact, which is perhaps,

to most minds, the outstanding ideal content of "Americanism" — that democracy means self-realization through self-control, self-government, and that one is impossible without the other. For the application of this principle, which is realized in a harmony of societies, there are European analogies also. I omit Austria and Turkey, for the union of nationalities is there based more on inadequate force than on consent, and the form of their organization is alien to ours. I think of England and of Switzerland. England is a state of four nationalities — the English, Welsh, Scotch, and Irish (if one considers the Empire, of many more), and while English history is not unmarred by attempts at unison, both the home policy and the imperial policy have, since the Boer War, been realized more and more in the application of the principle of harmony: the strength of the kingdom and the empire have been posited more and more upon the voluntary autonomous coöperation of the component nationalities. Switzerland is a state of three nationalities, a republic as the United States is, far more democratically governed, concentrated in an area not much different in size, I suspect, from New York City, with a population not far from it in total. Yet Switzerland has the most loyal citizens in Europe. Their language, literary and spiritual traditions are on the one side German, on another Italian, on a third side French. And in terms of social organization, of economic prosperity, of public education, of the general level of culture, Switzerland is the most successful democracy in the world. It conserves and encourages individuality.

The reason lies, I think, in the fact that in Switzerland the conception of "natural rights" operates, consciously or unconsciously, as a generalization from the unalterable data of human nature. What is inalienable in the life of mankind is its intrinsic positive quality — its psychophysical inheritance. Men may change their clothes, their politics, their wives, their religions, their philosophies, to a greater or less extent: they cannot change their grandfathers. Jews or Poles or Anglo-Saxons, in order to cease being Jews or Poles or Anglo-Saxons, would have to cease to be. The selfhood which is inalienable in them, and for the realization of which they require "inalienable" liberty, is ancestrally

determined, and the happiness which they pursue has its form implied in ancestral endowment. This is what, actually, democracy in operation assumes. There are human capacities which it is the function of the state to liberate and to protect; and the failure of the state as a government means its abolition. Government, the state, under the democratic conception is merely an instrument, not an end. That it is often an abused instrument, that it is often seized by the powers that prey, that it makes frequent mistakes and considers only secondary ends, surface needs, which vary from moment to moment, is, of course, obvious: hence our social and political chaos. But that it is an instrument, flexibly adjustable to changing life, changing opinion, and needs, our whole electoral organization and party system declare. And as intelligence and wisdom prevail over "politics" and special interests, as the steady and continuous pressure of the inalienable qualities and purposes of human groups more and more dominate the confusion of our common life, the outlines of a possible great and truly democratic commonwealth become discernible.

Its form is that of the federal republic; its substance a democracy of nationalities, coöperating voluntarily and autonomously in the enterprise of self-realization through the perfection of men according to their kind. The common language of the commonwealth, the language of its great political tradition, is English, but each nationality expresses its emotional and voluntary life in its own language, in its own inevitable æsthetic and intellectual forms. The common life of the commonwealth is politico-economic, and serves as the foundation and background for the realization of the distinctive individuality of each *natio* that composes it. Thus "American civilization" may come to mean the perfection of the coöperative harmonies of "European civilization," the waste, the squalor, and the distress of Europe being eliminated — a multiplicity in a unity, an orchestration of mankind. As in an orchestra, every type of instrument has its specific timbre and tonality, founded in its substance and form; as every type has its appropriate theme and melody in the whole symphony, so in society each ethnic group is the natural instrument, its spirit and culture are its theme and melody, and the

harmony and dissonances and discords of them all make the symphony of civilization, with this difference: a musical symphony is written before it is played; in the symphony of civilization the playing is the writing, so that there is nothing so fixed and inevitable about its progressions as in music, so that within the limits set by nature they may vary at will, and the range and variety of the harmonies may become wider and richer and more beautiful.

But the question is, Do the dominant classes in America want such a society?

CHAPTER IX

THE REGULATION AND RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION

The main provisions of the Immigration Act of 1907, as amended in 1910, 373. — Recommendations of the United States Immigration Commission, 382. — The case for restrictive legislation, 387. — Possible remedies, 389. — Government control of distribution, 391. — Requirement of passports for admission, 391. — Abolition of the contract-labor clause, 392. — Restriction of the number of unskilled admitted, 394. — Some fallacies, 395. — Argument against restriction, 401. — President Wilson's veto of the literacy test, 405. — The problem of Oriental immigration, 409. — The ethical aspects of regulation, 419

[The conflict between the restrictionists and the anti-restrictionists has been fought in and out of Congress for many years. The Immigration Act of 1907, which, as amended in 1910 to prevent more effectively the importation of aliens for immoral purposes and to secure the deportation and punishment of aliens who profit by prostitution, constitutes the present immigration law, was a slight victory for the restrictionists, as it made certain additions to the excluded classes and otherwise provided for more stringent regulation. It also provided for a Congressional Immigration Commission, to make an exhaustive study of the whole problem. The Report of this Commission, from which several selections are reprinted in this volume, is a mine of information, unfortunately in large part ill-digested, upon nearly every aspect of immigration and especially upon the fundamentally important industrial and economic phases of the situation. The Commission as a result of its investigations declared its belief in the desirability of restrictive legislation and advocated the literacy test as "the most feasible single method" of restriction. It is upon this specific method that the struggle is now centered, although the opponents to the literacy test are also to a great extent opposed to restriction in any form. The literacy test was passed by Congress in 1897, but the bill was vetoed by President Cleveland.[1]

[1] See his veto message, 54th Cong., 2d Session, Sen. Doc. No. 185.

Early in 1913, Congress again provided for it, but President Taft vetoed it in a very brief message which did not state his reasons for so doing. Two years later Congress once more enacted the literacy test, only to have it vetoed by President Wilson, January 28, 1915. The House failed, by a very narrow margin, to pass the bill over his veto. A noteworthy development in recent years is the very strong organized opposition to restriction and to the literacy tests in particular.]

31. THE MAIN PROVISIONS OF THE IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1907[1]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there shall be levied a tax of four dollars for every alien entering the United States. The money thus collected shall constitute a permanent appropriation to be called the "immigrant fund," to be used to defray the expense of regulating the immigration of aliens into the United States. The tax imposed by this section shall be a lien upon the vessel or other vehicle of transportation bringing such aliens to the United States.

SEC. 2. That the following classes of aliens shall be excluded from the United States: All idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons, and persons who have been insane within five years previous; persons who have had two or more attacks of insanity at any time previously; paupers, persons likely to become a public charge, professional beggars, persons afflicted with tuberculosis or with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease; persons not comprehended within any of the foregoing excluded classes who are found to be mentally or physically defective, such mental or physical defect being of a nature which may affect the ability of such alien to earn a living; persons who have been convicted of or admit having committed a felony or other crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude; polygamists

[1] As amended in sections 2 and 3 by the Act of March 26, 1910. For the full text of the act, see Abstracts of the Reports of the Immigration Commission, 1911, Vol. II, pp. 731–747.

or persons who admit their belief in the practice of polygamy, anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, or of all government, or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials; prostitutes, or women or girls coming into the United States for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose; persons who are supported by or receive in whole or in part the proceeds of prostitution; persons who procure or attempt to bring in prostitutes or women or girls for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose; persons hereinafter called contract laborers, who have been induced or solicited to migrate to this country by offers or promises of employment or in consequence of agreements, oral, written or printed, express or implied, to perform labor in this country of any kind, skilled, or unskilled; those who have been, within one year from the date of application for admission to the United States, deported as having been induced or solicited to migrate as above described; any person whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another, or who is assisted by others to come, unless it is affirmatively and satisfactorily shown that such person does not belong to one of the foregoing excluded classes, and that said ticket or passage was not paid for by any corporation, association, society, municipality, or foreign government, either directly or indirectly; all children under sixteen years of age, unaccompanied by one or both of their parents, at the discretion of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor or under such regulations as he may from time to time prescribe: *Provided*, That nothing in this Act shall exclude, if otherwise admissible, persons convicted of an offense purely political, not involving moral turpitude: *Provided further*, That the provisions of this section relating to the payments for tickets or passage by any corporation, association, society, municipality, or foreign government shall not apply to the tickets or passage of aliens in immediate and continuous transit through the United States to foreign contiguous territory: *And provided further*, That skilled labor may be imported if labor of like kind unemployed cannot be found in this country: *And provided further*, That the provisions

of this law applicable to contract labor shall not be held to exclude professional actors, artists, lecturers, singers, ministers of any religious denomination, professors for colleges or seminaries, persons belonging to any recognized learned profession, or persons employed strictly as personal or domestic servants.

SEC. 3. That the importation into the United States of any alien for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose is hereby forbidden; and whoever shall directly or indirectly, import, or attempt to import, into the United States, any alien for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose, or whoever shall hold or attempt to hold any alien for any such purpose, in pursuance of such illegal importation, or whoever shall keep, maintain, control, support, employ, or harbor in any house or other place, for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose, in pursuance of such illegal importation, any alien, shall, in every such case, be deemed guilty of a felony, and on conviction thereof be imprisoned not more than ten years and pay a fine of not more than five thousand dollars. Jurisdiction for the trial and punishment of the felonies hereinbefore set forth shall be in any district to or into which said alien is brought in pursuance of said importation by the person or persons accused, or in any district in which a violation of any of the foregoing provisions of this section occur. Any alien who shall be found an inmate of or connected with the management of a house of prostitution or practicing prostitution after such alien shall have entered the United States, or who shall receive, share in, or derive benefit from any part of the earnings of any prostitute; or who is employed by, in, or in connection with any house of prostitution or music or dance hall or other place of amusement or resort habitually frequented by prostitutes, or where prostitutes gather, or who in any way assists, protects, or promises to protect from arrest any prostitute, shall be deemed to be unlawfully within the United States and shall be deported in the manner provided by sections twenty and twenty-one of this Act. That any alien who shall, after he has been debarred or deported in pursuance of the provisions of this section, attempt thereafter to return to or to enter the United States shall be deemed guilty of a

misdemeanor, and shall be imprisoned for not more than two years. Any alien who shall be convicted under any of the provisions of this section shall, at the expiration of his sentence, be taken into custody and returned to the country whence he came, or of which he is a subject or a citizen, in the manner provided in sections twenty and twenty-one of this Act. In all prosecutions under this section the testimony of a husband or wife shall be admissible and competent evidence against a wife or husband.

SEC. 4. That it shall be a misdemeanor for any person, company, partnership, or corporation, in any manner whatsoever, to prepay the transportation or in any way to assist or encourage the importation or migration of any contract laborer or contract laborers into the United States, unless such contract laborer or contract laborers are exempted under the terms of the last two provisos contained in section two of this Act.

SEC. 5. That for every violation of any of the provisions of section four of this Act the person, partnership, company, or corporation violating the same, by knowingly assisting, encouraging, or soliciting the migration or importation of any contract laborer into the United States shall forfeit and pay for every such offense the sum of one thousand dollars.

SEC. 6. That it shall be unlawful to assist or encourage the importation or migration of any alien by promise of employment through advertisements printed and published in any foreign country; and any alien coming to this country in consequence of such an advertisement shall be treated as coming under promise or agreement as contemplated in section two of this Act, and the penalties imposed by section five shall be applicable to such a case: *Provided*, that this section shall not apply to States or Territories, the District of Columbia, or places subject to the jurisdiction of the United States advertising the inducements they offer for immigration thereto, respectively.

SEC. 7. That no transportation company shall, directly or indirectly, either by writing, printing, or oral representation, solicit or encourage the immigration of any aliens into the United States, but this shall not be held to prevent transportation companies from issuing letters, circulars, or advertisements, stating the

sailings of their vessels and terms and facilities of transportation therein; and for a violation of this provision, any such transportation company . . . shall be . . . subjected to the penalties imposed by section five of this Act.

SEC. 9. That it shall be unlawful for any person, including any transportation company other than railway lines entering the United States from foreign contiguous territory, . . . to bring to the United States any alien subject to any of the following disabilities: Idiots, imbeciles, epileptics, or persons afflicted with tuberculosis or with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, and if it shall appear . . . that any alien so brought to the United States was afflicted with any of the said diseases or disabilities at the time of foreign embarkation, and that the existence of such disease or disability might have been detected by means of a competent medical examination at such time, such person or transportation company . . . shall pay to the collector of customs . . . the sum of one hundred dollars for each and every violation of the provisions of this section.

SEC. 10. That the decision of the board of special inquiry, hereinafter provided for, based upon the certificate of the examining medical officer, shall be final as to the rejection of aliens affected with tuberculosis or with any loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, or with any mental or physical disability which would bring such aliens within any of the classes excluded from admission.

SEC. 12. That upon the arrival of any alien by water at any port within the United States, it shall be the duty of the master or commanding officer of the . . . vessel . . . to deliver to the immigration officers . . . lists or manifests made at the time and place of embarkation, . . . which shall . . . state as to each alien the full name, age, and sex; whether married or single; the calling or occupation; whether able to read or write; the nationality; the race; the last residence; the name and address of the nearest relative in the country from which the alien came; the seaport for landing in the United States; the final destination, if any, beyond the port of landing; whether having a ticket through to such final destination; whether the alien has paid his own passage or whether

it has been paid by any other person or by any corporation, society, municipality, or government, and if so, by whom; whether in possession of fifty dollars, and if less, how much; whether going to join a friend or relative, and if so, what relative or friend, and his or her name and complete address; whether ever before in the United States, and if so, when and where; whether ever in prison or almshouse or an institution or hospital for the care of the insane and supported by charity; whether a polygamist, whether an anarchist, whether coming by reason of any offer, etc., express or implied, to perform labor in the United States, and what is the alien's condition of health, mental and physical, and whether deformed or crippled, and if so, for how long and from what cause.

SEC. 13. That all aliens arriving by water . . . shall be listed in convenient groups, and no one list or manifest shall contain more than thirty names. To each alien or head of a family shall be given a ticket on which shall be written his name, a number or letter designating the list in which his name, and so forth, is contained, and his number on said list, for convenience of identification on arrival. Each list or manifest shall be verified by the signature and the oath or affirmation of the master or commanding officer, or the first or second below him in command, taken before an immigration officer at the port of arrival, to the effect that he has caused the surgeon of said vessel sailing therewith to make a physical and oral examination of each of said aliens, and that from the report of said surgeon and from his own investigation, he believes that no one of said aliens is an idiot, or imbecile, or a feeble-minded person, or insane person, or a pauper [etc., etc.].

SEC. 14. That the surgeon of said vessel sailing therewith shall also sign each of said lists or manifests and make oath or affirmation in like manner before an immigration officer at the port of arrival, stating his professional experience and qualifications as a physician and surgeon, and that he has made a personal examination of each of the said aliens named therein, and that the said list or manifest, according to the best of his knowledge and belief, is full, correct, and true in all particulars relative to the mental and physical condition of said aliens. If no surgeon sails with any vessel bringing aliens the mental and

physical examinations and the verifications of the lists or manifests shall be made by some competent surgeon employed by the owners of the said vessel.

SEC. 15. That in the case of the failure of . . . commanding officer of any vessel to deliver . . . lists or manifests of all aliens on board thereof, he shall pay ten dollars for each alien concerning whom the above information is not contained in any list as aforesaid.

SEC. 16. That upon the receipt by the immigration officers of the lists or manifests of incoming aliens, it shall be their duty to inspect all such aliens. Said immigration officers may order a temporary removal of such aliens for examination at a designated time and place, but such temporary removal shall not be considered a landing.

SEC. 17. That the physical and mental examination of all arriving aliens shall be made by medical officers of the United States Public Health and Marine Hospital Service, who shall certify for the information of the immigration officers and the boards of special inquiry hereinafter provided for, any and all physical defects or diseases observed by said medical officers in any such alien.

SEC. 19. That all aliens brought to this country in violation of law shall, if practicable, be immediately sent back to the country whence they respectively came on the vessels bringing them. The cost of their maintenance while on land, as well as the expense of their return, shall be borne by the owners of the vessels on which they came, and if any master shall refuse to receive back such aliens or to return them to the foreign port from which they came, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and shall, on conviction, be punished by a fine of not less than three hundred dollars for each offense.

SEC. 20. That any alien who shall enter the United States in violation of law, and such as become public charges from causes existing prior to landing, shall, upon the warrant of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, be taken into custody and deported to the country whence he came at any time within three years after the date of his entry into the United States.

SEC. 22. That the Commissioner-General of Immigration, in addition to such other duties as may by law be assigned to him, shall, under the direction of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, have charge of the administration of all laws relating to the immigration of aliens into the United States, and shall have . . . supervision of all officers . . . and employees appointed thereunder. He shall establish such rules and regulations, prescribe such forms of bond, reports, entries, and other papers, and shall issue from time to time such instructions . . . as he shall deem best calculated for carrying out the provisions of this Act and for protecting the United States and aliens migrating thereto from fraud and loss. . . . The decision of any . . . officer, if favorable to the admission of any alien, shall be subject to challenge by any other immigration officer, and such challenge shall operate to take the alien whose right to land is so challenged before a board of special inquiry for its investigation. Every alien who may not appear to the examining immigrant inspector at the port of arrival to be clearly and beyond a doubt entitled to land shall be detained for examination in relation thereto by a board of special inquiry.

SEC. 25. That such boards of special inquiry shall be appointed by the commissioner of immigration at the various ports of arrival as may be necessary for the prompt determination of all cases of immigrants detained at such ports under the provisions of law. Each board shall consist of three members, who shall be selected from such of the immigrant officials in the service as the Commissioner-General of Immigration, with the approval of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, shall from time to time designate as qualified to serve on such boards. . . . Such boards shall have authority to determine whether an alien who has been duly held shall be allowed to land or shall be deported. All hearings before boards shall be separate and apart from the public, but the said boards shall keep a complete permanent record of their proceedings and of all such testimony as may be produced before them; and the decision of any two members of a board shall prevail, but either the alien or any dissenting member of the said board may appeal through the commissioner of immigration at

the port of arrival and the Commissioner-General of Immigration to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and the taking of such appeal shall operate to stay any action . . . until the receipt by the commissioner of immigration at the port of arrival of such decision which shall be rendered solely upon the evidence adduced before the board of special inquiry.

SEC. 37. That whenever an alien shall have taken up his permanent residence in this country, and shall have filed his declaration of intention to become a citizen, and thereafter shall send for his wife, or minor children to join him, if said wife or any of said children shall be found to be affected with any contagious disorder, such wife or children shall be held, under such regulations as the Secretary of Commerce and Labor shall prescribe, until it shall be determined whether the disorder will be easily curable, or whether they can be permitted to land without danger to other persons; and they shall not be either admitted or deported until such facts have been ascertained; and if it shall be determined that the disorder is easily curable or that they can be permitted to land without danger to other persons, they shall, if otherwise admissible, thereupon be admitted.

SEC. 38. That no person who disbelieves in or who is opposed to all organized government, or who is a member of or affiliated with any organization entertaining and teaching such disbelief in or opposition to all organized government, or who advocates or teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals or of officers generally, of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character, shall be permitted to enter the United States or any territory or place subject to the jurisdiction thereof.

SEC. 40. Authority is hereby given the Commissioner-General of Immigration to establish, under the direction and control of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, a division of information in the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization; and the Secretary of Commerce and Labor shall provide such clerical assistance as may be necessary. It shall be the duty of said division to promote a beneficial distribution of aliens admitted into the United

States among the several States and Territories desiring immigration. Correspondence shall be had with the proper officials of the States and Territories, and said division shall gather from all available sources useful information regarding the resources, products, and physical characteristics of each State and Territory, and shall publish such information in different languages and distribute the publications among all admitted aliens who may ask for such information at the immigrant stations of the United States and to such other persons as may desire the same.

32. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION COMMISSION[1]

As a result of the investigation the Commission is unanimously of the opinion that in framing legislation emphasis should be laid upon the following principles:

1. While the American people, as in the past, welcome the oppressed of other lands, care should be taken that immigration be such both in quality and quantity as not to make too difficult the process of assimilation.

2. Since the existing law and further special legislation recommended in this report deal with the physically and morally unfit, further general legislation concerning the admission of aliens should be based primarily upon economic or business considerations touching the prosperity and economic well-being of our people.

3. The measure of the rational, healthy development of a country is not the extent of its investment of capital, its output of products, or its exports and imports, unless there is a corresponding economic opportunity afforded to the citizen dependent upon employment for his material, mental, and moral development.

4. The development of business may be brought about by means which lower the standard of living of the wage-earners. A slow expansion of industry which would permit the adaptation and assimilation of the incoming labor supply is preferable to a very

[1] From Brief Statement of the Conclusions and Recommendations of the Immigration Commission (61st Cong., 3d Session, Sen. Doc. No. 783), 1911, pp. 37–40.

rapid industrial expansion which results in the immigration of laborers of low standards and efficiency, who imperil the American standard of wages and conditions of employment.

The Commission agrees that:

1. To protect the United States more effectively against the immigration of criminal and certain other debarred classes —

a. Aliens convicted of serious crimes within a period of five years after admission should be deported in accordance with the provisions of House bill 20,980, Sixty-first Congress, second session.

b. Under the provisions of section 39 of the immigration act of February 20, 1907, the President should appoint commissioners to make arrangements with such countries as have adequate police records to supply emigrants with copies of such records, and that thereafter immigrants from such countries should be admitted to the United States only upon the production of proper certificates showing an absence of convictions for excludable crimes.

c. So far as practicable the immigration laws should be so amended as to be made applicable to alien seamen.

d. Any alien who becomes a public charge within three years after his arrival in this country should be subject to deportation in the discretion of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

2. Sufficient appropriation should be regularly made to enforce vigorously the provisions of the laws previously recommended by the Commission and enacted by Congress regarding the importation of women for immoral purposes.

3. As the new statute relative to steerage conditions took effect so recently as January 1, 1909, and as the most modern steerage fully complies with all that is demanded under the law, the Commission's only recommendation in this connection is that a statute be immediately enacted providing for the placing of Government officials, both men and women, on vessels carrying third-class or steerage passengers, for the enforcement of the law and the protection of the immigrant. The system inaugurated by the Commission of sending investigators in the steerage in the guise of immigrants should be continued at intervals by the Bureau of Immigration.

4. To strengthen the certainty of just and humane decisions of doubtful cases at ports of entry, it is recommended —

That section 25 of the immigration act of 1907 be amended to provide that boards of special inquiry should be appointed by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and that they should be composed of men whose ability and training qualify them for the performance of judicial functions; that the provisions compelling their hearings to be separate and apart from the public should be repealed, and that the office of an additional Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Labor to assist in reviewing such appeals be created.

5. To protect the immigrant against exploitation; to discourage sending savings abroad; to encourage permanent residence and naturalization; and to secure better distribution of alien immigrants throughout the country —

a. The States should enact laws strictly regulating immigrant banks.

b. Proper State legislation should be enacted for the regulation of employment agencies.

c. Since numerous aliens make it their business to keep immigrants from influences that may tend toward their assimilation and naturalization as American citizens with the purpose of using their funds, of encouraging investment of their savings abroad, and their return to their homeland, aliens who attempt to persuade immigrants not to become American citizens should be made subject to deportation.

d. Since the distribution of the thrifty immigrant to sections of the country where he may secure a permanent residence to the best advantage, and especially where he may invest his savings in farms or engage in agricultural pursuits, is most desirable, the division of information should be so conducted as to coöperate with States desiring immigrant settlers; and information concerning the opportunities for settlement should be brought to the attention of immigrants in industrial centers who have been here for some time and who might be thus induced to invest their savings in this country and become permanent agricultural settlers. The division might also secure and furnish to all laborers

alike information showing opportunities for permanent employment in various sections of the country, together with the economic conditions in such places.

6. One of the provisions of section 2 of the act of 1907 reads as follows:

> *And provided further*, That skilled labor may be imported if labor of like kind unemployed cannot be found in this country.

Instances occasionally arise, especially in the establishment of new industries in the United States, where labor of the kind desired, unemployed, cannot be found in this country and it becomes necessary to import such labor. Under the law the Secretary of Commerce and Labor has no authority to determine the questions of the necessity for importing such labor in advance of the importation, and it is recommended that an amendment to the law be adopted by adding to the clause cited above a provision to the effect that the question of the necessity of importing such skilled labor in any particular instance may be determined by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor upon the application of any person interested prior to any action in that direction by such person; such determination by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to be reached after a full hearing and an investigation into the facts of the case.

7. The general policy adopted by Congress in 1882 of excluding Chinese laborers should be continued.

The question of Japanese and Korean immigration should be permitted to stand without further legislation so long as the present method of restriction proves to be effective.

An understanding should be reached with the British Government whereby East Indian laborers would be effectively prevented from coming to the United States.

8. The investigations of the Commission show an oversupply of unskilled labor in basic industries to an extent which indicates an oversupply of unskilled labor in the industries of the country as a whole, and therefore demand legislation which will at the present time restrict the further admission of such unskilled labor.

It is desirable in making the restriction that —

a. A sufficient number be debarred to produce a marked effect upon the present supply of unskilled labor.

b. As far as possible, the aliens excluded should be those who come to this country with no intention to become American citizens or even to maintain a permanent residence here, but merely to save enough, by the adoption, if necessary, of low standards of living, to return permanently to their home country. Such persons are usually men unaccompanied by wives or children.

c. As far as possible the aliens excluded should also be those who, by reason of their personal qualities or habits, would least readily be assimilated or would make the least desirable citizens.

The following methods of restricting immigration have been suggested:

a. The exclusion of those unable to read or write in some language.

b. The limitation of the number of each race arriving each year to a certain percentage of the average of that race arriving during a given period of years.

c. The exclusion of unskilled laborers unaccompanied by wives or families.

d. The limitation of the number of immigrants arriving annually at any port.

e. The material increase in the amount of money required to be in the possession of the immigrant at the port of arrival.

f. The material increase of the head tax.

g. The levy of the head tax so as to make a marked discrimination in favor of men with families.

All these methods would be effective in one way or another in securing restrictions in a greater or less degree. A majority of the Commission favor the reading-and-writing test as the most feasible single method of restricting undesirable immigration.

The Commission as a whole recommends restriction as demanded by economic, moral, and social considerations, furnishes in its report reasons for such restriction, and points out methods by which Congress can attain the desired result if its judgment coincides with that of the Commission.

33. THE RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION[1]

The immigration problem is not one which can be let alone. It is a dynamic question, which demands attention, and decision. If we settle the matter by determining to do nothing, we thereby make a decision, for which we may be more accountable than if we took some positive stand. And in this country immigration will not be let alone. Somebody must make decisions, and frame policies; and, if the social scientists hold aloof, it will be done by selfish interests, and quack politicians.

More than this, it is an immediate problem. Things are happening with alarming rapidity, and what is to be done must be done speedily. These are the reasons which justify the presentation of certain suggestions for improvement in our method of handling the immigration situation in this country.

One thing we may be sure of — any remedy ought to bear some immediate relation to the evils which it contemplates remedying. Before proceeding to the outline of the proposed new scheme it will be profitable to glance hastily over the most important of the evils charged against immigration, and the foremost remedies which have been suggested, with a view to determining to what extent the latter promise direct relief from the former. The chief objections to the present immigration situation may be summarized under eight heads, each with a convenient catchword to fix it in memory, as follows:

1. We have too many immigrants. A million a year of the peasants of Europe is more than this country can safely undertake to look after. This may be called the "numbers" objection.

2. The immigrants are poorly distributed. The great majority of them settle in the most densely populated states, and in the most congested sections of the largest cities of those states. The agricultural regions, which particularly want them, get very few of them. This is the "distribution" objection.

3. The immigrants are poorly assimilated, or not assimilated at all. This is in large measure due to the faulty distribution,

[1] By H. P. Fairchild. Adapted from the *American Economic Review Supplement*, Vol. II, No. 1 (March, 1912), pp. 53–61.

and to the excessive numbers. There is great danger to the country in the growing heterogeneity of population, which results from ever-increasing numbers of immigrants, of widely diverse races, who form compact colonies in our great cities, and come in slight touch with American life. The "assimilation" objection.

4. The competition of alien laborers, accustomed to a low standard of living, is lowering the wages and standard of living of the American workmen — at the very least, it is preventing them from rising. The "standard-of-living" objection.

5. Immigration seriously increases the amount of pauperism and crime in the United States, through the admission of large numbers of aliens of bad moral character, or low economic ability. The "pauperism-and-crime" objection.

6. The present immigration movement is not a natural one, but is stimulated and fostered by transportation companies, labor agents, and other interested parties. Immigrants come with misconceptions and delusions, and without any natural fitness for American life; and as a result many of them suffer bitter hardships and add nothing to the life of this country. The "stimulation" objection.

7. Many — perhaps most — of the immigrants enter the country as conscious lawbreakers, since a very large proportion of them knowingly evade the contract-labor provision of the law. Thus they begin their American life with a spirit of indifference or hostility to law, which augurs ill for their future usefulness to the country. The "illegal entrance" objection.

8. Immigration, as at present conducted, is proving of no real and lasting benefit to foreign nations. The stimulus given to the birth rate by the fact of emigration prevents any relief of congestion, and the other apparent benefits of emigration are offset by positive evils. The difference in economic level between the United States and foreign countries is gradually being obliterated at the expense of the United States, and without bettering the other nations. The "foreign-countries" objection.

Not all of the foregoing charges have as yet been adequately proved. Some of them perhaps never can be. But they contain the germ of the most important criticisms of the present system,

and any proposed remedy ought to promise relief for at least two or three of them.

Among the principal remedies suggested for the problem under consideration the following stand out prominently:

1. The literacy test. This has received perhaps more attention than any other single remedy, and has a host of adherents. It would certainly meet the numbers objection. Since more than a quarter of the immigrants over fourteen years of age can neither read nor write, the strict application of the literacy test would probably cut down the total immigration to an approximately equal degree. It is difficult to see how the literacy test would be of any avail in meeting the distribution, standard of living, stimulation, or illegal-entrance objections. It might help to a limited degree in securing better assimilation (number 3), and it is claimed that literate immigrants are somewhat less prone to pauperism and crime than illiterate ones (number 5).

2. Consular or other inspection abroad, either at the port of embarkation, or in the native village of the immigrant. This might secure a somewhat better enforcement of the existing law, and obviate some of the hardships of the rejected immigrant. It is hard to see how it could materially affect any one of the foregoing objections.

3. Requiring immigrants to come up to a certain physical standard, such as is required for recruits to the army. This would probably remedy the numbers objection to a considerable extent, but would hardly meet any of the others. Our immigrants are already as free from physical and mental diseases and weaknesses, and abnormalities, as a rigid examination can make them.

4. A minimum-wage requirement, making it illegal to employ an alien at less than a specified minimum wage. This is aimed directly at the standard-of-living objection. It hardly touches any of the others. It is, furthermore, highly impracticable and unjust, as it would impose an *ex post facto* basis of admission. No immigrant could possibly know before he left home what wage he might be sure of, unless he was under contract, which is legally prohibited, nor could the examining inspectors tell anything about

it. It is hard to see what would be done with aliens who could not earn the minimum wage, unless they were maintained at public expense, which would subject them to deportation, and would multiply the "tragedy of the rejected immigrant" a hundredfold.

Other suggested remedies, mentioned in the Report of the Immigration Commission, are as follows:

5. The limitation of the number of immigrants of each race.

6. The exclusion of unskilled laborers unaccompanied by wives or families.

7. The limitation of the number of immigrants arriving annually at any port.

8. The material increase in the amount of money required to be in the possession of the immigrant, or of the head tax.

9. The levy of the head tax so as to make a marked discrimination in favor of men with families.

All of these last five remedies, except the very last, are designed primarily to meet the numbers objection, and would be effective to a greater or less extent. Those which aim to discriminate in favor of men with families might also have some effect in meeting the assimilation objection, as families are much more likely to come in touch with Americanizing influences than single individuals. They might, however, operate to aggravate the pauperism-and-crime objection, as men might be induced to bring over their families when they were really not able to do so, and later fall into pauperism, or be led into crime.

Looking over this list of remedies, it becomes apparent that the only objection which most of them seem likely to meet to any considerable extent is the numbers objection. The mere reduction in the number of immigrants is very probably desirable, and might be accomplished in a variety of ways. Most of the remedies, however, fail absolutely to touch directly the great problems of distribution, assimilation, the degrading competition of low standards of living, pauperism and crime, unnatural immigration, and evasion of law, to say nothing of the somewhat idealistic problem of really bettering foreign nations. The scheme of regulation which is now to be discussed aims to touch directly every one of these objections.

The first change involved in the proposed plan is for the government to recognize frankly its responsibility for aliens after they have been admitted, and to take charge, officially and authoritatively, of the distribution of immigrants in this country. Hitherto we have tacitly assumed that if sufficient care is exercised in the matter of admission, our duty is done, and the mere fact of residence in this country will bring to the immigrant all of those advantages which he is seeking, and the United States will secure all the benefit possible from his presence. We are tardily learning the utter falsity of this assumption. To promote better distribution, the government should make it its business to ascertain where immigrant labor is actually needed, and where it can be supplied without injuring economic and social conditions — the two ideas are nearly correlative — and should see to it that the immigrants go there and not elsewhere. To accomplish this, the aid of state and local boards should be enlisted. These agencies should furnish to the government authorities a statement of the number of immigrants who are desired in various sections, the nature of the work they are desired to do, and the wages they may expect. Private employers should be encouraged to state their needs to such boards, or directly to the federal authorities, and make known how many immigrants they wish to employ. All such requests should be investigated, and given official approval before they are acted upon.

All of these requests, and this information, should be compiled and tabulated, and the officials of foreign governments should be supplied with the lists of places, the numbers of immigrants desired, wages, etc. Prospective immigrants should then be required to select the places to which they wish to go before emigrating. A small proportion might possibly be allowed to emigrate without any specified destination — a sort of floating representation.

To aid in the carrying out of this provision, passports should be required of all immigrants, bearing the approval of the foreign nation of the emigration of the individual, and stating the destination which the immigrant has chosen in this country.

Under this system, the greater number — if not all — of the arriving immigrants would come with their destination already

picked out, and approved of by the United States government. The government should then see that they get there. The immigrant should not be discharged from authority until he has reached his specified destination. Inspectors should accompany the immigrant trains, and turn their charges over to state or local officials, who should be held responsible for their safe delivery.

In addition to the direct and obvious advantage of securing a more rational distribution, these provisions would also result in encouraging the immigrant to make a more careful study of conditions in America before he left home, and to choose his destination on the grounds of the need of his services, rather than because some friend or relative lived there. This would help to do away with much of the ignorance and misconception which characterize so many of the immigrants to-day. The passport provision, furthermore, would require the foreign government to scrutinize each would-be emigrant, and this, if conscientiously done, would tend to limit the number of inadmissibles who annually reach our shores.

It may seem that this arrangement would tend to encourage the immigration of contract laborers. There is no doubt that it would. In fact, one part of the proposed plan under discussion is the entire repeal and abolishment of the contract-labor clause of the immigration law. It is one of the greatest absurdities of our present legislation that it assumes and implies that the most desirable immigrant is the one who knows absolutely nothing about what work he is going to do in this country, or whether he will be able to find any. It puts a premium upon ignorance and lack of foresight. If we should see a group of our own fellow citizens starting out for some foreign country with such a hazy idea of their prospects there, we should brand them as most shiftless and foolhardy. This section of our laws has been made necessary so far because the government has not hitherto taken control of the number of immigrants, nor of their distribution, nor felt any responsibility for the condition of the immigrant after landing. Under the proposed system, the government should not only allow, but encourage, the making of contracts with prospective immigrants, by state and local boards of public works, and by private

employers. But every contract should be made under the approval of the government, witnessed by an official stamp of some kind. The government authorities should also establish a minimum wage for each locality or industry, below which contracts must not be made. Any contract which lacked the official seal, or named a wage below the fixed minimum should be *ipso facto* null and void. Any immigrant, party to such a contract, should be subject to deportation, and the employer to punishment.

To facilitate the making of legal contracts, the government should provide printed forms, stating the place, the name of the employer, the occupation, conditions of labor, and wage, leaving a blank for the name of the immigrant. By this means, employers of labor who found themselves unable to secure an adequate supply of labor at a fair living wage in this country could send their agents to foreign countries, and secure laborers in an open and aboveboard, legal way, accomplishing the same end that they now achieve by underhand and illegal methods, through the assistance of unscrupulous labor agents and contractors. The great difference would be that under the new system the wage agreed upon would have to be such as met with official sanction. If employers did not find it worth while to engage foreign labor under such conditions, it would simply show that there was no real need for laborers in the country, and would work to the advantage of the workmen already here.

The plan, as thus far outlined, contains three main propositions: (1) government control of the distribution of immigrants; (2) requirement of passports for admission; (3) the abolition of the contract-labor clause, and the encouragement and government control of labor contracts with aliens, at a minimum wage. These three provisions meet most of the stock objections which have been outlined. They meet directly the distribution, and therefore the assimilation, objection. The abolition of the contract-labor clause, in connection with the minimum wage, meets the standard-of-living objection. The requirement of a passport, coupled with better distribution, would mitigate the dangers of pauperism and crime. The diminution of the power of the labor agent, and the various runners, would tend to make the movement

a more natural one. This would also be furthered by requiring the immigrant to choose a specific destination out of a long list recommended by the United States government. The abolition of the contract-labor clause would remove the greatest temptation to illegal entrance, for the majority of immigrants.

The only objections not thus far provided for are the numbers objection and the foreign countries objection. In regard to these, it should be noted, first of all, that there is nothing in the three propositions which have been put forth which is inconsistent with most of the important plans for reducing numbers, or which would prevent them from being applied together. There is, however, another method of meeting directly the two remaining objections, which harmonizes especially well with the rest of the proposed plan. It would be a decided innovation, and the attempt to introduce it might meet with insuperable obstacles of a political and administrative nature. At first sight it presents a decided aspect of impracticability. Nevertheless, it is interesting from a theoretic standpoint, and might prove more possible of application than at first seems probable. Briefly stated, it is as follows.

The immigration of unskilled laborers to this country should be restricted to a single foreign nation, or group of nations, each year. Let it be understood, by international agreement, that in one year only immigrants from Germany would be admitted, the next from Italy, the next from Austria-Hungary, etc. Nations which send only small contingents of immigrants should be grouped, either with each other, or with one of the larger countries. Passports to unskilled immigrants from other nations should not be recognized, with the possible exception that each nation might be allowed, every year, a small number of immigrants, to be chosen by themselves, to cover exceptional cases. The United States government could then maintain a special force of inspectors, who should make their headquarters in the nation whose turn it was, year by year, and help to direct and facilitate the movement from that end.

This provision would manifestly help to cut down numbers, for it is not at all likely that ever, in a single year, would as many immigrants arrive from any single country, or group of countries,

as now come from all countries. It would also give foreign nations a chance to utilize emigration, consciously and advisedly, for their own benefit. There is every reason to believe that the popular idea that a regular emigration from a country tends to relieve congestion is a fallacy. Rather does it seem probable that population increases at least as fast, in a country with a large emigration, as if there was none at all. On the other hand, a sudden and extensive emigration, limited in time, may result in cutting down population and giving the standard of living time to rise before the forces of reproduction have filled up the gap. Under the proposed plan, any foreign nation which believed that a large emigration of its citizens would be a benefit both to those who went and those who stayed — as for instance, on the occasion of the introduction of some important labor-saving machine — could make arrangements with the United States to take its turn at such a time. If foreign nations did not care to do their part in such an arrangement, or if the natives did not wish to leave, the immigration problem would be happily solved for us, without any responsibility on our part.

Against the plan thus outlined, a host of objections, criticisms, doubts, and queries arrays itself. Of these, no one can be more conscious than the writer. Yet the same can be said of almost any human device or project. The validity of such a proposition must rest upon searching analysis and criticism, and ultimately upon trial. The pressing and immediate nature of the immigration problem in the United States justifies the proposal of any seriously conceived plan which claims to rest on scientific principles.

34. SOME FALLACIES WITH REGARD TO IMMIGRATION[1]

I thoroughly concur in the opinion of Professor Fairchild[2] that an agreement regarding the evils to be remedied should be sought before discussing remedial measures. For this reason I shall confine myself to examining the "chief objections to the present immigration situation" as stated in the first part of his paper.

[1] By Walter F. Willcox. Adapted from the *American Economic Review Supplement*, March, 1912, pp. 66–71.

[2] See p. 387.

1. His first objection is that of numbers. We are told that "a million a year . . . is more than this country can safely look after."

In only four of the ten years 1900–1910 did the reported number of immigrants exceed one million. The ten-year total was less than 8,800,000, or an annual average of seven eighths of a million. But this does not exclude those leaving our shores. For the last three years of the decade the number of departing aliens was ascertained and by deducting them from the alien arrivals the Bureau approximates the net annual increase due to immigration. That net increase was only 61 per cent of the gross immigration. If we assume that the net increase from immigration during the whole decade 1900–1910 bore the same relation to the number of immigrants, then the net additions during the decade would be 5,365,000, or about 536,000 a year.

The net addition due to ten years of immigration may also be estimated in another way from the results of the last two censuses. In 1900 there were ten and one-third million residents of the United States who had been born in foreign countries, nearly 99 per cent of whom were white. The death rate in 1900 of about two thirds of these, that is, the foreign-born whites residing in the registration area, is known. It was 19.4 per 1000. If the number of foreign-born in the United States in 1900 be multiplied by this death rate, the estimated deaths subtracted, and the same process repeated nine times, the final result, eight and one-half million, is the estimated number of survivors in 1910 of those immigrants who were here in 1900. The number of foreign-born whites enumerated in 1910 and the total number of negroes, Indians, Chinese, and Japanese in the country have been announced. The number of foreign-born colored of each class may be estimated by using the per cent of foreign-born in that class in 1900. The total foreign-born then in 1910 was fifteen and one-half million. The difference between this number and the survivors of the foreign-born here in 1900 is 5,000,000. This is a first approximation to the net addition to our population from the immigration of the decade 1900–1910. But these immigrants also have suffered losses by death. I assume that they have been in the country on the average five years and that their death rate has

been 19.4. The number of immigrants requisite to leave 5,000,000 survivors at the end of five years would be 5,516,000, or 552,000 a year. Thus one method of estimating the net annual increase from immigration, 1900–1910, yields 536,000 and the other method 552,000. It seems safe to say that it has not been over 600,000 and consequently that the estimate of "a million a year" exceeds the probable number by about two thirds.

But a country's power of assimilation might be held to vary, other things equal, with its population. If we compare the net immigration during the last decade as just estimated with the population of the country in 1900, the resulting ratio of 72 immigrants to each 1000 total population, although greater than the ratio of gross immigration to population in the preceding decade, was less than that ratio in any decade of the half century between 1840 and 1890. During the decades 1841–1850 and 1851–1860 there were probably very few birds of passage, and gross and net immigration must have been nearly identical. Relative to the population of this country the net immigration into the United States, 1900–1910, was less than the gross immigration in the decades 1841–1850, 1851–1860, or 1881–1890 and about the same as the gross immigration in 1861–1870 and 1871–1880.

2. Another of these eight objections is that "the immigrants are poorly assimilated or not assimilated at all." Here I would ask for the evidence. But not content with that, may I offer one or two opposing considerations? In 1890 among the foreign-born whites at least ten years of age 15.6 per cent were reported as unable to speak English; in 1900 the proportion had fallen to 12.2 per cent. Perhaps the quality of our English is being debased, but in that decade at least we were not becoming a more polyglot people as the result of immigration.[1]

[1] The Census of 1910 shows that 2,953,011 foreign-born whites in this country could not speak English. This is *22.8 per cent* of the total foreign-born white population, as against the 12.2 per cent in 1900. The percentages in some individual states are as follows: West Virginia, 55.2; New Mexico, 54.4; Arizona, 54.1; Texas, 51.5; Florida, 42.8; Pennsylvania, 36.6; Delaware, 32.8; Ohio, 30.6; Indiana, 29.6; New Jersey, 25.0; Illinois, 22.7; New York, 22.1; Wisconsin, 20.9. At the present time we certainly are becoming "a more polyglot people as the result of immigration." These data apply to persons ten years of age and over.—Ed.

There were nearly six and one-half million persons of foreign birth in the United States in 1900 who had come from countries where English was not spoken. Of these more than four fifths (81.2 per cent) were reported as able to speak English. The number unable to speak English was about equal, apparently, to the number who had come from a country where English was not spoken and had been in the United States less than eight years. In other words, it takes an immigrant who cannot speak English when he arrives apparently about eight years on the average to learn enough of the language to claim that he speaks it. In the second generation the process is practically completed, for, if my estimates are correct, nearly 99 per cent of the children born in this country of immigrants from countries where English is not spoken and at least ten years old in 1900 claimed to speak English.

These inferences, be it remembered, are drawn from a census now eleven years old. Since 1900 the pendulum may have been moving in the opposite direction, but about that we cannot speak with confidence.[1]

Much fear has been expressed lest our immigrants should lower the level of general education. The illiteracy of most illiterate immigrants is a characteristic of the country from which they come and not primarily of the persons. So far as census figures tell, the class with the smallest proportion of illiterates is the children of our immigrants. Thus among the children ten to fourteen years of age born of our native white stock 44 in 1000 [22 in 1000, in 1910] cannot write; among the children of our immigrants of the same age only 9 in 1000 cannot write [6 in 1000, in 1910]. No doubt this is due largely to the fact that both immigrants and schools are more abundant in the North than in the South and in the cities than in the country. But who shall say that the immigrants do not avoid the South and the country districts largely because they desire for themselves and above all for their children the educational advantages and other opportunities which are still found mainly in our cities and our northern states? I do not believe that our immigrants as a class need the

[1] The Census of 1910 does not tabulate the number of native-born of foreign parentage who cannot speak English. — ED.

help or the interference of government. Many of them have come to this country to escape a well-meant but fretting and harmful control on the part of those in power.

3. I come now to consider the statement that "immigration seriously increases the amount of pauperism and crime in the United States." I grant that the 13,000,000 foreign-born add to the *amount* of pauperism and crime. To make an effective argument the word *amount* should be changed to *proportion* and I assume that this is meant. Do the foreign-born population contribute disproportionately to the crime and pauperism of the country?

There is little time to go into the evidence on this point. I may say, however, that I have found nothing to prove that the foreign-born contribute more largely to the almshouse population or the prison population than do the native whites of the same sex and age residing in the same part of the country. What indirect evidence there is points in the other way. Certainly a proper allowance for the lower average income of the foreign-born would sufficiently explain a slight tendency, and if there is any tendency of the sort I believe it to be a slight one, towards a larger proportion of foreign-born in the almshouse population than in the population outside. As to crime, when attention is confined to major or serious offenses, the proportion of foreign-born whites committed to prison is almost exactly the same as the proportion of native whites of the same age.

The objections that immigration is created or fostered from motives of private gain, that many immigrants enter the country as conscious lawbreakers, and that immigration is of no benefit to foreign nations must be passed for lack of time.

Lastly, a word regarding the objection that the immigrants are poorly distributed. The results of the preceding census I examined in an article on "The Distribution of Immigrants," the main conclusions of which still seem to me sound. But doubtless they will not apply without considerable modification to the widely different conditions of the following decade. The distribution of the foreign-born, like that of the native population, is determined by the interplay of motives, largely economic, inviting to a change of residence, and other motives, among which human

inertia is important, leading to a retention of the present abode. The foreign-born population is probably more migratory within the country than the native population, and responds more quickly to the suggestions of economic or other advantage. On the other hand, this class probably has fewer and less trustworthy sources of information than the native population. I see little objection to the government's gathering reports and disseminating news for the purpose of aiding in the wise distribution of our population whether native or of foreign birth, but I do not anticipate much effect from such governmental activities. On the other hand, to abandon our traditional policy of allowing free migration within the country, to substitute for it a policy of forced migration and apparently of compulsory residence at the spot assigned, to apply this new policy to our foreign-born residents and not to the natives, seems to me a most dangerous solution of a difficulty that is largely imaginary. What is the evidence that it is not to the advantage of our recent immigrants to stay as long as they do in the northeastern states and the large cities where people of their own kind are congregated and can help far more effectively than the government their first steps towards American citizenship?[1]

[1] The following table, compiled from the Census of 1910 (Vol. I, p. 163), is of interest because it shows not only the broad changes in the distribution of foreign-born white and children of foreign-born white, but also the heavy percentage these two classes, taken together, constitute of the total white population:

PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL WHITE POPULATION CONSTITUTED BY THE FOREIGN-BORN WHITE AND THE NATIVE-BORN WHITE OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE, 1890, 1900, AND 1910

	1910	1900	1890
United States	39.4	38.7	37.5
New England	59.7	54.6	47.7
Middle Atlantic	55.2	51.0	48.2
East North Central	45.6	46.0	45.2
West North Central	42.5	43.8	42.4
South Atlantic	9.0	8.9	9.4
East South Central	5.2	6.2	6.9
West South Central	14.2	15.6	16.0
Mountain	41.8	45.9	46.2
Pacific	47.6	49.2	49.4

The concentration in the northeastern states is apparent. — ED.

The one serious objection to present immigration is its menace to American standards of wages and of living. The cost of rearing children in the United States is rapidly rising. In many, perhaps in most, cases it is simpler, speedier, and cheaper to import labor than to breed it. The arguments in favor of restriction for this reason are strengthening with the increasing cost of living and of rearing children. The time may have come for more radical methods of restriction. In that case a heavy increase of the head tax so as to make the cost of producing laborers in other countries and importing them into the United States more nearly equal to what it now costs to rear children for the labor market in the United States itself seems to me the simplest and best method of protecting our wage-earning class from debasing competition.

35. AN ARGUMENT AGAINST RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION[1]

The claim is often made that we have an oversupply of unskilled labor in this country to-day, and the report of the Immigration Commission is often invoked as establishing this fact, but its investigations, as distinguished from a few unjustified conclusions, make quite uniformly in favor of immigration. The Commission did not find that wages have decreased, but the contrary, though it claimed that employment is not uniform, and that American standards of living are supposed to be in danger. Neither assumption seems warranted. Substantially all the field work of the Commission, on which these inferences were based, was conducted in 1907–1908 in the midst of the panic, when employment was slack, proving nothing. Nor is the bituminous coal-mine industry of western Pennsylvania, where confirmation for this theory was sought, at all typical, although even there, despite the abnormal conditions, wages did not decrease. Affirmative action by States is doubtless called for, to improve housing and other conditions, particularly at such interior points, for the Commission reported

[1] By Max J. Kohler. Adapted from the *American Economic Review Supplement*, March, 1912, pp. 74–78.

that in the large congested cities, where most of the evils of immigration were expected to be encountered, there were relatively slight signs of overcrowding, poor housing and low standards of living, thanks largely to recent tenement-house reform, improved transit facilities, civic reform and the like, there. It is a remarkable fact that the representatives in Congress of the so-called congested sections, which are supposed to be experiencing most acutely the evils of immigration, such as New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, and even parts of Boston, are almost unanimously opposed to restrictive legislation. The opposition to immigration comes almost wholly from New England, and the South and other sparsely settled sections with few immigrant settlers. The anti-immigration feeling has been largely artificially stimulated.

In fact, the immigrant laborer is indispensable to our economic progress to-day, and we can rely upon no one else to build our houses, railroads, and subways, and mine our ores for us. The effect of immigration upon native labor has, moreover, been well described as "forcing the American laborer up, not down."

Nor is inaction in the matter of new legislation deciding against restriction. Our laws at present exclude the physically and morally diseased, the paupers and those likely to become paupers, the anarchist, and the contract laborer. During the fiscal year 1910 an army of over 24,000 were actually deported after arriving here, while the Immigration Commission reports that fully four times as many are barred abroad annually on applying for tickets, as a result of the medical examinations there, and incalculable hundreds of thousands more are prevented annually from immigrating by such reports. Nor is it true that the annual increase of immigration is approximately a million a year, for the hundreds of thousands of departing aliens are ignored. In fact, as Secretary Straus well pointed out, our immigration stream is largely self-regulating, decreasing with bad times here, both with respect to decrease of the incoming tide and increase of the outgoing stream of aliens. The enormous alien immigration of 1907 of 1,285,000 persons fell in the fiscal year 1908 to 782,870 alien

immigrant arrivals, while 395,073 immigrant aliens departed. The number of net arrivals was approximately only 500,000 for 1911.[1]

Particular suggested expedients for restriction are all either objectionable and dangerous, or useless. Chief of these is the so-called literacy test. The able veto message of President Cleveland of a similar bill in 1897 still contains convincing arguments against this expedient, while Secretary Nagel, the head of the Department of Commerce and Labor, has publicly disapproved of it, as did also his predecessor, Secretary Straus, and leaders of public opinion like President Eliot, President Schurman, Carl Schurz, and others. It would penalize those unfortunately deprived of schooling abroad, who often are the chief victims of intolerable persecution, and rush to seize our superior opportunities for education here, immediately after arrival. We have properly forbidden the naturalization of the unlettered, but that prohibition should not apply to immigration. Moreover, it would arbitrarily exclude the manual labor which we need most, and which our own country does not adequately supply. During the fiscal year 1910, 300,000 of our alien immigrants out of the million arrivals were, for example, farmers and farm laborers, besides their wives and young children. It requires no argument to show that a man with book learning is not likely to take up farm labor, so that a very large number of farm laborers — whom we need most — would be the first to be excluded by such a law. Time does not permit considering all the other suggested modes of restriction; they would be oppressive, yet easily evadable. The plans to exclude unskilled laborers unaccompanied by wives or families, and to levy the head tax so as to discriminate in favor of men accompanied by their families, would be unjust and unwise, and would tend to supersede the present salutary practice of having heads of families come over in advance of their families and prepare a home for them first, instead of handicapping themselves seriously thus at the start in new and untried surroundings.

The proposed limitation of the number of immigrants of each race would be very harsh and arbitrary, utterly un-American, and

[1] The net increase of population by immigration was 815,303 in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913; for the year ending June 30, 1914, it was 769,276. — Ed.

violative of nearly all our treaties, as well as probably unconstitutional. The Immigration Commission has unfortunately encouraged such race discriminations by its treatment of the general question and some of its suggested remedies. Treaties welcoming all subjects here would be none the less violated, because all nations would be thus discriminated against. We recognized this fact by the veto of Chinese exclusion acts, and the opposition to Japanese exclusion, in advance of international arrangements therefor. The question is, of course, quite different from one which arises with respect to exclusion of inherently objectionable diseased persons, paupers, and criminals, under an exercise of the police power. The contention that the new immigrants are less easily assimilable than the old were, is pure assumption. It overlooks the facts that we have been rapidly assimilating these very immigrants for years, and similar objections were pressed in vain against the old immigrants. Moreover, our machinery for Americanization to-day is tenfold as great as it was before 1881, so that Americanization takes place in general more, not less, rapidly, than before, despite greater differences in language and race stock. Our newly established immigrant-aid societies, our schools and lecture halls, our civic classes, our press, our political organizations and clubs, our labor unions and tenement-house laws and laws fixing hours of labor, all prove this, as James Bryce has just well pointed out in his new edition of the *American Commonwealth*.

To attempt, in the light of these facts, to establish relative standards of race value, to the detriment of the new immigration, is purely unwarranted assumption, especially in the light of Professor Boas' interesting demonstration that even the most pronounced physical indication of race differences, the shape of the skull, is rapidly lost by immigrants born here. Until recently, particularly in this country, dating its history from the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Burke's famous statement was accepted with respect to attempting to draw an indictment against a whole people. Such pseudoscience was ably ridiculed by Professor Royce, in his study of "Race Questions and Provincialism," as dignifying race antipathies by giving them names, and then regarding the antipathies named as sacred because they have a name.

To conclude, then, it is submitted that nothing justifies the view that we should depart from our open-door policy which Jefferson so ably advocated in his message of 1801 by the famous rhetorical question: "Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe?" If our true interests demanded further restriction, all loyal Americans should support such demands, but it still remains true in the language of the poet: "It blesseth him that gives and him that takes" welcome into this our land of splendid opportunity!

36. THE LITERACY TEST AS PROVIDED FOR BY THE SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS, 1915, AND PRESIDENT WILSON'S VETO[1]

The part of the comprehensive immigration bill which encountered President Wilson's strong opposition and occasioned his veto of the whole bill is as follows:

That after four months from the approval of this Act, in addition to the aliens who are by law now excluded from admission into the United States, the following persons shall also be excluded from admission thereto, to wit:

All aliens over sixteen years of age, physically capable of reading, who cannot read the English language, or some other language or dialect, including Hebrew or Yiddish: *Provided,* That any admissible alien or any alien heretofore or hereafter legally admitted, or any citizen of the United States, may bring in or send for his father or grandfather over fifty-five years of age, his wife, his mother, his grandmother, or his unmarried or widowed daughter, if otherwise admissible, whether such relative can read or not; and such relative shall be permitted to enter. That for the purpose of ascertaining whether aliens can read the immigrant inspectors shall be furnished with slips, of uniform size, prepared under the direction of the Secretary of Labor, each containing not less than thirty nor more than forty words in ordinary use, printed in plainly legible type in some one of the various languages and dialects of immigrants. Each alien may designate the particular language or dialect in which he desires the examination to be made, and shall be required to read the words printed on the slip in such language or dialect. That the following classes of persons shall be exempt from the operation of the illiteracy test, to wit: All aliens who shall prove to the satisfaction of the proper immigration officer or to the Secretary of Labor that they emigrated from the country of which they were last permanent residents solely for the purpose of escaping from religious persecution; all aliens who have been lawfully admitted to the

[1] From 63d Cong., 3d Session, House Doc. No. 1527, pp. 2, 3, 7, 8.

United States and who have resided therein continuously for five years, and who have in accordance with the law declared their intention of becoming citizens of the United States and who return to the United States within six months from the date of their departure therefrom; all aliens in transit through the United States; all aliens who have been lawfully admitted to the United States and who later shall go in transit from one part of the United States to another through foreign contiguous territory: *Provided*, That nothing in this Act shall exclude, if otherwise admissible, persons convicted of an offense purely political, not involving moral turpitude: *Provided further*, That the provisions of this Act relating to the payments for tickets or passage by any corporation, association, society, municipality, or foreign Government shall not apply to the tickets or passage of aliens in immediate and continuous transit through the United States to foreign contiguous territory: *Provided further*, That skilled labor, if otherwise admissible, may be imported if labor of like kind unemployed cannot be found in this country, and the question of the necessity of importing such skilled labor in any particular instance may be determined by the Secretary of Labor upon the application of any person interested, such application to be made before such importation, and such determination by the Secretary of Labor to be reached after a full hearing and an investigation into the facts of the case: *Provided further*, That the provisions of this law applicable to contract labor shall not be held to exclude professional actors, artists, lecturers, singers, ministers of any religious denomination, professors for colleges or seminaries, persons belonging to any recognized learned profession, or persons employed strictly as personal or domestic servants: *Provided further*, That whenever the President shall be satisfied that passports issued by any foreign Government to its citizens or subjects to go to any country other than the United States, or to any insular possession of the United States or to the Canal Zone, are being used for the purpose of enabling the holder to come to the continental territory of the United States to the detriment of labor conditions therein, the President shall refuse to permit such citizens or subjects of the country issuing such passports to enter the continental territory of the United States from such other country or from such insular possessions or from the Canal Zone: *Provided further*, That aliens who have declared their intention to become citizens may be admitted in the discretion of the Secretary of Labor, and under such conditions as he may prescribe: *Provided further*, That nothing in the contract-labor or reading-test provisions of this Act shall be construed to prevent, hinder, or restrict any alien exhibitor, or holder of concession or privilege for any fair or exposition authorized by Act of Congress, from bringing into the United States, under contract, such otherwise admissible alien mechanics, artisans, agents, or other employees, natives of his country, as may be necessary for installing or conducting his exhibit or for preparing for installing or conducting any business authorized or permitted under any concession or privilege which may have been or may be granted by any such fair or exposition in connection therewith,

under such rules and regulations as the Commissioner General of Immigration, with the approval of the Secretary of Labor, may prescribe both as to the admission and return of such persons: *Provided further*, That nothing in this Act shall be construed to apply to accredited officials of foreign Governments, nor to their suites, families, or guests.

President Wilson's veto message follows:

To the House of Representatives:

It is with unaffected regret that I find myself constrained by clear conviction to return this bill (H. R. 6060, "An act to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States") without my signature. Not only do I feel it to be a very serious matter to exercise the power of veto in any case, because it involves opposing the single judgment of the President to the judgment of a majority of both the Houses of the Congress, a step which no man who realizes his own liability to error can take without great hesitation, but also because this particular bill is in so many important respects admirable, well conceived, and desirable. Its enactment into law would undoubtedly enhance the efficiency and improve the methods of handling the important branch of the public service to which it relates. But candor and a sense of duty with regard to the responsibility so clearly imposed upon me by the Constitution in matters of legislation leave me no choice but to dissent.

In two particulars of vital consequence this bill embodies a radical departure from the traditional and long-established policy of this country, a policy in which our people have conceived the very character of their Government to be expressed, the very mission and spirit of the Nation in respect of its relations to the peoples of the world outside their borders. It seeks to all but close entirely the gates of asylum which have always been open to those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceived to be the natural and inalienable rights of men; and it excludes those to whom the opportunities of elementary education have been denied, without regard to their character, their purposes, or their natural capacity.

Restrictions like these, adopted earlier in our history as a Nation, would very materially have altered the course and cooled the humane ardors of our politics. The right of political asylum has brought to this country many a man of noble character and elevated purpose who was marked as an outlaw in his own less fortunate land, and who has yet become an ornament to our citizenship and to our public councils. The children and the compatriots of these illustrious Americans must stand amazed to see the representatives of their Nation now resolved, in the fullness of our national strength and at the maturity of our great institutions, to risk turning such men back from our shores without test of quality or purpose. It is difficult for me to believe that the full effect of this feature of the bill was realized when it was framed and adopted, and it is impossible for me to assent to it in the form in which it is here cast.

The literacy test and the tests and restrictions which accompany it constitute an even more radical change in the policy of the Nation. Hitherto we have generously kept our doors open to all who were not unfitted by reason of disease or incapacity for self-support or such personal records and antecedents as were likely to make them a menace to our peace and order or to the wholesome and essential relationships of life. In this bill it is proposed to turn away from tests of character and of quality and impose tests which exclude and restrict; for the new tests here embodied are not tests of quality or of character or of personal fitness, but tests of opportunity. Those who come seeking opportunity are not to be admitted unless they have already had one of the chief of the opportunities they seek, the opportunity of education. The object of such provisions is restriction, not selection.

If the people of this country have made up their minds to limit the number of immigrants by arbitrary tests and so reverse the policy of all the generations of Americans that have gone before them, it is their right to do so. I am their servant and have no license to stand in their way. But I do not believe that they have. I respectfully submit that no one can quote their mandate to that effect. Has any political party ever avowed a policy of restriction in this fundamental matter, gone to the

country on it, and been commissioned to control its legislation? Does this bill rest upon the conscious and universal assent and desire of the American people? I doubt it. It is because I doubt it that I make bold to dissent from it. I am willing to abide by the verdict, but not until it has been rendered. Let the platforms of parties speak out upon this policy and the people pronounce their wish. The matter is too fundamental to be settled otherwise.

I have no pride of opinion in this question. I am not foolish enough to profess to know the wishes and ideals of America better than the body of her chosen representatives know them. I only want instruction direct from those whose fortunes, with ours and all men's, are involved.

WOODROW WILSON

THE WHITE HOUSE, *28 January, 1915*

37. THE PROBLEM OF ORIENTAL IMMIGRATION[1]

Many think that this problem is permanently settled by the present Chinese exclusion laws and the "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan. They little realize, however, that this exclusion policy can be nothing more than a temporary makeshift and that even now it is serving to aggravate the relations between America and the Orient.

The policy is fundamentally wrong. In the first place, it is humiliating to Asiatics. Exclusion, entirely on the basis of race, contradicts the most fundamental characteristics of human nature, the sense of intrinsic manhood, worth, and rights. The natural and entirely justifiable self-respect of Chinese, Japanese, and Hindu is affronted. So long as they are nationally helpless, we may indeed feel no ill results from this policy; but when China becomes as completely westernized and armed as Japan is to-day, China will insist, as Japan insists, that we accord Asiatics equality of treatment with that granted to aliens of other lands.

That Chinese are capable of action on entirely sentimental and humanitarian grounds, the "Chinese boycott" of 1905–1906 proves. American merchants suffered the loss of millions of

[1] By Sidney L. Gulick. Adapted from the *Survey*, March 7, 1914, pp. 720–722, 730, 731.

dollars of trade entirely because of the resentment felt by Chinese merchants because of the humiliating treatment inflicted on Chinese entering the port of San Francisco. If we wish to retain and develop to its utmost our trade with the Orient we must treat Asiatics on a basis of friendship and honor, in harmony with their dignity and self-respect.

The Asiatic-exclusion policy is also an economic blunder. For it erects an artificial protection for our people which cannot be permanently maintained, and the longer it is maintained the more serious will be the consequences when it does break down.

Japan tried the exclusion policy for two hundred and fifty years. It resulted in such an absence of the normal stimulus of international life, that when she was no longer able to maintain her policy of exclusion, she found herself in a most pitiable plight. She was hopelessly out-distanced by all the great nations of the West. Inner turmoil and finally revolution were her lot before she could adjust herself to the new world-situation. Even fifty years of the most strenuous effort have not enabled her people to catch up fully with the nations of the West.

The policy of Asiatic exclusion, moreover, promotes among the whites increasing Asiatic antipathy, fear, and suspicion, and this evokes the same attitude toward the whites on the part of Asiatics. This policy, therefore, increases both the yellow and the white perils, and must inevitably produce increasing militarism in both East and West, which in time will bring disastrous consequences to the political, industrial, and commercial life of both races.

But what other possible policy is there for us than that of Asiatic exclusion? If we opened our doors as freely to Asiatic as to European immigration, should we not be completely swamped in a decade or two? Would not our entire economic situation be hopelessly ruined? Could our democratic institutions stand the strain? Would not the low scale of Asiatic life, with its accompanying ignorance and despotism, be forced upon us? Is not Asiatic exclusion the only way to meet these dangers?

Here we come upon the fundamental fallacy of the exclusion policy. It rests on the assumption that there are only two

possibilities — complete exclusion or complete surrender. The maintenance of our civilization, it is argued, depends on the former. The adoption of the latter means complete collapse of the white man's standards and ideals.

There is, nevertheless, a third course possible — a course which conserves the great interests of Occidental civilization, and at the same time accords to the Asiatic a treatment not only in harmony with his self-respect and dignity, but that also promotes Asiatic adoption of our ideals and our standards of life.

In proportion as Asia's millions adopt these, the severity of the Asiatic economic competition will be diminished, their purchasing power will be enhanced, and the free interrelation of East and West will become possible, to the inestimable advantage of both.

The full discussion of this question is of course beyond the scope of a single article. Even a volume I have found all too brief for the presentation of the numberless factors and considerations involved.

First of all, I wish to say that I am in hearty agreement with the fundamental postulate of California's general Oriental policy. An immigration from Asia, swamping the white man, overturning the democratic institutions of the Pacific coast and ultimately of all America, or bringing wide economic disaster to Caucasian laborers and farmers, is not for a moment to be tolerated. California is right in her general policy. She is nevertheless wrong in her mode of applying that policy. Right in principle — wrong in method. She seeks to settle what is an international, nay, a universal problem in the light of exclusively local interests.

Her solution in fact aggravates the difficulty, for it ignores pertinent facts, such as the actual diminution of Japanese residents in America due to the efficient administration by Japan of the "gentlemen's agreement." It ignores also the willingness of Japan to accede to the fundamental desire of California. Her anti-alien legislation which, as Attorney-General Webb stated, "seeks to limit their (Japanese) presence by curtailing their privileges, for they will not come in large numbers nor long abide with us if they may not acquire land" — is accordingly needless; it is, moreover, humiliating to Japan; it is unscientific,

unjust, short-sighted, and contrary to the spirit and substance of all American treaties with Japan.

The present Oriental policy of the United States as a whole also is in important respects humiliating to them and disgraceful to us. California's anti-alien legislation really rests back upon the refusal of our federal government to grant rights of American citizenship to any individuals save those of white ancestry and men "of African descent."

Professing friendship in words, we deny it in important deeds. Demanding an open door for Americans in Asia and equality of opportunity for our citizens with that accorded to citizens of the "most favored nation," we do not ourselves grant the same to Asiatics in our land.

Here then is a serious situation: on the one hand, California, conscious of a danger which she believes threatens to reach vast proportions if not radically and promptly dealt with; on the other hand, Japan, a nation with which America secured and has maintained exceptional relations of friendship, deeply wounded, yet earnestly desiring the maintenance of the historic friendship on a basis of dignity and mutual profit.

This is a difficult, delicate, and intricate problem. Both sides have their measure of truth and right. The problem is how to harmonize these real rights and interests. How is it possible to grant what California so insistently and rightly demands and at the same time to secure to Japan what she demands with equal insistence?

The problem, however, is not so difficult as first appears. We need accurate knowledge as to the facts, clear thinking as to principles, the adoption of correct fundamental postulates and their consistent and wise elaboration into concrete policies and laws.

The new American Oriental policy must hold as its major premise the principles announced by President Wilson. He was speaking, it is true, with the South American nations in view, but the principles he announced apply equally to the nations of the Orient. As reported, he said:

> We must prove ourselves their friends and champions upon terms of equality and honor. You cannot be friends upon any other terms than upon the terms of equality.

You cannot be friends at all except upon the terms of honor; and we must show ourselves friends by comprehending their interest, whether it squares with our interest or not.

Upon such principles consistently applied, would I found America's new Oriental policy.

America should treat the Oriental on a basis of complete equality with the citizens of other races, granting to them as to the most favored nation, treatment even as we give it to others and demand it for ourselves.

The policy needed is one that shall conserve all the permanent interests of California and of the entire United States, shall do so in harmony with the dignity of the peoples of the Orient, and shall provide likewise for their permanent welfare.

A new general immigration law is needed which shall apply impartially to all races. We must abandon all differential Asiatic treatment, even as regards immigration. The danger of an overwhelming Oriental immigration can be obviated by a general law allowing as the maximum annual immigration from any land a certain fixed percentage of those from that land already here and naturalized.

The valid principle on which such a law would rest is the fact that newcomers from any land enter and become assimilated to our life chiefly through the agency of those from that land already here. These know the languages, customs, and ideals of both nations. Consequently, the larger the number already assimilated, the larger the number of those who can be wisely admitted year by year. The same percentage rate would permit of great differences in actual numbers from different lands.

By way of illustrating this suggestion, consider the following outline of a general immigration law.

The maximum number of immigrants in a single year from any nation, race or group having a single "mother tongue" shall be:

Five per cent of those from that land already naturalized American citizens, including their American-born children.

In addition to these there shall also be admitted from any land all who are returning to America, having at some previous time had a residence here of not less than three years.

All immediate dependent relatives of those who have had a residence here of not less than three years.

All who have had an education in their own land equivalent to the American high school, with not less than three years' study of some foreign tongue.

In the application of these provisions, individuals who come as *bona fide* travelers, government officials, students — in a word, all who are provided for by funds from their native land — should not be counted as immigrants; but merchants, professionals, students, and all others who, even though not technically laborers, yet depend on their own efforts in this land for a living, should be so reckoned.

Applied to Germany, this 5 per cent rate would admit as many as 405,000 immigrants, whereas only 27,788 entered in 1912. From Great Britain 363,500 might enter, whereas 82,979 came in that year. Russian immigration would be diminished from 162,395 in 1912 to a possible maximum of 94,000; while immigration from Italy would fall from 157,134 to 54,850. From Japan 220 immigrants would be admitted and from China 738.

I am not particularly concerned, however, with defending the 5 per cent rate here suggested. I merely use it by way of illustration. Those better acquainted with the facts of immigration and the speed of social assimilation must determine just what percentage would be wise. The present contention centers on the point that whatever the wise rate may be, it should be applied equally to all races. This principle alone avoids the difficulty of invidious race discrimination.

A bureau of alien registration and education is needed for the supervision of the education of all aliens. Every alien permanently residing in this country should be making steady preparation for citizenship; that is, for ability to live here intelligently and profitably both to himself and to us. All aliens should be required to register in this bureau, paying a substantial annual fee of, say $10, until naturalized.

Graded courses of study in American history, politics, civics, and English should be prepared, as well as some adequate presentation of the fundamental traits of American civilization, and

opportunity should be given for annual examinations, free of charge. The annual registration fee might be diminished with each examination passed. Certificates of graduation should be essential for naturalization. Federal aid might be given to States, cities, and towns providing facilities for alien education. Night schools might be opened in public-school buildings. All institutions, such as Y.M.C.A.'s or churches providing systematic education for aliens along the lines of the federal law, might receive subsidies.

The systematic care and education of all aliens in America is essential to the welfare of the country, of far more practical and also of pressing importance than our splendid educational enterprise in the Philippines.

The Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization might well be divided, and the functions of the latter modified and extended. The work and responsibility of granting naturalization to aliens should be taken away from courts which are not qualified for such a function and vested in a body specially constituted for that purpose. Every candidate for citizenship should present certificates of graduation in American history, politics, civics, English, and principles of American civilization. The Bureau of Naturalization should also secure from the Bureau of Registration certificates of the good behavior and the moral fitness of candidates, granting naturalization only to those morally as well as educationally qualified.

A day might be set aside each year, perhaps the Fourth of July, or Washington's Birthday, or both, on which to administer the oath of allegiance and to extend official welcome to all new citizens. Patriotic processions, banquets, and speeches, with appropriate pins, banners, and badges, could make the event as important and significant as commencement exercises are in our colleges and universities.

A fresh definition of eligibility for American citizenship is needed. American citizenship should be based on individual qualification. Race of itself should be neither a qualification nor a disqualification for citizenship. Let us raise the standards for citizenship as high as may be needed; but, whatever the standards are, let us apply them impartially. Whoever qualifies should be admitted.

Let such special legislation as may be needed to enable Asiatic naturalization be taken promptly by Congress.

The granting of rights of naturalization to all on a personal, not a racial, basis would go far toward solving the entire problem now pending with Japan. Existing anti-Japanese legislation of California and other states would at once be void. The Japanese nation and government would be intensely gratified, for they would recognize that America as a whole insists on justice and equality of treatment for Japanese in our land.

Japanese individuals who have taken the required courses of education for citizenship and are ready on the one hand to renounce openly their allegiance to Japan, and on the other to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, would without doubt make as loyal Americans as those who come from any other land.

Direct federal responsibility in all legal and legislative matters involving aliens is also essential. Aliens are guests of the nation, not of the States; and the nation is responsible to foreign governments for their just treatment. Foreign governments have no relation with the States, but only with the federal government. It is, therefore, the duty of the federal government to provide that the treaty rights of aliens are accorded them. It logically follows that legal proceedings involving aliens should be handled exclusively in federal, not in State, courts. The nation must provide that treaty and other rights shall be accorded aliens, regardless of the ignorance or prejudice of unfriendly localities.

A national commission on biological and social assimilation is needed. This should be a commission of expert biologists, physiologists, and sociologists of international repute, and should be adequately financed. The results of such study should be embodied in national laws concerning (1) the intermarriage of individuals of different races; (2) the elimination by sterilization of those whose heredity renders procreation a menace to the nation; and (3) wise methods for Americanizing already compacted unassimilated groups of aliens.

There is no more intricate, and at the same time important, problem confronting our country to-day than that of the intermarriage of the races.

We need rational national laws on this subject. It is absurd for California to have laws forbidding the marriage of whites and Mongolians while Colorado does not. It is preposterous to make a crime in California what is perfectly legal in Colorado or Nevada. And the California law is of no practical effect; for she has to recognize the legitimacy of mixed marriages if performed outside of her own limits. If the California law rests on good scientific grounds, then it should be national; if it does not, then California should have no such law.

Systematic education of public-school children in Oriental history is another item in the writer's vision of the new American Oriental policy. Indeed, for the general elimination of race prejudice education is needed in regard to the history of all peoples from whom immigrants come to our shores. Anthropological readers should be prepared, devoting one or more chapters to each race and people of whom representatives live in our land, written from an appreciative standpoint and setting forth the notable deeds of each. They should be well illustrated with fine engravings of the best representatives, dressed in modern European clothing in order to avoid those caricatures which are so common in pictures of strange peoples. Such readers would help the young to get over their spontaneous feelings of race antipathy.

Such are the outlines of a comprehensive policy for the treatment of all races and nations and the care of all resident aliens in our lands. To some it may perhaps seem a misnomer to call this plan a new Oriental policy, for it advocates nothing distinctive regarding Orientals. True! And this exactly is the reason for calling it our new Oriental policy. It is a policy which does not discriminate against Asiatics, and therefore it is new. It is new both in its spirit and in its concrete elements.

The early adoption of the main features of this policy would assure California on the one hand that no swamping Asiatic immigration is to be allowed, thus securing what she demands. It would also satisfy and even please Japan, granting the substance of what she urges.

In regard to the Chinese, also, the situation would be much improved. The fairness, yes, the generosity of our policy, adopted

by us with no pressure from her side, would serve to strengthen and deepen the spirit of friendship for America and render still more effective American influence in guiding that new republic through the troublous times that are surely ahead.

If America can permanently hold the friendship and trust of Japan and China through just, courteous, and kindly treatment, she will thereby destroy the anti-white Asiatic solidarity. If America proves to Asia that one white people at least does not despise the Asiatics as such nor seek to exploit them, but rather on a basis of mutual respect and justice seeks their real prosperity, Asia will discover that the "white peril" is in fact an inestimable benefit. And that change of feeling will bring to naught the "yellow peril" now dreaded by the whites.

Even from the lower standpoint of commercial and economic interests the policy of justice toward and friendship with the Orient is beyond question the right one. Armed conflict, or even merely sullen hostility, mightily hampers trade success. Rapid internal development in China and a rising standard of life among her millions means enormous trade with America, if we are friendly and just. And unselfish friendship and justice on our side will hasten the uplift of China's millions. Our own highest prosperity is inseparable from that of all Asia. So long as friendship is maintained and peace based on just international relations, the military yellow peril will be impossible. In proportion as the scale of living among Asia's working millions rises to the level of our own is the danger of an economic yellow peril diminished.

Every consideration, therefore, of justice, humanity and self interest demands the early adoption of the general principles c this new Oriental policy. It conserves all the interests of the East and the West and is in harmony with the new era of universal evolution of mankind.[1]

[1] For a more extended treatment of the Japanese situation in California, see Gulick, The American Japanese Problem, 1914, and Millis, The Japanese Problem in the United States, 1915.

38. THE ETHICAL ASPECTS OF REGULATION[1]

In any discussion of the immigration question, there are always many persons who, admitting the legal power, question the moral right of a country to exclude immigrants, at least such as are honest and well disposed. Among the opponents of restriction in this country have been a number of high-minded and public-spirited men who have based their opposition to such legislation upon this ground. It is desirable, therefore, to consider for a moment the ethical aspects of the matter. We can sympathize with Professor Mayo-Smith when he says:

> The control of immigration must be free from the base cry of "America for the Americans" and from any narrow spirit of trade unionism, or from a selfish desire to monopolize the labor market. It must find its justification in the needs of the community, and in the necessity of selecting those elements which will contribute to the harmonious development of our civilization.[2]

It must be remembered, however, that we are living in a democracy which our ancestors established here, and that a democracy is a very delicate machine, requiring for its successful operation certain political and moral ideals and the intelligent coöperation of every citizen. Our institutions were established by a relatively homogeneous community, consisting of the best elements of population selected by the circumstances under which they came to the new world. To-day much of our immigration is an artificial selection by the transportation companies of the worst elements of European and Asiatic peoples. If the founders of the nation had been of the recent types, can we suppose for a moment that this country would enjoy its present civilization? Even as it is, we have been obliged to desert the political theories of the early days, and to adopt various despotic devices in order to control the inferior elements which have come into our body politic.

The most valuable service which the American nation can render to humanity at large is to preserve and to perfect the institutions

[1] By Prescott F. Hall. From Immigration and its Effects upon the United States, 2d edition (revised), pp. 320–323. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1908 Mr. Hall is the head of the Immigration Restriction League, Boston.

[2] Emigration and Immigration, p. 278.

of its founders. Assuming that we are aiming at making the world as a whole a better place to live in, we must remember that we can accomplish this through the medium of the nation as well as through the medium of the individual; and, bearing in mind that the birth rate in the older countries soon restores in them the precise condition which obtained before immigration took place, we find that in many cases the benefit is not to the country whence the immigrants come, but only, if at all, to the immigrants themselves. By making this "great experiment of free laws and educated labor," as General Walker has called it, a triumphant success we shall help the world more than by allowing indiscriminate immigration.

We may go further, and say it is our duty toward the world, not only to preserve in this country the conditions necessary to successful democracy, but to develop here the finest race of men and the highest civilization. We have in the United States a unique opportunity to try the effect of hybridizing race-stocks upon an enormous scale. In every other department, when we try such experiments, we take care to select the best specimens of each stock. The race horse, the seedless orange, and scores of valuable animals and plants have been developed as the result of artificial selection, which would never have been brought into existence without it. The human reason is, indeed, one of the forces through which the Power of the Universe works, and it is hard to understand why the *laissez-faire* advocates claim it should be excluded from the one field of immigration problems.

Natural selection cannot be trusted to itself to bring about the best results. "Survival of the fittest" means that those survive who are fittest for survival, but not necessarily fittest for any other purpose. This is seen when we compare the statesman or a college president who has two children and educates them so that they take useful and important places in society, with some poor drunkard in the slums who has a dozen children and gives them no advantages at all. With modern sanitation these children do not die, as they might have once, but they start with a frightful handicap and are likely to be, to some extent, weak, criminal, and comparatively valueless to the community. Now, the

second man has "survived" in his children six times as much as the first man, and yet neither he nor his children may be as fit for any purpose as the first man and his children. In other words, the mere test of productive power in time is not a test of qualitative or teleological value. Many who perished in the French Revolution and in the other great massacres of history were undoubtedly superior in every way to those who killed them. The tempest, the plague and the avalanche destroy equally the just and the unjust.

Nature tries her experiments on a vast scale and can afford to do so. She has infinite time to work in, and so is "careless of the single life." But man can hasten the production of finer types. A recent writer in New Zealand attributes the success of that country, which has the largest per capita wealth of any country in the world, to the artificial selection of its early settlers, following the policy of Gibbon Wakefield.

Let us, then, continue the benefits of that selection which took place in the early days of the nation by sifting the immigration of to-day, so that no discordant elements shall enter to imperil the ideals and institutions of our nation, and to the end that we may produce a still finer race to help the world in its progress. Such selection of immigration surely has the highest ethical sanction. Dr. Phillips Brooks, one of the largest-hearted men of our times, has stated this in the following words:

> No nation, as no man, has a right to take possession of a choice bit of God's earth, to exclude the foreigner from its territory, that it may live more comfortably and be a little more at peace. But if to this particular nation there has been given the development of a certain part of God's earth for universal purposes; if the world, in the great march of the centuries, is going to be richer for the development of a certain national character, built up by a larger type of manhood here, then for the world's sake, for the sake of every nation that would pour in upon us that which would disturb that development, we have a right to stand guard over it. We are to develop here in America a type of national character, we believe, for which the world is to be richer always. It may be the last great experiment for God's wandering humanity upon earth. We have a right to stand guard over the conditions of that experiment, letting nothing interfere with it, drawing into it the richness that is to come by the entrance of many men from many nations and they in sympathy with our Constitution and our laws.

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BOOK III

THE WOMAN PROBLEM

CHAPTER X

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY IDEAL OF WOMAN AND THE EARLY MOVEMENT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS

An early nineteenth-century estimate of the character and duties of women, 424. — Attitude of the orthodox clergy toward the early women's-rights movement, 427. — Rousseau's ideas on the proper education for girls, 428. — Mary Wollstonecraft on the influence of education and social surroundings, 433. — Declaration of Sentiments adopted by the first Woman's Rights Convention, 440.

[We may perhaps get a fair understanding of some social situations without going back to their historical setting, but hardly of the feminist movement. While some knowledge of the anthropological background and still more of the position of women in Greece and Rome and under Canon Law and Medieval Christian sentiment is desirable, it is essential that we know something of the position of woman and of the accepted ideals of her "character and duties" in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, especially in England and the United States. Only if we see clearly the significance of this historical aspect of woman's place in society, are we in position to understand the animus and the meaning of the early women's-rights movement or of the sporadic early literature of the question, from Mary Wollstonecraft to John Stuart Mill. It is a question how much of the eighteenth-century ideal of woman still remains. Certainly it lasted well down past the middle of the nineteenth century. There are doubtless still many survivals of it in our unconscious attitudes, and even now, here and there, a writer is found who harks back to it as a forsaken ideal which should be returned

to.[1] In any case it is most instructive to compare the social, economic, and moral status of woman to-day with what it was before the Industrial Revolution and modern democratic ideals had begun to work their profound change on woman's relation to society.]

39. AN ESTIMATE OF THE CHARACTER AND CAPACITY OF WOMEN[2]

The Power who called the human race into being has, with infinite wisdom, regarded, in the structure of the corporeal frame, the tasks which the different sexes were respectively destined to fill. To man, on whom the culture of the soil, the erection of dwellings, and, in general, those operations of industry, and those measures of defense, which include difficult and dangerous exertion, were ultimately to devolve, he has imparted the strength of limb, and the robustness of constitution, requisite for the persevering endurance of toil. The female form, not commonly doomed, in countries where the progress of civilization is far advanced, to labors more severe than the offices of domestic life, he has cast in a smaller mold, and bound together by a looser texture. But to protect weakness from the oppression of domineering superiority, those whom he has not qualified to contend he has enabled to fascinate; and has amply compensated the defect of muscular vigor by symmetry and expression, by elegance and grace. To me it appears that he has adopted, and that he has adopted with the most conspicuous wisdom, a corresponding plan of discrimination between the mental powers and dispositions of the two sexes. The science of legislation, of jurisprudence, of political economy, the conduct of government in all its executive functions, the abstruse researches of erudition, the inexhaustible depths of philosophy, the acquirements subordinate to navigation, the knowledge indispensable in the wide field of

[1] See, for instance, Ferrero, "The Problem of Women from a Bio-Sociological Point of View," in the *Monist*, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 262 ff. Also Lyman Abbott, The Home Builder, 1908.

[2] By Thomas Gisborne. From An Inquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex, 13th edition, pp. 12–16, 21–23. London, 1823.

commercial enterprise, the arts of defense and of attack by land and by sea, which the violence or fraud of unprincipled assailants render needful; these and other studies, pursuits, and occupations, assigned chiefly or entirely to men, demand the efforts of a mind indued with the powers of close and comprehensive reasoning, and of intense and continued application, in a degree in which they are not requisite for the discharge of the customary offices of female duty. It would therefore seem natural to expect, and experience, I think, confirms the justice of the expectation, that the Giver of all good, after bestowing those powers on men with a liberality proportioned to the existing necessity, would impart them to the female mind with a more sparing hand. It was equally natural to expect that in the dispensation of other qualities and talents, useful and important to both sexes, but particularly suited to the sphere in which women were intended to move, he would confer the larger portion of his bounty on those who needed it the most. It is accordingly manifest that in sprightliness and vivacity, in quickness of perception, in fertility of invention, in powers adapted to unbend the brow of the learned, to refresh the overlabored faculties of the wise, and to diffuse throughout the family circle the enlivening and endearing smile of cheerfulness, the superiority of the female mind is unrivaled.

Does man, vain of his preëminence in the track of profound investigation, boast that the result of the inquiry is in his favor? Let him check the premature triumph, and listen to the statement of another article in the account, which, in the judgment of prejudice itself, will be found to restore the balance. As yet the native worth of the female character has been imperfectly developed. To estimate it fairly, the view must be extended from the compass and shades of intellect, to the dispositions and feelings of the heart. Were we called upon to produce examples of the most amiable tendencies and affections implanted in human nature, of modesty, of delicacy, of sympathizing sensibility, of prompt and active benevolence, of warmth and tenderness of attachment; whither should we at once turn our eyes? To the sister, to the daughter, to the wife. These endowments form the glory of the female sex. They shine amidst the darkness of

uncultivated barbarism; they give to civilized society its brightest and most attractive luster.

Of the errors and vices which infest human nature, some are equally prevalent in the two sexes; while others, in consequence of the peculiarities by which the character of the one sex is discriminated from that of the other, peculiarities which gain additional strength from the diversity in the offices of life respectively assigned to each, do not exercise an equal power over both. Thus, among women in whom feminine delicacy and feeling have not been almost obliterated (I am not, at present, taking religious principle into the account), intemperance in wine, and the use of language grossly profane, are nearly unknown; and she who would be guilty of either sin, would be generally regarded as having debased herself to the level of a brute. On the other hand, there are failings and temptations to which the female mind is particularly exposed by its native structure and dispositions. On these treacherous underminers, these inbred assailants of female peace and excellence, the superintending eye of education is steadfastly to be fixed. The remains of their unsubdued hostility will be among the circumstances which will exercise even to the close of life the most vigilant labors of conscience. It is necessary, therefore, to be explicit on the subject.

The gay vivacity, and the quickness of imagination, so conspicuous among the qualities in which the superiority of women is acknowledged, have a tendency to lead to unsteadiness of mind; to fondness of novelty, to habits of frivolousness and trifling employment, to dislike of sober application, to repugnance to graver studies, and a too low estimation of their worth, to an unreasonable regard for wit, and shining accomplishments, to a thirst for admiration and applause, to vanity and affectation.

Sensibility itself, singularly engaging and amiable as it is, comes not without its disadvantages. It is liable to sudden excesses; it nurtures unmerited attachments; it is occasionally the source of suspicion, fretfulness, and groundless discontent; it sometimes degenerates into weakness and pusillanimity, and prides itself on the feebleness of character which it has occasioned.

40. ATTITUDE OF THE ORTHODOX CLERGY TOWARD THE EARLY WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT[1]

We invite your attention to the dangers which at present seem to threaten the female character with widespread and permanent injury.

The appropriate duties and influence of women are clearly stated in the New Testament. Those duties and that influence are unobtrusive and private, but the source of mighty power. When the mild, dependent, softening influence of women upon the sternness of man's opinions is fully exercised, society feels the effect of it in a thousand forms. The power of woman is her dependence, flowing from the consciousness of that weakness which God has given her for her protection, and which keeps her in those departments of life that form the character of individuals, and of the nation. There are social influences which females use in promoting piety and the great objects of Christian benevolence which we cannot too highly commend.

We appreciate the unostentatious prayers and efforts of woman in advancing the cause of religion at home and abroad; in Sabbath-schools; in leading religious inquirers to the pastors for instruction; and in all such associated effort as becomes the modesty of their sex; and earnestly hope that she may abound more and more in these labors of piety and love. But when she assumes the place and tone of man as a public reformer, our care and protection to her seem unnecessary; we put ourselves in self-defense against her; she yields the power which God has given her for her protection, and her character becomes unnatural. If the vine, whose strength and beauty is to lean upon the trellis work, and half conceal its clusters, thinks to assume the independence and overshadowing nature of the elm, it will not only cease to bear fruit, but fall in shame and dishonor into the dust. We cannot, therefore, but regret the mistaken conduct of those who encourage females to bear an obtrusive and ostentatious part

[1] Extract from a Pastoral Letter of the General Association of Massachusetts to the churches under their care, 1837. From The History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. I, pp. 81–82.

in measures of reform, and countenance any of that sex who so far forget themselves as to itinerate in the character of public lecturers and teachers. We especially deplore the intimate acquaintance and conversation of females with regard to things which ought not to be named; by which that modesty and delicacy which is the charm of domestic life, and which constitutes the true influence of woman in society, is consumed, and the way opened, as we apprehend, for degeneracy and ruin. We say these things not to discourage proper influences against sin, but to secure such reformation as we believe is Scriptural, and will be permanent.

41. ON THE CHARACTER AND PROPER EDUCATION OF WOMEN[1]

Sophie ought to be a woman, as Émile is a man — that is, she should have whatever is befitting the constitution of her species and of her sex, in order to fill her place in the physical and moral world. Let us then begin by examining the conformities and differences between her sex and ours.

All that we know with a certainty is that the only thing in common between man and woman is the species, and that they differ only in respect of sex. Under this double point of view we find between them so many semblances and so many contrasts, that it is perhaps one of the wonders of Nature that she could make two beings so similar and yet constitute them so differently.

These correspondences and these differences must needs have their moral effect. This consequence is obvious, is in conformity

[1] By J. J. Rousseau. Adapted from Émile, or Treatise on Education (abridged and translated by W. H. Payne), pp. 259–281. D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1892. Émile, an educational classic, was first published in 1762. Few books have had a more powerful or more lasting influence upon educational ideals. Rousseau, after laying down the principles of the education of Émile up to the time he is of marriageable age, then devotes some incidental attention to the proper education of Émile's future wife, Sophie. The selections here given are significant not only as revealing the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century attitude toward women, but also because they constituted a direct stimulus to the writing of Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the Rights of Women (see p. 433.)

with experience, and shows the vanity of the disputes as to the superiority or the equality of the sexes; as if each of them, answering the ends of Nature according to its particular destination, were not more perfect on that account than if it bore a greater resemblance to the other! With respect to what they have in common they are equal; and in so far as they are different they are not capable of being compared. A perfect man and a perfect woman ought no more to resemble each other in mind than in features; and perfection is not susceptible of greater or less.

In the union of the sexes each contributes equally toward the common end, but not in the same way. Hence arises the first assignable difference among their moral relations. One must be active and strong, the other passive and weak. One must needs have power and will, while it suffices that the other have little power of resistance.

This principle once established, it follows that woman is especially constituted to please man. If man ought to please her in return, the necessity for it is less direct. His merit lies in his power; he pleases simply because he is strong. I grant that this is not the law of love, but it is the law of Nature, which is anterior even to love.

All the faculties common to the two sexes are not equally divided, but, taken as a whole, they offset one another. Woman is worth more as a woman, but less as a man; wherever she improves her rights she has the advantages and wherever she attempts to usurp ours she remains inferior to us. Only exceptional cases can be urged against this general truth — the usual mode of argument adopted by the gallant partisans of the fair sex.

To cultivate in women the qualities of the men and to neglect those which are their own is, then, obviously to work to their detriment. The shrewd among them see this too clearly to be the dupes of it.

They ought to learn multitudes of things, but only those which it becomes them to know. Whether I consider the particular destination of woman, or observe her inclinations, or take account of her duties, everything concurs equally to indicate to me the form of education which befits her.

On the good constitution of mothers depends, in the first place, that of children; on the care of women depends the early education of men; and on women, again, depend their manners, their passions, their tastes, their pleasures, and even their happiness. Thus the whole education of women ought to be relative to men. To please them, to be useful to them, to make themselves loved and honored by them, to educate them when young, to care for them when grown, to counsel them, to console them, and to make life sweet and agreeable to them — should be taught them from their infancy. So long as we do not ascend to this principle we shall miss the goal, and all the precepts which we give them will accomplish nothing either for their happiness or for our own.

Little girls, almost from birth, have a love for dress. Not content with being pretty, they wish to be thought so. We see in their little airs that this care already occupies their minds; and they no sooner understand what is said to them than we control them by telling them what people will think of them. The same motive, very indiscreetly presented to little boys, is very far from having the same power over them. Provided they are independent and happy, they care very little of what will be thought of them. Boys seek movement and noise — drums, tops, carts; but girls prefer what appeals to the sight and serves as ornament — mirrors, trinkets, rags, and especially dolls. The doll is the especial amusement of this sex; and in this case the girl's taste is very evidently determined by her destination. The mechanics of the art of pleasing consists in dress, and this is all of this art that children can cultivate. Here, then, [in doll-dressing] is a very decided primitive taste, and you have only to follow it and regulate it. Almost all little girls learn to read and write with repugnance: but as to holding the needle, they always learn this willingly. They imagine themselves already grown, and take pleasure in thinking that these little talents will one day be of service in adorning them.

The first and most important quality of a woman is gentleness. Made to obey a being as imperfect as man, often so full of vices, and always so full of faults, she ought early to learn to suffer even

injustice, and to endure the wrongs of a husband without complaint; and it is not for him, but for herself, that she ought to be gentle. The harshness and obstinacy of women serve only to increase the wrongs and bad conduct of husbands; they feel that it is not with these arms that their wives should conquer them.

For the reason that the conduct of woman is subject to public opinion, her belief is subject to authority. Every daughter should have the religion of her mother, and every wife that of her husband. Even were this religion false, the docility which makes the mother and the daughter submit to the order of nature expunges in the sight of God the sin of error. As they are not in a condition to judge for themselves, women should receive the decision of fathers and husbands as they would the decision of the Church. Not being able to draw from themselves alone the rule of their faith, women cannot confine it within the boundaries of evidence and reason, but, allowing themselves to be carried away by a thousand extraneous impulses, they are always on this side or that of the truth. Always extremists, they are all free-thinkers or devotees; none of them are able to combine discretion with piety. Since authority ought to regulate the religion of women, it is not so important to explain to them the reasons which we have for believing as to expound to them with clearness what we believe.

The reason which leads man to a knowledge of his duties is not very complex, and the reason which leads woman to a knowledge of hers is still simpler. The obedience and fidelity which she owes to her husband, the tenderness and care which she owes to her children, are such natural and obvious consequences of her condition, that she cannot, without bad faith, refuse to consent to the inner sense which guides her, nor fail to recognize her duty in the inclination which has not yet been perverted.

If a woman were wholly restricted to the tasks of her sex, and were left in profound ignorance of everything else, I would not indulge in indiscriminate censure; but this would require a very simple and wholesome state of public morals, or a very retired manner of living. In large cities and among corrupt men such

a woman would be too easily led astray, and in this philosophical age, she must be above temptation; she must know in advance what may be said of her, and what she ought to think of it.

Moreover, subject to the judgment of men, she ought to merit their esteem; she ought, above all, to secure the esteem of her husband; she ought not only to make him love her person, but make him approve her conduct; she ought to justify before the public the choice which he has made, and make her husband honored with the honor which is paid his wife. Now, how shall she go about all this if she is ignorant of our institutions, if she knows nothing of our usages and our social customs, if she knows neither the source of human judgments nor the passions which determine them? When she depends at once on her own conscience and the opinions of others, she must learn to compare these two rules, to reconcile them, and to prefer the first only when they are in opposition. She becomes the judge of her judges; she decides when she ought to submit to them and when she ought to challenge them. Before rejecting or admitting their prejudices she weighs them; she learns to ascend to their source, to anticipate them, and render them favorable to her; she is careful never to draw censure on herself when her duty permits her to avoid it. Nothing of all this can be done without cultivating her mind and her reason.

The search for abstract and speculative truths, principles, and scientific axioms, whatever tends to general ideas, does not fall within the compass of women; all their studies ought to have reference to the practical; it is for them to make the application of the principles which man has discovered, and to make the observations which lead man to the establishment of principles. All the reflections of women which are not immediately connected with their duties ought to be directed to the study of men and to that pleasure-giving knowledge which has only taste for its object; for as to works of genius, they are out of their reach, nor have they sufficient accuracy and attention to succeed in the exact sciences. Woman, who is weak, and who sees nothing external, appreciates and judges the motive powers which she can set to

work to offset her weakness, and these motive powers are the passions of men. Whatever her sex can do for itself, and which is necessary or agreeable to her, she must have the art of making us desire.[1]

42. THE INFLUENCE OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT ON WOMAN'S CHARACTER[2]

After considering the historic page . . . I have sighed when obliged to confess that either nature has made a great difference between man and man, or that the civilization which has hitherto taken place in the world has been very partial. I have turned over various books written on the subject of education, and patiently observed the conduct of parents and the management of schools; but what has been the result? — a profound conviction that the neglected education of my fellow creatures is the grand source of the misery I deplore; and that women, in particular, are rendered weak and miserable by a variety of concurring causes, originating from one hasty conclusion. The conduct and manners of women, in fact, evidently prove that their minds are not in a healthy state. . . . I attribute this to a false system of education, gathered from the books written on this subject by men who, considering females rather as women than as human creatures, have been more anxious to make them alluring mistresses than rational wives; and the understanding of the sex has been so bubbled by this specious homage, that the civilized women of the present century, with a few exceptions, are only anxious to inspire love, when they ought to cherish a nobler ambition, and by their abilities and virtues exact respect.

[1] This seems to be the modern "indirect-influence" argument against the franchise for women put into a nutshell. — Ed.

[2] By Mary Wollstonecraft. Adapted from A Vindication of the Rights of Women, 1st edition, pp. 1, 2, 32–33, 38–41, 87–91, 106–108, 330–335, 337–342. London, 1792. This book has become, with Mill's "Subjection of Women," one of the two classics of the woman movement in England. The extracts here given, in spite of occasional quaintness of style, are surprisingly modern in point of view.

The Prevailing Opinion of Sexual Character Discussed

To account for, and excuse, the tyranny of man, many ingenious arguments have been brought forward to prove that the two sexes, in the acquirement of virtue, ought to aim at attaining a very different character: or, to speak explicitly, women are not allowed to have sufficient strength of mind to acquire what really deserves the name of virtue. Yet it should seem, allowing them to have souls, that there is but one way appointed by Providence to lead *mankind* to either virtue or happiness.

If then women are not a swarm of ephemeron triflers, why should they be kept in ignorance under the specious name of innocence? . . . Women are told from their infancy, and taught by the example of their mothers, that a little knowledge of human weakness, justly termed cunning, softness or temper, *outward* obedience, and a scrupulous attention to a puerile kind of propriety, will obtain for them the protection of man; and should they be beautiful, everything else is needless, for at least twenty years of their life. How grossly do they insult us who advise us to render ourselves gentle, domestic brutes!

I may be accused of arrogance; still I must declare, what I firmly believe, that all the writers on the subject of female education and manners, from Rousseau to Dr. Gregory,[1] have contributed to render women more artificial, weak characters than they otherwise would have been, and consequently more useless members of society.

Many are the causes that, in the present corrupt state of society, contribute to enslave women by cramping their understandings and sharpening their senses. One, perhaps, that silently does more mischief than all the rest, is their disregard of order.

To do everything in an orderly manner, is a most important precept, which women, who, generally speaking, receive only a disorderly kind of education, seldom attend to with that degree of exactness that men, who from their infancy are broken into method, observe. This negligent kind of guesswork . . . prevents

[1] Legacy to his Daughters, 1796.

their generalizing matters of fact — so they do to-day what they did yesterday merely because they did it yesterday.

This contempt of the understanding in early life has more baneful consequences than is commonly supposed; for the little knowledge which women of strong minds attain, is, from various circumstances, of a more desultory kind than the knowledge of men, and it is acquired more by sheer observations on real life, than from comparing what has been individually observed with the results of experience generalized by speculation. Led by their dependent situation and domestic employments more into society, what they learn is rather by snatches; and as learning is with them, in general, only a secondary thing, they do not pursue any one branch with that persevering ardor necessary to give vigor to the faculties, and clearness to the judgment. In the present state of society a little learning is required to support the character of a gentleman; and boys are obliged to submit to a few years of discipline. But in the education of women, the cultivation of the understanding is always subordinate to the acquirement of some corporeal accomplishment; even while enervated by confinement and false notions of modesty, the body is prevented from attaining that grace and beauty which relaxed half-formed limbs never exhibit. Besides, in youth their faculties are not brought forward by emulation; and having no serious scientific study, if they have natural sagacity it is turned too soon on life and manners.

I have probably had an opportunity of observing more girls in their infancy than J. J. Rousseau — I can recollect my own feelings, and I have looked steadily around me; yet, so far from coinciding in opinion respecting the first dawn of female character, I will venture to affirm that a girl whose spirits have not been damped by inactivity, or innocence tainted by false shame, will always be a romp, and the doll will never excite attention unless confinement allows her no alternative. Girls and boys, in short, would play harmlessly together, if the distinction of sex was not inculcated long before nature makes any difference. Most of the women in the circle of my observation who have acted like rational creatures or shown any vigor of intellect, have

accidentally been allowed to run wild — as some of the elegant formers of the fair sex would insinuate.

Women are everywhere in this deplorable state; for in order to preserve their innocence, as ignorance is courteously termed, truth is hidden from them, and they are made to assume an artificial character before their faculties have acquired any strength. Taught from their infancy that beauty is woman's scepter, the mind shapes itself to the body, and, roaming around its gilt cage, only seeks to adorn its prison. Men have various employments and pursuits which engage their attention, and give a character to the opening mind; but women, confined to one, and having their thoughts constantly directed to the most insignificant part of themselves, seldom extend their views beyond the triumph of the hour.

I wish to sum up what I have said in a few words, for I here throw down my gauntlet, and deny the existence of sexual virtues, not excepting modesty. For man and woman, truth, if I understand the meaning of the word, must be the same; yet the fanciful female character so prettily drawn by poets and novelists, demanding the sacrifice of truth and sincerity, virtue becomes a relative idea, having no other foundation than utility, and of that utility men pretend arbitrarily to judge, shaping it to their own convenience.

Women, I allow, have very different duties to fulfill; but they are *human* duties, and the principles that should regulate the discharge of them, I sturdily maintain, must be the same. To become respectable, the exercise of their understanding is necessary; there is no other foundation for independence of character. I mean explicitly to say that they must only bow to the authority of reason, instead of being the *modest* slaves of opinion. . . . Allowing women to be rational creatures, they should be incited to acquire virtues of their own, for how can a rational being be ennobled by anything that is not obtained by its *own* exertions?

Women, obtaining power by unjust means, by practicing or fostering vice, become either abject slaves or capricious tyrants. They lose all simplicity, all dignity of mind, in acquiring power, and act as men are observed to act when they have been exalted by the same means.

Of the Pernicious Effects which Arise from Unnatural Distinctions in Society

Women are, in common with men, rendered weak and luxurious by the relaxing pleasures which wealth procures; but added to this they are made slaves to their persons, and must render them alluring that man may lend them his reason to guide their tottering steps aright. Or should they be ambitious, they must govern their tyrants by sinister tricks, for without rights there cannot be any incumbent duties. The laws respecting women which I mean to discuss in a future part,[1] make an absurd unit of a man and his wife; and then by the easy transition of considering only him as responsible, she is reduced to a mere cipher.

The being who discharges the duties of its station is independent; and speaking of women at large, their first duty is to themselves as rational creatures, and the next, in point of importance, as citizens, is that, which includes so many, of a mother. The rank in life that dispenses with their fulfilling this duty, necessarily degrades them by making them mere dolls. Or, should they turn to something more important than merely fitting drapery upon a smooth block, their minds are only occupied by some soft Platonic attachment; or, the actual management of an intrigue may keep their thoughts in motion; for when they neglect domestic duties, they have it not in their power to take the field to march and countermarch like soldiers, or wrangle in the senate to keep their faculties from rusting. . . . I am not going to advise them to turn their distaff into a musket, though I sincerely wish to see the bayonet converted into a pruning hook. I only recreated an imagination, fatigued from contemplating the vices and follies which all proceed from a feculent stream of wealth that muddied the pure rills of natural affection, by supposing that society will some time or other be so constituted that man must necessarily fulfill the duties of a citizen, or be despised, and that while he was employed in any of the departments of

[1] This projected volume on the political and legal status of women was never published. — Ed.

civil life, his wife, also as active citizen, should be equally intent to manage her family, educate her children, and assist her neighbors.

But, to render her really virtuous and useful, she must not, if she discharge her civil duties, want, individually, the protection of the civil laws; she must not be dependent on her husband's bounty for her subsistence during his life, or support after his death — for how can a being be generous who has nothing of his own? or, virtuous, who is not free? The wife in the present state of things who is faithful to her husband, and neither suckles nor educates her children, scarcely deserves the name of wife, and has no right to that of citizen. But take away natural rights, and there is of course an end to duties.

Women thus infallibly become only the wanton solace of men, when they are so weak in mind and body that they cannot exert themselves, unless to pursue some frothy pleasure, or to invent some frivolous fashion. What can be a more melancholy sight to a thinking mind, than to look into the numerous carriages that drive helter-skelter about this metropolis in a morning full of pale-faced creatures who are flying from themselves. I have often wished, with Dr. Johnson, to place some of them in a little shop with half a dozen children looking up into their languid countenances for support. I am much mistaken, if some latent vigor would not soon give health and spirit to their eyes, and some lines drawn by the exercise of reason on their blank cheeks, which before were only undulated by dimples, might restore lost dignity to the character, or rather enable it to attain the true dignity of its nature. Virtue is not to be acquired even by speculation, much less by the negative supineness which wealth naturally generates.

I cannot help lamenting that women of a superior cast have not a road open by which they can pursue more extensive plans of usefulness and independence. I may excite laughter by dropping a hint, which I mean to pursue, at some future time, for I really think that women ought to have representatives, instead of being arbitrarily governed without having any direct share allowed them in the deliberations of government.

But what have women to do in society? I may be asked, but to loiter with easy grace; surely you would not condemn them all to suckle fools and chronicle small beer! No. Women might certainly study the art of healing, and be physicians as well as nurses. They might also study politics, and settle their benevolence on the broadest basis; for the reading of history will scarcely be more useful than the perusal of romances, if read as mere biography; if the character of the time, the political improvements, arts, etc. be not observed.

Business of various kinds they might likewise pursue, if they were educated in a more orderly manner, which might save many from common and legal prostitution. Women would not then marry for a support, as men accept of places under government, and neglect the implied duties; nor would an attempt to earn their own subsistence, a most laudable one! sink them almost to the level of those poor abandoned creatures who live by prostitution. For are not milliners and mantua-makers reckoned the next class? The few employments open to women, so far from being liberal, are menial; and when a superior education enables them to take charge of children as governesses, they are not treated like the tutors of sons, though even clerical tutors are not always treated in a manner calculated to render them respectable in the eyes of their pupils, to say nothing of the private comfort of the individual.

It is a melancholy truth; yet such is the blessed effect of civilization! the most respectable women are the most oppressed; and, unless they have understanding far superior to the common run of understandings, taking in both sexes, they must, from being treated like contemptible beings, become contemptible. How many women thus waste life away, the prey of discontent, who might have stood erect, supported by their own industry, instead of hanging their heads surcharged with the dew of sensibility!

Would men but generously snap our chains, and be content with rational fellowship instead of slavish obedience, they would find us more observant daughters, more affectionate sisters, more faithful wives, more reasonable mothers — in a word, better citizens. We should then love them with true affection, because we should learn to respect ourselves.

43. DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS[1]

Adopted by the First Woman's Rights Convention, 1848

The *Seneca County Courier*, a semiweekly journal, of July 14, 1848, contained the following announcement:

SENECA FALLS CONVENTION

Woman's Rights Convention. — A convention to discuss the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of woman, will be held in the Wesleyan Chapel, at Seneca Falls, N. Y., on Wednesday and Thursday, the 19th and 20th of July, current; commencing at ten o'clock A. M. During the first day, the meeting will be exclusively for women, who are earnestly invited to attend. The public generally are invited to be present on the second day, when Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, and other ladies and gentlemen, will address the convention.

This call, without signature, was issued by Lucretia Mott, Martha C. Wright, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Mary Ann McClintock. They had often discussed "the propriety of holding a woman's convention." They now decided to put their long-talked-of resolution into action. On Sunday morning they met to write their declaration, resolutions, and to consider subjects for speeches. As the convention was to assemble in three days, the time was short for such productions; but having no experience in the *modus operandi* of getting up conventions, nor in that kind of literature, they were quite innocent of the herculean labors they proposed. On the first attempt to frame a resolution, to crowd a complete thought, clearly and concisely, into three lines, they felt as helpless and hopeless as if they had been suddenly asked to construct a steam engine. The reports of Peace, Temperance, and Anti-Slavery conventions were examined, but all alike seemed too tame and pacific for the inauguration of a rebellion such as the world had never before seen. They knew women had wrongs, but how to state them was the difficulty, and this was increased from the fact that they themselves were fortunately organized and conditioned; they were neither "sour old maids," "childless women," nor "divorced wives," as the newspapers declared them to be.

[1] By Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage. Adapted from the History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. I, pp. 63–73. New York, 1881.

After much delay, one of the circle took up the Declaration of 1776, and read it aloud with much spirit and emphasis, and it was at once decided to adopt the historic document, with some slight changes such as substituting "all men" for "King George." Knowing that women must have more to complain of than men under any circumstances possibly could, and seeing the Fathers had eighteen grievances, a protracted search was made through statute books, church usages, and the customs of society to find that exact number. Several well-disposed men assisted in collecting the grievances, until, with the announcement of the eighteenth, the women felt they had enough to go before the world with a good case. One youthful lord remarked, "Your grievances must be grievous indeed, when you are obliged to go to books in order to find them out."

The eventful day dawned at last, and crowds in carriages and on foot wended their way to the Wesleyan Church. It had been decided to have no men present, but as they were already on the spot, and as the women who must take the responsibility of organizing the meeting, and leading the discussions, shrank from doing either, it was decided, in a hasty council round the altar, that this was an occasion when men might make themselves preëminently useful. It was agreed they should remain, and take the laboring oar through the Convention.

The Declaration of Sentiments

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights

governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they were accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men — both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in

the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master — the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women — the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her, in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to live a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation —

in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and National legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press on our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions embracing every part of the country.

The following resolutions were also adopted:

Whereas, The great precept of nature is conceded to be, that "man shall pursue his own true and substantial happiness." Blackstone in his Commentaries remarks, that this law of Nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them as are valid, derive all their force, and all their validity, and all their authority, mediately and immediately, from this original; therefore,

Resolved, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature and of no validity, for this is "superior in obligation to any other."

Resolved, That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority.

Resolved, That woman is man's equal — was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

Resolved, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves

satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

Resolved, That inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is preëminently his duty to encourage her to speak and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

Resolved, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social state, should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

Resolved, That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill grace from those who encourage, by their attendance, her appearance on the stage, in the concert, or in feats of the circus.

Resolved, That woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

Resolved, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

Resolved, therefore, That, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities, and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held; and this being a self-evident truth growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether

modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as a self-evident falsehood, and at war with mankind.

At the last session Lucretia Mott offered and spoke to the following resolution:

Resolved, That the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women, for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to woman an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions, and commerce.

The only resolution that was not unanimously adopted was the ninth, urging the women of the country to secure to themselves the elective franchise. Those who took part in the debate feared a demand for the right to vote would defeat others they deemed more rational and make the whole movement ridiculous.

Thus it will be seen that the Declaration and the resolutions in the very first Convention, demanded what all the most radical friends of the movement have since claimed — such as equal rights in the universities, in the trades and professions; the right to vote; to share in all political offices, honors, and emoluments; to complete equality in marriage, to personal freedom, property, wages, children; to make contracts; to sue, and be sued; and to testify in courts of justice.[1]

[1] Very interesting contemporary press comments upon the Convention and its proceedings may be found in the History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. I, Appendix.

CHAPTER XI

THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL STATUS OF WOMEN

Position of women under the English common law, 448. — Woman suffrage, 452. — Mill's classic argument for woman suffrage, 452. — The modern economic argument for equal suffrage, 466. — A statement of the case against equal suffrage, 478

[Blackstone published his Commentaries in 1765. The legal status of women in England remained substantially as he stated it until a beginning of a slow reform was made by the first Married Women's Property Act in 1870 — followed by further reforms in 1874, 1882, 1893, and 1907. In the United States the first significant reform of the legal disabilities of married women was made in New York in 1848, but no lasting reform was made in that state until 1860, and the movement to grant married women the right of contract, to own and control property, etc., did not gain headway in the country at large until after the Civil War. The brutal injustices to which women were subjected under the old law, and which they still may be called upon to endure in some belated States,[1] was a powerful stimulus to the early women's-rights campaigns, although on the surface the movement in this country started as a by-product of the antislavery agitation in the early 40's. That the early ideals of feminism were not concerned, any more than those of to-day, merely with political rights is clear. Women have sought the franchise first as a right — a means of protection — and latterly as a means to larger social service — whether advisedly or not must be left to the student of the question. While the suffrage movement, from the granting of the right to vote for poor-law guardians in

[1] In 1911 there were, for instance, still seven states in which the father could by will prevent the mother from being the guardian of her own children after his death. There were twenty-four states in which the mother during the lifetime of the father had no legal right whatever in the control of the children, that is, states in which the father was the sole guardian.

England, in 1834, and for school trustees in Kentucky, in 1838, was of slow growth, it has now, for good or ill, become a powerful world-wide movement. The change in the character of the chief line of argument for equal suffrage is shown in the two selections here given, the one from Mill, the other from a recent campaign pamphlet, and the arguments which in one shape or another have been urged against it from the first are shown in their most unmistakable form in the selection from the historian Parkman.[1]]

44. THE POSITION OF WOMEN UNDER THE COMMON LAW[2]

By marriage the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband: under whose wing, protection, and *cover*, she performs everything; and is therefore called in our law-French a *feme covert*, *fœmina viro co-operta*; is said to be *covert baron*, or under the protection and influence of her husband, her *baron*, or lord; and her condition during her marriage is called her *coverture*. Upon this principle, of an union of person in husband and wife, depend most of the legal rights, duties, and disabilities, that either of them acquire by the marriage. I speak not at present of the rights of property, but of such as are merely *personal*. For this reason a man cannot grant anything to his wife, or enter into covenant with her, for the grant would be to suppose her separate existence: and to covenant with her would be only to covenant with himself: and therefore it is also generally true that all compacts made between husband and wife, when single, are voided by the intermarriage. A woman may indeed be

[1] Full suffrage has been granted to women on equal terms with men in the following states and countries: Wyoming, 1869; Colorado, 1893; New Zealand, 1893; South Australia, 1895; Utah, 1896; Idaho, 1896; West Australia, 1900; The Australian Federation, 1902; New South Wales, 1902; Tasmania, 1904; Queensland, 1905; Finland, 1906; Victoria, 1908; Washington, 1910; California, 1911; Oregon, 1912; Kansas, 1912; Arizona, 1912; Alaska, 1913; Norway, 1913; Montana, 1914; Nevada, 1914; Manitoba, 1916; Alberta, 1916.

[2] By William Blackstone. From Commentaries on the Laws of England, 15th edition, Vol. I, pp. 441–445. London, 1809. First published in 1765.

attorney for her husband; for that implies no separation from, but is rather a representation of, her lord. And a husband may also bequeath anything to his wife by will; for that cannot take effect till the coverture is determined by his death. The husband is bound to provide his wife with necessaries by law, as much as himself; and if she contracts debts for them, he is obliged to pay them; but for anything besides necessaries he is not chargeable. Also if a wife elopes, and lives with another man, the husband is not chargeable even for necessaries; at least if the person who furnishes them is sufficiently apprised of her elopement. If the wife be indebted before marriage, the husband is bound afterwards to pay the debt; for he has adopted her and her circumstances together. If the wife be injured in her person or property, she can bring no action for redress without her husband's concurrence, and in his name as well as her own: neither can she be sued, without making the husband a defendant. There is indeed one case where the wife shall sue and be sued as a feme sole, *viz.* where the husband has abjured the realm, or is banished, for then he is dead in law; and the husband being thus disabled to sue for or defend the wife, it would be most unreasonable if she had no remedy, or could make no defense at all. In criminal prosecutions, it is true, the wife may be indicted and punished separately; for the union is only a civil union. But, in trials of any sort, they are not allowed to be evidence for, or against, each other: partly because it is impossible their testimony should be indifferent; but principally because of the union of person: and therefore, if they were admitted to be witnesses *for* each other, they would contradict one maxim of law, "*nemo in propria causa testis esse debet;*" and if *against* each other, they would contradict another maxim, "*nemo tenetur seipsum accusare.*" But, where the offense is directly against the person of the wife, this rule has been usually dispensed with: and therefore, by statute 3 Hen. VII. c. 2, in case a woman be forcibly taken away, and married, she may be a witness against such her husband, in order to convict him of felony. For in this case she can with no propriety be reckoned his wife; because a main ingredient, her consent, was wanting to the contract: and also

there is another maxim of law, that no man shall take advantage of his own wrong; which the ravisher here would do, if by forcibly marrying a woman, he could prevent her from being a witness, who is perhaps the only witness, to that very fact.

In the civil law the husband and wife are considered as two distinct persons; and may have separate estates, contracts, debts, and injuries: and therefore in our ecclesiastical courts a woman may sue and be sued without her husband.

But, though our law in general considers man and wife as one person, yet there are some instances in which she is separately considered; as inferior to him and acting by his compulsion. And therefore all deeds executed, and acts done, by her, during her coverture, are void; except it be a fine or the like matter of record, in which case she must be solely and secretly examined, to learn if her act be voluntary. She cannot by will devise lands to her husband, unless under special circumstances; for at the time of making it she is supposed to be under his coercion. And in some felonies, and other inferior crimes, committed by her, through restraint of her husband, the law excuses her: but this extends not to treason or murder.

The husband also (by the old law) might give his wife moderate correction. For, as he is to answer for her behavior, the law thought it reasonable to intrust him with this power of restraining her, by domestic chastisement, in the same moderation that a man is allowed to correct his apprentices or children; for whom the master or parent is also liable in some cases to answer. But this power of correction was confined within reasonable bounds, and the husband was prohibited from using any violence to his wife, *aliter quam ad virum, ex causa regiminis et castigationis uxoris suae, licite et rationabiliter pertinet.* The civil law gave the husband the same, or a larger, authority over his wife: allowing him, for some misdemeanors, *flagellis et fustibus acriter verberare uxorem*; for others, only *modicum castigationem adhibere*. But, with us in the politer reign of Charles the Second, this power of coercion began to be doubted: and a wife may now have security of the peace against her husband; or, in return, a husband against his wife. Yet the lower rank of people, who

were always fond of the old common law, still claim and exert their ancient privilege; and the courts of law still permit a husband to restrain a wife of her liberty, in case of any gross misbehavior.

These are the chief legal effects of marriage during the coverture; upon which we may observe, that even the disabilities which the wife lies under are for the most part intended for her protection and benefit. So great a favorite is the female sex of the laws of England.

[How great a "favorite" the female sex was of the law of England is brought out by Edward Christian, the editor of this edition of the Commentaries, in a footnote:]

Nothing, I apprehend, would more conciliate the good will of the student in favor of the laws of England, than the persuasion that they had shown a partiality to the female sex. But I am not so much in love with my subject as to be inclined to leave it in possession of a glory which it may not fully deserve. In addition to what has been observed in this chapter, by the learned Commentator, I shall here state some of the principal differences in the English law, respecting the two sexes; and I shall leave it to the reader to determine on which side is the balance, and how far this compliment is supported by truth.

Husband and wife, in the language of the law, are styled *baron* and *feme*: the word baron, or lord, attributes to the husband not a very courteous superiority. But we might be inclined to think this merely an unmeaning technical phrase, if we did not recollect, that if the baron kills his feme, it is the same as if he had killed a stranger or any other person; but if the feme kills her baron, it is regarded by the laws a much more atrocious crime; as she not only breaks through the restraints of humanity and conjugal affection, but throws off all subjection to the authority of her husband. And therefore the law denominates her crime a species of treason, and condemns her to the same punishment as if she had killed the king. And for every species of treason (though in petit treason the punishment of men was only to be drawn and hanged) till the 30 Geo. III. c. 48 the sentence of women was to be drawn and burnt alive.

By the common law all women were denied the benefit of clergy; and till the 3 and 4 W. & M. c. 9 they received the sentence of death, and might have been executed, for the first offense in simple larceny, bigamy, manslaughter, etc., however learned they were, merely because their sex precluded the possibility of their taking holy orders; though a man who could read was for the same crime subject only to burning in the hand and a few months imprisonment.

These are the principal distinctions in criminal matters. Now let us see how the account stands with regard to civil rights.

Intestate personal property is equally divided between males and females; but a son, though younger than all his sisters, is heir to the whole of real property.

A woman's personal property, by marriage, becomes absolutely her husband's which at his death he may leave entirely away from her; but if he dies without will she is entitled to one third of his personal property, if he has children: if not, to one half. In the province of York to four ninths or three fourths.

By the marriage, the husband is absolutely master of the wife's lands during coverture; and if he has had a living child, and survives the wife, he retains the whole of those lands, if they are estates of inheritance, during his life: but the wife is entitled only to dower, or one third, if she survives, out of the husband's estates of inheritance: but this she has whether she has had a child or not.

But a husband can be a tenant by curtesy of the trust estates of the wife, though the wife cannot be endowed of the trust estates of the husband.

With regard to the property of women, there is taxation without representation: for they pay taxes without having the liberty of voting for representatives; and indeed there seems at present no substantial reason why single women should be denied this privilege. Though the chastity of women is protected from violence, yet a parent can have no reparation, by our law, from the seducer of his daughter's virtue, but by stating that she is his servant, and that by the consequence of the seduction, he is deprived of the benefit of her labor: or where the seducer, at the same time, is a trespasser upon the close or premises of the parent. But when by such forced circumstances the law can take cognizance of the offense, juries disregard the pretended injury, and give damages commensurate to the wounded feelings of the parent.

Female virtue, by the temporal law, is perfectly exposed to the slanders of malignity and falsehood; for any one may proclaim in conversation, that the purest maid, or the chastest matron, is the most meretricious and incontinent of women, with impunity, or free from the animadversions of the temporal courts. Thus female honor, which is dearer to the sex than their lives, is left by the common law to be the sport of an abandoned calumniator.

From this impartial statement of the account, I fear there is little reason to pay a compliment to our laws for their respect and favor to the female sex.

45. SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN[1]

I rise, sir, to propose an extension of the suffrage which can excite no party or class feeling in the house — which can give no umbrage to the keenest assertor of the claims either of property or of numbers; an extension which has not the faintest tendency

[1] Speech by John Stuart Mill, in the British Parliament, May 20, 1867. Reprinted by the College Equal Suffrage League.

to disturb, what we have heard so much about lately, the balance of political power; which cannot afflict the most timid alarmist by any revolutionary terrors, or offend the most jealous democrat as an infringement of popular rights, or a privilege granted to one class of society at the expense of another. There is nothing to distract our minds from the simple consideration whether there is any reasonable ground for excluding an entire half of the nation, not only from actual admission, but from the very possibility of being admitted within the pale of citizenship, though they may fulfill every one of the conditions legally and constitutionally sufficient in all cases but theirs. This is, under the laws of our country, a solitary case. There is no other example of an exclusion which is absolute. If it were the law that none should have a vote but the possessors of £5,000 a year, the poorest man in the community might, and now and then would, attain to the privilege. But neither birth, nor merit, nor exertion, nor intellect, nor fortune, nor even that great disposer of human affairs — accident, can enable any woman to have her voice counted in those common concerns which touch her and hers as nearly as any other person in the nation.

Now, sir, before going any farther, permit me to say that a *prima facie* case is already made out. It is not just to make distinctions, in rights and privileges, between one of Her Majesty's subjects and another, unless for a positive reason. I do not mean that the suffrage, or any other political function, is an abstract right, or that to withhold it from anyone, on sufficient grounds of expediency, is a personal wrong; it is an utter misunderstanding of the principle I maintain to confound this with it; my whole argument is one of expediency. But all expediencies are not on exactly the same level. There is a kind of expediency which is called justice; and justice, though it does not necessarily demand that we should bestow political rights on everyone, does demand that we should not capriciously and without cause give those rights to one, and withhold them from another. . . . To lay a ground for the denial of the franchise to anyone, it is necessary to allege either personal unfitness or public danger. Can either of these be asserted in the present case? Can it be pretended

that women who manage a property or conduct a business, who pay rates and taxes, often to a large amount, and often from their own earnings, many of whom are responsible heads of families, and some of whom, in the capacity of schoolmistresses, teach more than a great many of the male electors have ever learned are not capable of a function of which every male householder is capable? Or is it supposed that, if they were allowed to vote, they would revolutionize the State, subvert any of our valuable institutions, or that we should have worse laws, or be, in any single respect, worse governed by means of their suffrage?

No one thinks anything of the kind; and it is not only the general principles of justice that are infringed, or at any rate set aside by excluding women, merely as women, from the election of representatives. That exclusion is repugnant to the particular principles of the British Constitution. It violates the oldest of our constitutional axioms — a principle dear to all reformers, and theoretically acknowledged by conservatives — that taxation and representation should be coextensive; that the taxes should be voted by those who pay them. Do not women pay taxes? Does not every woman who is *sui juris* pay exactly the same as a man who has the same electoral qualifications? If having a stake in the country means anything, the owner of freehold or leasehold property has the same stake, whether it is owned by a man or a woman.

There is evidence in our constitutional records that women have voted in counties and in some boroughs at former, though certainly distant, periods of history. But the house will expect that I should not rest my case on general principles, either of justice or of the Constitution, but should produce what are called practical arguments. Now I frankly admit that one very serious practical argument is entirely wanting in the case of women: they do not hold great meetings in Hyde Park nor demonstrations at Islington.

How far this omission may be considered to invalidate their claims, I will not pretend to say. But other practical arguments — practical even in the most restricted sense of the term — are not wanting; and I am ready to state them if I may first be

allowed to ask, Where are the practical objections? In general, the difficulty which people feel on this subject is not a practical objection; there is nothing practical in it; it is a mere feeling — a feeling of strangeness. The idea is so very new; at least they think so, though that is a mistake: it is a very old idea. Well, strangeness is a thing which wears off. Some things were strange enough to many of us three months ago which are not at all so now; and many which are strange now will not be strange to the same person a few years hence, not to say a few months; and, as for novelty, we live in a world of novelties.

The despotism of custom is on the wane: we are not now content to know that things are: we ask whether they ought to be; and in this house, I am bound to suppose that an appeal lies from custom to a higher tribunal, in which reason is judge. Now, the reasons which custom is in the habit of giving for itself on this subject are very brief: that, indeed is one of my difficulties. It is not easy to refute an interjection. Interjections, however, are the only arguments among those we usually hear on this subject which it appears to me at all difficult to refute.

The others chiefly consist of such aphorisms as these: Politics is not women's business, and would make them neglect their proper duties. Women do not desire the suffrage, and would rather not have it. Women are sufficiently represented through their male relatives.[1] Women have power enough already. I shall perhaps be thought to have done enough in the way of answering, when I have answered all these: it may perhaps instigate any honorable gentleman who takes the trouble of replying to me, to produce something more recondite.

Politics, it is said, is not a woman's business. I am not aware that politics is a man's business either, unless he is one of the

[1] It is of interest to note, in this connection, that John Stuart Mill's father, James Mill, in an article on "Government" in an early edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, took this position. "One thing is pretty clear," he said, "that [in considering who should choose representatives] all those individuals whose interests are indisputably included in those of other individuals may be struck off without inconvenience. In this light may be viewed all children, up to a certain age, whose interests are involved in those of their parents. In this light, also, women may be regarded, the interest of almost all of whom is involved either in that of their fathers or that of their husbands." — Ed.

few who is paid for devoting his time to the public service, or is a member of this or of the other house. The great majority of male visitors have their own business, which engrosses nearly the whole of their time; but I have never heard that the hours occupied in attending, once in a few years, at a polling booth, even if we throw in the time spent in reading newspapers and political treatises, has hitherto made them neglect their shops or their counting-houses. I have not heard that those who have votes are worse merchants, or worse lawyers, or worse physicians, or even worse clergymen, than other people. One would think that the British Constitution allowed no man to vote who was not able to give up the greater part of his time to politics; if that were the case, we should have a very limited constituency.

But let me ask, what is the meaning of political freedom? Is it not the control of those who do make a business of politics by those who do not? It is the very principle of constitutional liberty that men come from their looms and their forges to decide — and decide well — whether they are properly governed, and whom they will be governed by; and the nations who prize this privilege, and who exercise it fully, are invariably those who excel most in the common affairs of life.

The occupations of most women are, and are likely to remain, principally domestic; but the idea that those occupations are incompatible with taking an interest in national affairs, or in any of the great concerns of humanity, is as futile as the terror once sincerely entertained, lest artisans should desert the workshops and the factory if they were taught to read.

I know there is an obscure feeling, a feeling which is ashamed to express itself openly, that women have no right to care about anything but how they may be the most useful and devoted servants of some man. But as I am convinced that there is not one member of this house whose conscience accuses him of any such mean feeling, I may say that the claim to confiscate the whole existence of half the human species for the convenience of the other half, seems to me, independently of its injustice, particularly silly. For who that has had ordinary experience of human life, and ordinary capacity for profiting by that experience,

fancies that those do their own business best who understand nothing else? A man has lived to little purpose who has not learned that without general mental cultivation no particular work that requires understanding can be done in the best manner. It requires brains to use practical experience; and brains, even without practical experience, go further than any amount of practical experience without brains.

But perhaps it is thought that the ordinary occupations of women are more antagonistic than men's occupations are to any comprehension of public affairs. Perhaps it is thought that those who are principally charged with the moral education of the future generations of men must be quite unfit to judge of the moral and educational interest of a community; or that those whose chief daily business is the judicious laying out of money so as to produce the greatest results with the smallest means, could not give any lessons to right honorable gentlemen on that side of the house, or on this, who produce such singularly small results with such vast means.

I feel a degree of confidence on this subject, which I could not feel if the political change, in itself not a great or formidable one, for which I contend, were not grounded, as beneficent and salutary political changes usually are, upon a previous social change. The idea of a peremptory and absolute line of separation between men's province of thought and women's — the notion of forbidding women to take interest in what interests men — belongs to a gone-by state of society which is receding farther and farther into the past. We think and talk about the political revolutions of the world, but we do not pay sufficient attention to the fact that there has taken place among us a silent domestic revolution: women and men are, for the first time in history, really companions. Our traditions about the proper relations between them have descended to us from a time when their lives were apart — when they were separate in their thoughts because they were separate both in their amusements and in their serious occupations. The man spent his hours of leisure among men: all his friendships, all his real intimacies were with men: with men alone did he converse on any serious subject: the wife was

either a plaything or an upper servant. All this among the educated classes is changed: men no longer give up their spare time to violent outdoor exercise and boisterous conviviality with male associates: the home has acquired the ascendancy: the two sexes now really pass their lives together: the women of the family are the man's habitual society: the wife is his chief associate, his most confidential friend, and often his most trusted counselor.

Now, does any man wish to have for his nearest companion, linked so closely with himself, and whose wishes and preferences have so strong a claim upon him, one whose thoughts are alien from those which occupy his own mind — one who can give neither help nor comfort nor support to his noblest feelings and purposes? Is this close and almost exclusive companionship compatible with women being warned off all large subjects — taught that they ought not to care about what it is man's duty to care for, and that to take part in any serious interests outside the household is stepping beyond their province? Is it good for a man to pass his life in close communion of thought and feeling with a person studiously kept inferior to himself, whose earthly interests are forcibly confined within four walls, who is taught to cultivate as a grace of character ignorance and indifference about the most inspiring subjects, those among which his highest duties are cast? Does anyone suppose that this can happen without detriment to the man's own character?

The time has come when, if women are not raised to the level of men, men will be pulled down to theirs. The women of a man's family are either a stimulus and a support to his higher aspirations, or a drag upon them. You may keep them ignorant of politics, but you cannot keep them from concerning themselves with the least respectable part of politics — its personalities. If they do not understand, and cannot enter into the man's feelings of public duty, they do care about his private interests, and that is the scale into which their weight is certain to be thrown. They are an influence always at hand, coöperating with his selfish promptings, watching and taking advantage of every moment of moral irresolution, and doubling the strength of every temptation. Even if they maintain a modest neutrality, their mere absence of

sympathy hangs a dead weight upon his moral energies, and makes him averse to incur sacrifices which they will feel, and to forego worldly successes and advantages in which they would share, for the sake of objects which they cannot appreciate. But suppose him to be happily preserved from temptation to an actual sacrifice of conscience, the insensible influence on the higher parts of his own nature is still deplorable. Under an idle notion that the beauties of character of the two sexes are mutually incompatible, men are afraid of manly women; but those who have reflected on the nature and power of social influences, know that, when there are not manly women, there will not much longer be manly men. When men and women are really companions, if women are frivolous, men will be frivolous; if women care only for personal interests and trifling amusements, men in general will care for little else. The two sexes must now rise or sink together.

It may be said that women can take interest in great national questions without having a vote. They can, certainly; but how many of them will? All that society and education can do is exhausted in inculcating on women that the rule of their conduct ought to be what society expects from them, and the denial of the vote is a proclamation, intelligible to everyone, that society does not expect them to concern themselves with public interests. Why, the whole of a girl's thoughts and feelings are toned down by it from her earliest school days; she does not take the interest, even in national history, that a boy does, because it is to be no business of hers when she grows up. If there are women, and fortunately there now are, who do care about these subjects, and study them, it is because the force within is powerful enough to bear up against the worst kind of discouragement, that which acts not by interposing obstacles which may be struggled against, but by deadening the spirit which faces and conquers obstacles.

We are told that women do not wish the suffrage. If this be so, it only proves that nearly all women are still under this deadening influence, that the opiate still benumbs their mind and conscience. But there are many women who do desire the suffrage, and have claimed it by petitions to this house. How do we know how many more thousands there are who have not asked for what

they do not hope to get, either for fear of being ill thought of by men or by other women, or from the feeling so sedulously cultivated by the whole of their education — aversion to make themselves conspicuous?

Men must have a great faculty of self-delusion if they suppose that leading questions put to the ladies of their families, or of their acquaintances, will elicit their real sentiments, or will be answered with entire sincerity by one woman in ten thousand. No one is so well schooled as most women are in making a virtue of necessity. It costs little to disclaim caring for what is not offered; and frankness in expressing feelings that may be disagreeable or unflattering to their nearest connections is not one of the virtues which a woman's education tends to cultivate. It is, moreover, a virtue attended with sufficient risk to induce prudent women to reserve its exercise for cases in which there is some nearer interest to be promoted by it.

At all events, those who do not care for the suffrage will not use it. Either they will not register, or if they do, they will vote as their male relatives advise them, by which, as the advantage would probably be about equally shared among all classes, no harm would be done. Those, whether they be few or many, who do value the privilege, would exercise it, and would experience that stimulus to their faculties, and that widening and liberalizing influence on their feelings and sympathies, which the suffrage seldom fails to exert over every class that is admitted to a share in it. Meanwhile, an unworthy stigma would have been taken off the whole sex, the law would have ceased to stamp them as incapable of serious things, would have ceased to proclaim that their opinions and wishes do not deserve to have any influence in things which concern them equally with men, and in many that concern them much more than men. They would no longer be classed with children, idiots, and lunatics as incapable of taking care either of themselves or others, and needing that everything should be done for them without asking for their consent. If no more than one woman in twenty thousand used the vote, it would be a gain to all women to be declared capable of using it. Even so purely theoretical an enfranchisement would remove an artificial

weight from the expansion of their faculties, the real evil of which is far greater than the apparent.

Then it is said that women do not need direct political power because they have so much indirect through the influence they possess over their male relatives and connections. I should like to try this argument in other cases. Rich people have a great deal of indirect influence. Is this a reason for denying them a vote? Did anyone ever propose a rating qualification the wrong way, and bring in a reform bill to disfranchise everybody who lives in a £500 house, or pays £100 a year in direct taxes? Unless this rule for distributing the franchise is to be reserved for the exclusive benefit of women, the legitimate consequences of it would be that persons above a certain amount of fortune should be allowed to bribe, but should not be allowed to vote.

It is true that women have already great power. It is part of my case that they have great power. But they have it under the worst possible conditions, because it is indirect, and, therefore, irresponsible. I want to make that power a responsible power. I want to make the woman feel her conscience interested in its honest exercise. I want to make her feel that it is not given to her as a mere means of personal ascendancy. I want to make her influence work by a manly interchange of opinions, and not by cajolery. I want to awaken in her the political point of honor. At present many a woman greatly influences the political conduct of her male connections, sometimes by force of will actually governs it; but she is never supposed to have anything to do with it. The man she influences, and perhaps misleads, is alone responsible. Her power is like the backstairs influence of a favorite. The poor creature is nobody, and all is referred to the man's superior wisdom; and as, of course, he will not give way to her if he ought not, she may work upon him through all his strongest feelings without incurring any responsibility. I demand that all who exercise power should have the burden laid upon them of knowing something about the things they have power over. With the admitted right to a voice would come a sense of the corresponding duty.

A woman is not generally inferior in tenderness of conscience to a man. Make her a moral agent in matters of public conduct. Show that you require from her a political conscience, and when she has learned to understand the transcendent importance of these things, she will see why it is wrong to sacrifice political convictions for personal interest and vanity; she will understand that political honesty is not a foolish personal crotchet, which a man is bound for the sake of his family to give up, but a serious duty; and the men whom she can influence will be better men in all public relations, and not, as they often are at present, worse men by the whole effect of her influence.

But, at all events, it will be said women, as women, do not suffer any practical inconvenience by not being represented. The interests of all women are safe in the hands of their fathers, husbands, and brothers, whose interest is the same with theirs, and who, besides knowing better than they do what is good for them, care a good deal more for them than they care for themselves.

This is exactly what has been said of all other unrepresented classes — the operatives, for instance; are they not all virtually represented through their employers? are not the interests of the employer and that of the employed, when properly understood, the same? To insinuate the contrary, is it not the horrible crime of setting class against class? Is not the farmer interested along with his laborer in the prosperity of agriculture? Has not the cotton manufacturer as great an interest in the high price of calicoes as his workmen? Is not the employer interested as well as his men in the repeal of taxes? Have not employer and employed a common interest against outsiders, just as man and wife have against all outside the family? And are not all employers kind, benevolent, charitable men, who love their workpeople, and always know and do what is most for their good? Every one of these assertions is exactly as true as the parallel assertion repecting men and women. We are not living in Arcadia, but, as we were lately reminded, in *fæce Romuli*; and in that region workmen need other protection than that of their masters, and women than that of their men.

I should like to see a return laid before the house of the number of women who are annually beaten to death, kicked to death, or trodden to death, by their male protectors. I should like this document to contain, in an opposite column, a return of the sentences passed in those cases in which the dastardly criminal did not get off altogether; and in a third column a comparative view of the amount of property, the unlawful taking of which had, in the same sessions or assizes, by the same judge, been thought worthy of the same degree of punishment. We should thus obtain an arithmetical estimate of the value set by a male legislature and male tribunals upon the murder of a woman by habitual torture, often prolonged for years, which, if there be any shame in us, would make us hang our heads.

Before it is contended that women do not suffer in their interests, especially as women, by not being represented, it must be considered whether women, as women, have no grievances — whether the law, and those practices which law can reach, treat women in every respect as favorably as men. Well, sir, is that the case? As to education, for example, we continually hear it said that the education of the mothers is the most important part of the education of the country, because they educate the men. Is as much importance really attached to it? Are there many fathers who care as much, or are willing to expend as much, for the good education of their daughters as of their sons? Where are the universities, where the public schools, where the schools of any high description for them?

If it is said that girls are best educated at home, where are the training schools for governesses? What has become of the endowments which the bounty of our forefathers established for the instruction, not of boys alone, but of boys and girls indiscriminately? I am informed by one of the highest authorities on the subject that, in the majority of the deeds of endowment, the provision was for education generally, and not especially for boys. One great endowment — Christ's Hospital — was designated expressly for both. That establishment maintains and educates one thousand one hundred boys, and exactly twenty-six girls.

Then when they have attained womanhood, how does it fare

with the large and increasing portion of the sex, who, though sprung from the educated classes, have not inherited a provision; and, not having obtained one by marriage, or disdaining to marry merely for a provision, depend on their exertions for support? Hardly any decent educated occupation, save one, is open to them. They are either governesses, or nothing.

A fact has quite recently occurred which is worth commemorating. A young lady, Miss Garrett, from no pressure of necessity, but from an honorable desire to find scope for her activity in alleviating the sufferings of her fellow creatures, applied herself to the study of medicine. Having duly qualified herself, she, with an energy and perseverance which cannot be too highly praised, knocked successively at every one of the doors through which, in this country, a student can pass into medical practice. Having found every other door fast shut, she at last discovered one which had been accidentally left ajar. The Society of Apothecaries, it appears, had forgotten to shut out those whom they never thought would attempt to come in; and through that narrow entry this young lady obtained admission into the medical profession. But so objectionable did it appear to this learned body that women should be permitted to be the medical attendants, even of women, that the narrow wicket which Miss Garrett found open has been closed after her, and no second Miss Garrett is to be suffered to pass through it.

This is *instar omnium*. As soon as ever women become capable of successfully competing with men in any career, if it be lucrative and honorable, it is closed to them. A short time ago women could be associates of the Royal Academy; but they were so distinguishing themselves, they were taking so honorable a rank in their art, that this privilege, too, has been taken from them. That is the kind of care taken of women by the men who so faithfully represent them. That is our treatment of unmarried women; and now about the married.

They, it may be said, are not directly concerned in the amendment which I have moved, but it concerns many who have been married as well as others who will be so. By the common law of England, everything that a woman has belongs absolutely to

her husband; he may tear it all away from her, may spend the last penny of it in debauchery, leaving her to maintain by her labor both herself and her children; and if, by heroic exertion, she earns enough to put by anything for their future support, unless she is judicially separated from him, he can pounce upon her savings, and leave her penniless; and such cases are of very common occurrence. If we were besotted enough to think such things right, there would be more excuse for us; but we know better. The richer classes have found a way of exempting their own daughters from this iniquitous state of the law. By the contrivance of marriage settlements, they can make in each case a private law for themselves, and they always do. Why do we not provide that justice for the daughters of the poor which we take good care shall be done to our own daughters? Why is not what is done in every particular case that we personally care for made the general law of the land? — that a poor man's child, whose parents could not afford the expense of a settlement, may be able to retain any little property which may devolve on her, and may have a voice in the disposal of her own earnings, often the best and only reliable part of the sustenance of the family? I am sometimes asked what practical grievance I propose to remedy by enabling women to vote. I propose, for one thing, to remedy this. I have given these few instances to prove that women are not the petted favorites of society which some people seem to imagine; that they have not that abundance, that superfluity of influence, which is ascribed to them, and are not sufficiently represented by the representation of those who have never cared to do in their behalf so obvious an act of justice. Grievances of less magnitude than the laws of the property of married women, when affecting persons and classes less inured to passive endurance, have provoked revolutions.

We ought not to take advantage of the security which we feel against any such danger in the present case to refuse to a limited class of women that small amount of participation in the enactment and the improvement of our laws which this motion solicits for them, and which would enable the general feelings of women to be heard in this house through a few female representatives

We ought not to deny to them what we are going to accord to everybody else: a right to be consulted; the common chance of placing in the great council of the nation a few organs of their sentiments; of having what every petty trade or profession has — a few members of the legislature, with a special call to stand up for their interests, and direct attention to the mode in which those interests are affected by the law, or by any changes in it. No more is asked by this motion; and when the time comes, as it is certain to come, when this will be conceded, I feel the firmest conviction that you will never repent of the concession. I move, that the word "man" be omitted, and the word "person" inserted in its place.

46. IS WOMAN SUFFRAGE IMPORTANT?[1]

We have no militant suffrage movement in this country, perhaps chiefly because there is nothing to militate against. There is no active opposition.[2] What we have to overcome is a polite but perfectly useless acquiescence. What we have to prove is not that woman suffrage is right, but that it is important. In my opinion it has an importance too far-reaching for the grasp of persons immersed in politics or business, and I shall try to set forth, in a brevity suitable to their leisure rather than to the subject, the nature of that importance. In so doing I can present no new "arguments," but only try to show that among the old, two at least have at the present day a vital thrust in them.

To clear the field for those two, let me say at the start that we do not look to women's votes for the purification and moral elevation of the body politic. That is a lovely hope, transmitted to us, in its classic form, I believe, by George William Curtis. "I am asked," he exclaims, "would you drag women down into the mire of politics? No, sir, I would have them lift us out of it."

[1] By Max Eastman. Pamphlet published by the New York State Men's League for Woman Suffrage. Revised by the author.

[2] This is scarcely true at present, since in recent campaigns the liquor interests are known to have given large sums and to have built up organizations to defeat equal suffrage. This was notably true in Wisconsin in 1912, in Ohio in 1912 and 1914, and in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania in 1915. — Ed.

But we are not much stirred by the prophecy of such miracles in this day. We are more scientific than to judge women in general by the one we have in our romantic eye. We look round in the city and the country, and we see who the men are and who the women are, and we conclude that neither sex has an exclusive monopoly of the virtues.

Indeed, it has been maintained in New York City, by persons with an eye to the private profits of politics, that woman suffrage would be a help to them in their business. Nor is it possible to deny — speaking from that city only — that this sudden extension of the franchise might furnish to the powers of corruption a temporary help. That is because, after the vote is granted to them, some time will elapse before a normal proportion of women acquire the habit of voting; a natural inertia will have to be overcome; and the powers of corruption have a better-perfected system for overcoming the inertia of voters upon election day than the powers of reform. "The children of darkness are wiser in their generation than the children of light." That is why nobody ever quite succeeds in the salvation of society.

That state of affairs, however, besides being local, will be temporary. Nothing will call out the votes of the better class of wives and mothers quicker than a striking ascendancy of the corrupt powers. And when an equal proportion of all classes of the women's votes is called out we shall find our educated and our American-born vote increased, and our uneducated and foreign-born vote decreased, in the final proportion.[1] Therefore, while we cannot look to women's votes for such an inundation of purity as certain chivalric souls would love to think, we can assure ourselves that they will not do any permanent appreciable harm to the body-politic. On the contrary, they will increase the average intellectual culture and acquaintance with American institutions in the electorate.

Moreover, we cannot ignore the fact that women, even when their opportunity and the demands we make of them are as great

[1] In 1908–1909 there were enrolled in the high schools of the United States 475,761 girls and only 365,512 boys. And of the total number of immigrants to this country in the fiscal year 1909, 519,969 were males and only 231,817 females.

as they should be, will remain in certain ways normally different from men. Women are mothers, and men are not. When all psychic marvels and parlor nonsense are laid aside, that is the scientist's difference between men and women. Women inherit, with instinctive motherhood, a body of passionate interests that men only partially share. And when we say that those interests are needed in government, we but extend to the State as a whole a generalization already applied to every essential part of it. For we freely acknowledge, in the daily progress of our lives, that women's vital intuitive judgments tend often to recall us from our theoretical and commercial vagaries to the chief business, the conservation of human resources. An extension of that tendency into the sphere of politics will appear less incongruous and more advisable with every year that the profession of politics continues to improve as it is now improving.

Governments are more and more approaching the real concerns of humanity. All those moral and social problems, the preservation of health and safety, the regulation of hours and conditions of labor, the guidance of competition, even the determination of wages and the cure of poverty — problems that used to be handled by a few supernormal individuals under the name of "charity" — are creeping into the daily business of bureaus and legislatures. And this civilizing of governments is a process which we must further with all our might, in order that ultimately even the greatest questions of democratic equality, which are still only agitated by a handful of noteworthy idealists, may become the substance of party platforms and the fighting-ground of practical politics.

Perhaps we have not enough experimental evidence for a conclusion, but we have the opinions of hundreds of good men in those States and nations where women vote, to support our reasonable expectation that their influence will favor rather than retard this process.

Another hope we may cherish of the political effect, not of women's votes, but of the fact that they vote: The sexes are more idealistic in what they do together than in what they do apart. And for this reason the coming of women — or the coming of families — into politics, will bring a certain benefit other

than what you might estimate by counting the wise or virtuous women's votes. It will make impossible, for instance, that state of conscience prevalent among male politicians, who go into the service of the State with the happy feeling that they have left their virtues at home in the safe-keeping of their wives and daughters. Men throw the innocence of their women-folk as a sop to God, and go about the devil's business. But I doubt whether God, or anyone else, was ever satisfied with innocence as a substitute for virtue active in the world. I could never see the value of preserved innocence. It is possible that our republic will be damned to moral destruction, men and women together, and it is possible that it will be saved to great usefulness, but certainly if it is saved, it will be saved not because of the number of cloistered innocents it contains within its boundaries, but because of the number of effective human beings who save it. Any measure, therefore, will do well, which tends to reduce the number of those persons who think that an ineffectual wife can do the being good for the whole family.

Especially it will do well if it reduces the number of such men in public affairs, where the lack of those high standards that we set for ourselves in our homes is lamentably apparent. "He is such a good man in his family!" we say of our disgraced representative. Perhaps if we do not waste our time trying to make him good outside his family, but allow his family and its acquaintance with him to extend into the sphere of his political activity, he will be good there too, or else nowhere, and there will be no doubt about it. He will at least realize the importance of honor in public service, and no longer be able to return home and think he is better than his acts.

Such probabilities, however, with so brief experiments to test them, do not give political equality a pressing importance to the man of average interest in experimental progress. In considering the effect of women's votes upon politics, as in mentioning the question of abstract rights, I have but endeavored to clear the way for the arguments that are most vital.

It is not justice as a theoretic ideal, nor feminine virtue as a cure for politics, but democratic government as the practical

method of human happiness that compels our minds. The Anglo-Saxon race has progressed so far as it has, in intellectual and moral and material culture, largely because it has carried forth the great venture of popular government. We have learned to take it for granted, and so to forget, that civil liberty is the foundation of our good fortune, but we ought to remind ourselves of it every morning. We ought to remind ourselves that we are the van of a great exploit. Had we been alive when the daring plans were laid, we should remember. The greatest hypothesis in the history of moral and political science was set up in this laboratory, and our business is to try out the experiment until the last breath of hope is gone.

The democratic hypothesis is that a State is good, not when it conforms to some general abstract ideal of what a State ought to be or do, as the Greeks thought, but when it conforms to the interests of certain particular concrete individuals — namely, its citizens, all of them that are in mental and moral health; and that the way to find out their interests is not to sit on a throne or a bench and think about it, but go and ask them. Now to discriminate against an approximate half of the citizens — just because they have, as we say, such *different interests* from the rest — is to betray our hypothesis and destroy our experiment at its crucial point. For the whole point of it was that we would give up asking an expert political class of the people what the State *ought* to do, and go down and ask all the people, expert or not and political or not, what they are *interested* in having it do.

Not only have the thinkers of the world waked up to the fact that women are individuals and so to be counted under this theory of government, but the world itself has so changed that the practical necessity of applying the theory to them drives itself home to us. We have only to open our minds to the facts. With the advance of industrial art the work of women has gone from the house to the factory and market. Women have followed it there, and there they must do it until this civilization perishes. In 1900, approximately one woman in every five in the United States was engaged in gainful employment, and the number was increasing. Most of these women have no choice as to whether

they will work or not, and many of them are working in circumstances corrupting their health and motherhood. It is, therefore, a vital problem for the future of our race, how to render the conditions of industry compatible with the physical and moral health of women. And to one who is willing to know a little about human nature and the deep wisdom of representative government, it is clear that the only first step in solution of that problem is to give to the women themselves the dignity and defense of political recognition.

Compared to the variety of their needs, and the subtlety of the disadvantages under which they enter a competitive system, it is a small thing to give them. But it is the first and manifest thing. It is the ancient antidote of that prejudice which everywhere opposes them, and its smallness not a reason for withholding, but for bestowing it. Give them that small thing for which Anglo-Saxon men have groveled and lied and slaughtered and perished for a thousand years, to win — namely, a little bit of the personal sacredness of sovereigns before their rulers and the law. A small thing, but their own, — and an indispensable prerequisite and guarantee of every other privilege or opportunity you may hope to confer upon them.

Women have that guarantee in a male democracy, it is stated, through their husbands and fathers who represent them. And to an extent the statement is true. To an extent it is true, even when the husbands and fathers have none of that perfect loyalty to them which the statement assumes, for the habit of mind which democracy engenders in its officials involuntarily extends to their dealing with the unenfranchised. But there is a time when it is not true, and a point where that habit of mind does not extend. And it is a crucial point for them — when as a class they, the unenfranchised workers, segregate themselves and dare to stand alone for their special aims in a labor organization. Then they are severed in our mind, as they are in fact, from any voter who might represent them; and then, above all, they need standing in the political system. For there are just two dependable guarantees of the effectiveness of an organization of people without wealth, and one is gunpowder and the other is the ballot.

"Why, the ballot never helped the working classes!" we hear it exclaimed. "*Organization* is the sole hope of labor!" But such ignorance of the history and significance of popular sovereignty is revealed in the exclamation, that one knows not with what kind of kindergarten instruction to begin to answer it. He has read nothing or he has read in vain of nineteenth-century democracy, who thinks that labor organizations of males could have arrived where they are, in the respect of men and the law, if they had been unable to compel consideration from the State. It is *because* organization is the sole hope of labor that labor must have its portion of the sovereignty. And it is because, when united together for their special purposes, women lose even that second-hand sovereignty they are elsewhere alleged to have, that they must have a first-hand sovereignty. They must have a genuine guarantee that their needs shall be of consequence to the community they serve. Such certified consideration from the powers of law is both a symbol and a force indispensable to any group, or person, that either desires, or is compelled by fortune, to enter the competitive world.

A hearing was recently held at Albany upon a bill to limit the hours of women's labor. Twelve big employers appeared against the bill, stating that the working women do not want it. Five elected delegates from the working-women's organizations appeared in favor of the bill, stating that they do want it. No woman appeared against the bill. That was a drawn conflict of two vital interests in the State. The stronger and wealthier and better organized of those interests we clothe with the whole power and prestige of political citizenship, and the knowledge of political methods. The weaker and poorer and less organized we leave with no power and no standing in the community, and no political experience whatever. We let those employers come down to the Capitol and demand what they want from their representatives, and we make those workers come up and beg what they want from somebody else's representatives. The idea of such a hearing upon such a bill ought to disgust every clear-minded American with this old-fashioned masculine pretense at representative government.

Such is the argument from the ideal of democracy, theoretic,

practical, and coercive in the concrete present. Yet, in so far as we are moral, in so far as we are believers in the progressive enrichment of life, we have something more to do than live up to our ideals. We have to illumine and improve them continually. The Athenian youths had a running-match in which they carried torches, and it was no victory to cross the tape with your torch gone out. Such is the race that is set before us. And we may well remember — we in America who scorn the contemplative life — that no amount of strenuousness with the legs will keep a flame burning while you run. You will have to be thinking.

And it is out of a thoughtful endeavor, not merely to live up to an ideal of ours, but to develop it greatly, that the suffrage movement derives its chief force. I mean our ideal of womanhood. It is not expected by the best advocates of this change that women will reform politics or purge society of evil, but it is expected, with reasoned and already proved certainty, that political knowledge and experience will benefit women. Political responsibility, the character it demands and the recognition it receives, will alter the nature and function of women in society to the improvement of themselves and their husbands and their children and their homes. Upon that ground we can declare that it is of vital importance to the advance of civilized life, not only to give the ballot to those women who want it, but to rouse those women who do not know enough to want it, to a better appreciation of the great age in which they live.

The Industrial Era — for all the ill we say of it, we must say this great good, that it has made possible and inevitable the physical and social and moral and intellectual liberation of women. The simplification of home life through invention and manufacture, the growth of large cities with their popular education, and above all the division of labor, have given her a free place in the active world. This fact is the distinctive feature of these ages. To a distant and universal historian — a historian who writes the lives of the people — I believe that this change in the position of women will appear not only the most striking, but the most excellent achievement of ours. For we could never evolve a heroic race of people on the earth until we gave them a twofold

inheritance and tradition of active, intelligent virtue. That we have begun to do. And no act of ours at the present time can more urge and certify this great step in the history of life than to give it a political expression and guarantee. Citizenship will rouse and educate women, it will develop our ideal of them; therefore, it is a dominant necessity of advancing civilization that they have it.[1]

The relegating of women, outside the period of motherhood, to a life of futile sainthood, with exclusive charge of the *goodness* of the community and nothing to do with the community's *behavior*, is a great foolishness at the bottom of our social habits. Of this ancient practice and the quite recent idealization of it, of the damage it has done to men and women and children, no history can give the account. Nor is it easy to establish a sense of this in an age which is permeated by the sentiments of a degenerate feudalism. It may awake the sane and heroic in us, however, to recall the pagan ideal of Plato. He says, in the seventh book of the laws:

> The legislator ought to be whole and perfect, and not half a man only. He ought not to let the female sex live softly and waste money and have no order of life, while he takes the utmost care of the male sex, and leaves half of life only blessed with happiness when he might have made the whole state happy.

Two truths that will be news to many after two thousand years are contained in that sentence. First, that it is just as important

[1] I cannot refrain from saying a word here in apparent contradiction of my theme. It is addressed to those self-assured reformers who, with small sense for the real in history, find themselves in too fatuous agreement with that theme. There was scope for great character, and life's full experience, in the lot of woman long ago, when many arts and industries and the business management of them, and of a household, fell to her. Spirited and splendidly intelligent women lived then. And they profited by opportunities for growth which are now gone. There are few places to be filled in the modern industrial world equal in variety and amplitude to the place of the "circumscribed" women of old. Hence, in gaining, through the development of industry, a great social freedom, women have lost in many cases a valuable breadth of experience. It is, however, lost irretrievably, and now we must replace it to what extent we can. We must replace that ample interest and stimulus to growth which women used to find in the home with interests beyond it, and chief among them — as being equally vital — the civic interest. Thus in so far as women are gaining freedom in this era, they demand citizenship as a guarantee of that freedom, and in so far as they are losing a certain breadth of life they require citizenship as a guarantee against narrowness.

for women to be happy as for men; and, second, that true happiness for the best spirits of either sex does not consist in living softly and wasting money and having no order of life, but in regulated purpose and achievement.

Compare that elevated utterance with the ideals of the age just behind us. Take a sentence from Martin Luther:

> The woman's will, as God says, shall be subject to the man, and he shall be her master; that is, the woman shall not live according to her free will . . . and must neither begin nor complete anything without the man; where he is, there must she be, and bend before him as before her master, whom she shall fear, and to whom she shall be subject and obedient.

The same morbid tyranny appears, although without the offense of imputing it to God, in Jean Jacques Rousseau, a preacher of the native equality of men:

> The education of the women should be always relative to the men. To please, to be useful to us, to make us love and esteem them, to educate us when young, to take care of us when grown up, to advise, to console us, to render our lives easy and agreeable: these are the duties of women at all times and what they should be taught in their infancy.

In these quotations the ideal woman, although drained of intelligence and power, appears to retain a monopoly of the distinctly Christian virtues, while the man permits himself, upon Biblical or other authority, the bearing of a despot. If you add to these ethics a certain idealization of that powerless woman, a tendency to erect her enforced feebleness into a holy thing, and add also a sentimental subservience of the man to this enslaved queen in matters of no moment, you have the attitude of the leisure class of our own day, our inheritance of élite sentiment. It is expressed by Lyman Abbott in his little book about the womanly woman:[1]

> When the wedding-day comes she has no desire to omit from the service the promise to obey. . . . She wishes not to submit a reluctant will to his, but to make his will her own. She wishes a sovereign and is glad to have found him. . . . To give up her home, abandon her name, merge her personality in his keeping — this is her glad ambition, and it swallows up all other ambitions.

[1] The Home Builder. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1908.

In this modern example it is still tyrannically demanded of the woman that she confine herself to the virtues of passivity, but the demand is made in morbid idealism rather than mere brutal bigotry.

It ought to be necessary only to point away from these unnatural dogmas to the great judgment of Plato; it ought to be necessary only to recall the high attitude of Jesus.[1] It wants no argument to support the development of women, for a developed personality is a good that justifies itself. The purpose of life is that it be greatly lived, and it can be greatly lived only by great characters. Yet it can be shown, upon a practical demand, for what special purposes we need women of great spirit.

We need them, in the first place, for the cultivation of a certain gentle humility and good sense in their husbands. It is bad for a man's morals to regard himself as the constant purveyor of privilege to a supposedly inferior being. This attitude of condescending overbearance toward women is one of the chief follies of that very immature person, the average man of affairs. And when he tries to make up for it with a great deal of sentimental adoration, he makes it only the more foolish. For to worship that which is held inferior in power and wisdom because it excels in innocence of the actual world, is the old and sure way to falsify your moral sentiments. We hear to-day a good deal of protest against that "double standard of morality," which allows men, but not women, to be vicious without loss of standing. The roots of that evil lie in this false attitude. When we have abolished that double standard of morality which allows the "ideal woman" to be ignorant and silly, we shall see the disappearance of that double standard which allows her husband to be profligate and self-centered. When we have less innocence and more virtue in women, we shall have less vice and more virtue in men. Both changes will be for the better, but the latter more obviously.

[1] His superiority to His age, and especially to Saint Paul, in wisdom upon this point, is shown negatively in all His recorded dealings with women, so far as I remember, but particularly in that interview at the well with a woman, and a Samaritan, which so astonished His followers.

And therefore I put it first, if not greatest, of the uses of the developed woman that she will foster the development of men.

But she will also foster the development of the home and the human family, and make that institution truly beautiful in its nature and great in its effect. That such results will ultimately flow from this political reform, is proved by the outcries which oppose it: "You are bringing dissension into our homes!" "You are striking a blow at the family, which is the cornerstone of society!" — hysterical outcries from persons whose families are already tottering. Certain it is that many of these cornerstones of society are tottering. And why are they tottering? Because there dwell in them triviality and vacuity, which prepare the way of the devil. Who can think that intellectual divergence, disagreement upon a great public question, could disrupt a family worth holding together? On the contrary, nothing save a community of great interests, with agreement and disagreement inevitable, can revive a fading romance. When we have made matrimony synonymous with a high and equal comradeship, we shall have done the one thing that we can do to rescue those families which are the tottering cornerstones of society.

A greater service of the developed woman, however, will be her service in motherhood. For we are in extreme need of mothers who have that wisdom which comes from wide interest, and wide activity, and wide experience of the world, and from no other source under the sun. To hear the sacred duty of motherhood advanced as a reason why woman should *not* become public-spirited and active and effective, you would think we had no greater duty to our race and nation than to rear in innocence a generation of grown-up babies. Keep your mothers in a state of invalid remoteness from genuine life, and who is to arm the young with efficient virtue? Are their mothers only to suckle them, and then for their education pass them over to some one who knows life? To educate a child is to lead him out into the world of his experience; it is not to propel him with ignorant admonitions from the door. A million lives wrecked at the off-go can bear witness to the failure of that method. I think that the

best thing you could add to the mothers of posterity is a little of the rough sagacity and humor of public affairs.

Such are the great reasons for making the sexes equal in politics; such have been the reasons ever since the question was first broached in the age of Pericles. It is not merely a demand for justice upon the part of citizens unrecognized. It is not a plan to prevent corrupt practices in politics, or instill into the people's representatives any virtue other than the virtue of representing the whole people. It is an act demanded by the ideal principle to the proof of which our government is devoted. It is the solution, indicated by that principle, of one of the chief problems of our industrial civilization. And it is a heroic step that we can take with nature in the evolution of a great and symmetrical race.

47. SOME OF THE REASONS AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE.[1]

It has been said that the question of the rights and employment of women should be treated without regard to sex. It should rather be said that those who consider it regardless of sex do not consider it at all. It will not do to exclude from the problem the chief factor in it, and deal with women only as if they were smaller and weaker men. Yet these have been the tactics of the agitators for female suffrage, and to them they mainly owe what success they have had. Hence their extreme sensitiveness whenever the subject is approached on its most essential side. If it could be treated like other subjects, and discussed fully and freely, the cause of the self-styled reformers would have been hopeless from the first. It is happy for them that the relations of women to society cannot be so discussed without giving just offense. Their most important considerations can be touched but slightly; and even then offense will be taken.

Whatever liberty the best civilization may accord to women, they must always be subject to restrictions unknown to the other

[1] By Francis Parkman. Pamphlet issued by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women. This polemic was first published some time between 1876 and 1880.

sex, and they can never dispense with the protecting influences which society throws about them. A man, in lonely places, has nothing to lose but life and property; and he has nerve and muscles to defend them. He is free to go whither he pleases, and run what risks he pleases. Without a radical change in human nature, of which the world has never given the faintest sign, women cannot be equally emancipated. It is not a question of custom, habit, or public opinion; but of an all-pervading force, always formidable in the vast number of men in whom it is not controlled by higher forces. A woman is subject, also, to many other restrictions, more or less stringent, necessary to the maintenance of self-respect and the respect of others, and yet placing her at a disadvantage, as compared to men, in the active work of the world. All this is mere truism, but the plainest truism may be ignored in the interest of a theory or a "cause."

Again, everybody knows that the physical and mental constitution of woman is more delicate than in the other sex; and, we may add, the relations between mind and body are more intimate and subtile. It is true that they are abundantly so in men; but their harder organism is neither so sensitive to disturbing influences nor subject to so many of them.

It is these and other inherent conditions, joined to the engrossing nature of a woman's special functions, that have determined through all time her relative position. What we have just said — and we might have said much more — is meant as a reminder that her greatest limitations are not of human origin. Men did not make them, and they cannot unmake them. Through them, God and Nature have ordained that those subject to them shall not be forced to join in the harsh conflicts of the world militant. It is folly to ignore them, or try to counteract them by political and social quackery. They set at naught legislatures and peoples.

Here we may notice an idea which seems to prevail among the woman suffragists, that they have argued away the causes which have always determined the substantial relations of the sexes. This notion arises mainly from the fact that they have had the debate very much to themselves. Their case is that of the self-made philosopher who attacked the theory of gravitation,

and, because nobody took the trouble to answer him, boasted that he had demolished it, and called it an error of the past.

The frequent low state of health among American women is a fact as undeniable as it is deplorable.

In this condition of things, what do certain women demand for the good of their sex? To add to the excitements that are wasting them other and greater excitements, and to cares too much for their strength other and greater cares. Because they cannot do their own work, to require them to add to it the work of men, and launch them into the turmoil where the most robust sometimes fail. It is much as if a man in a state of nervous exhaustion were told by his physician to enter at once for a foot race or a boxing match.

To hold the man responsible and yet deprive him of power is neither just nor rational. The man is the natural head of the family, and is responsible for its maintenance and order. Hence he ought to control the social and business agencies which are essential to the successful discharge of the trust imposed upon him. If he is deprived of any part of this control, he should be freed also in the same measure from the responsibilities attached to it.

Woman suffrage must have one of two effects. If, as many of its advocates complain, women are subservient to men, and do nothing but what they desire, then woman suffrage will have no other result than to increase the power of the other sex; if, on the other hand, women vote as they see fit, without regarding their husbands, then unhappy marriages will be multiplied and divorces redoubled. We cannot afford to add to the elements of domestic unhappiness.

One of the chief dangers of popular government is that of inconsiderate and rash legislation. In impatience to be rid of one evil, ulterior consequences are apt to be forgotten. In the haste to redress one wrong, a door may be opened to many. This danger would be increased immeasurably if the most impulsive and excitable half of humanity had an equal voice in the making of laws, and in the administration of them. Abstract right would then be made to prevail after a fashion somewhat startling. A lady of intelligence and admirable intentions, an ardent partisan

on principles of pure humanitarianism, confessed that, in the last presidential election, Florida had given a majority for the Democrats; but insisted that it was right to count it for Hayes, because other States had been counted wrongfully for Tilden. It was impossible to make her comprehend that government conducted on such principles would end in anarchy. In politics, the virtues of women would sometimes be as dangerous as their faults.

If the better class of women flatter themselves that they can control the others, they are doomed to disappointment. They will be outvoted in their own kitchens, without reckoning the agglomerations of poverty, ignorance, and vice, that form a startling proportion of our city populations. It is here that the male vote alone threatens our system with its darkest perils. The female vote would enormously increase the evil, for it is often more numerous, always more impulsive and less subject to reason, and almost devoid of the sense of responsibility. Here the bad politician would find his richest resources. He could not reach the better class of female voters, but the rest would be ready to his hand. Three fourths of them, when not urged by some pressing need or contagious passion, would be moved, not by principles, but by personal predilections.

It is not woman's virtues that would be prominent or influential in the political arena. They would shun it by an invincible repulsion; and the opposite qualities would be drawn into it. The Washington lobby has given us some means of judging what we may expect from the woman "inside politics." If politics are to be purified by artfulness, effrontery, insensibility, a pushing self-assertion, and a glib tongue, then we may look for regeneration; for the typical female politician will be richly endowed with all these gifts.

Thus accoutered for the conflict, she may fairly hope to have the better of her masculine antagonist. A woman has the inalienable right of attacking without being attacked in turn. She may strike, but must not be struck, either literally or figuratively. Most women refrain from abusing their privilege of noncombatants; but there are those in whom the sense of impunity breeds the cowardly courage of the virago.

In reckoning the resources of the female politicians, there is one which can by no means be left out. None know better than women the potency of feminine charms aided by feminine arts. The woman "inside politics" will not fail to make use of an influence so subtile and strong, and of which the management is peculiarly suited to her talents. If — and the contingency is in the highest degree probable — she is not gifted with charms of her own, she will have no difficulty in finding and using others of her sex who are. If report is to be trusted, Delilah has already spread her snares for the congressional Samson; and the power before which the wise fail and the mighty fall has been invoked against the sages and heroes of the Capitol. When "woman" is fairly "inside politics," the sensation press will reap a harvest of scandals more lucrative to itself than profitable to public morals. And, as the zeal of one class of female reformers has been, and no doubt will be, largely directed to their grievances in matters of sex, we shall have shrill-tongued discussions of subjects which had far better be let alone.

It may be said that the advocates of female suffrage do not look to political women for the purifying of politics, but to the votes of the sex at large. The two, however, cannot be separated. It should be remembered that the question is not of a limited and select female suffrage, but of a universal one. To limit would be impossible. It would seek the broadest areas and the lowest depths, and spread itself through the marshes and malarious pools of society.

Again, one of the chief arguments of the agitators is that government without the consent of the governed is opposed to inalienable right. But most women, including those of the best capacity and worth, fully consent that their fathers, husbands, brothers, or friends, shall be their political representatives; and no exhortation or teasing has induced them to withhold their consent. Nor is this surprising; for a woman is generally represented in a far truer and more intimate sense by her male relative than is this relative by the candidate to whom he gives his vote, commonly without knowing him, and often with dissent from many of his views.

Nothing is more certain than that women will have the suffrage if they ever want it; for when they want it, men will give it to them, regardless of consequences. A more than readiness on the part of men to conform to the wishes of the other sex is a national trait in America, though whether it would survive the advent of the female politician is matter for reflection. We venture to remind those who demand woman suffrage as a right that, even if it were so, the great majority of intelligent women could judge for themselves whether to exercise it, better than the few who assume to teach them their duty.

The agitators know well that, in spite of their persistent importunity, the majority of women are averse to the suffrage. . . . A small number of women have spent their time for several decades in ceaseless demands for suffrage, but they have lost their best argument in failing to show that they are prepared to use the franchise when they have got it. A single sound and useful contribution to one side or the other of any question of current politics — the tariff, specie payments, the silver bill, civil-service reform, railroad monopoly, capital and labor, or a half score of other matters — would have done more for their cause than years of empty agitation.

The agitators say that no reason can be given why women should not take a direct part in politics, except that they have never done so. There are other reasons, and strong ones, in abundance. But this particular one is nevertheless good. All usages, laws, and institutions have risen and perished, and risen and perished again. Their history is the history of mutability itself. But, from the earliest records of mankind down to this moment, in every race and every form or degree of civilization or barbarism, the relative position of the sexes has been essentially the same, with exceptions so feeble, rare, and transient that they only prove the rule. Such permanence in the foundation of society, while all that rests upon it has passed from change to change, is proof in itself that this foundation lies deep in the essential nature of things. It is idle to prate of the old time that has passed away and the new time that is coming. The "new time" can no more stir the basis of human nature than it can stop the movement of the earth.

The cause of this permanence is obvious. Women have great special tasks assigned them in the work of life, and men have not. To these tasks their whole nature, moral and physical, is adjusted. There is scarcely a distinctive quality of women that has not a direct or indirect bearing upon them. Everything else in their existence is subordinated to the indispensable functions of continuing and rearing the human race; and, during the best years of life, this work, fully discharged, leaves little room for any other. Rightly considered, it is a work no less dignified than essential. It is the root and stem of national existence, while the occupations of men are but the leaves and branches. On women of the intelligent and instructed classes depends the future of the nation. If they are sound in body and mind, impart this soundness to a numerous offspring, and rear them to a sense of responsibility and duty, there are no national evils that we cannot overcome. If they fail to do this their part, then the masses of the coarse and unintelligent, always of rapid increase, will overwhelm us and our institutions. When these indispensable duties are fully discharged, then the suffrage agitators may ask with better grace, if not with more reason, that they may share the political functions of men.

It has been claimed as a right that woman should vote. It is no right, but a wrong, that a small number of women should impose on all the rest political duties which there is no call for their assuming, which they do not want to assume, and which, if duly discharged, would be a cruel and intolerable burden. This pretense of the female suffragists was reduced to an absurdity when some of them gravely affirmed that, if a single woman wanted to vote, all the others ought to be required to do so.

Government by doctrines of abstract right, of which the French Revolution set the example and bore the fruits, involves enormous danger and injustice. No political right is absolute and of universal application. Each has its conditions, qualifications, and limitations. If these are disregarded, one right collides with another, or with many others. Even a man's right to liberty is subject to the condition that he does not use it to infringe the rights of his neighbors. It is in the concrete, and not in the

abstract, that rights prevail in every sound and wholesome society. They are applied where they are applicable. A government of glittering generalities quickly destroys itself. The object of government is the accomplishment of a certain result, the greatest good of the governed; and the ways of reaching it vary in different countries and different social conditions. Neither liberty nor the suffrage are the end; they are nothing but means to reach it; and each should be used to the extent in which it is best adapted to its purpose. If the voting of women conduces to the greatest good of the community, then they ought to vote, and otherwise they ought not. The question of female suffrage thus becomes a practical question, and not one of declamation.

What would be the results of the general application of the so-called right to vote, a right which, if it exists at all, must be common to all mankind? Suppose that the populations of Turkey, the Sudan, or Zululand were to attempt to exercise it and govern themselves by universal popular suffrage. The consequence would be anarchy, and a quick return to despotism as a relief. The same would be the case, in less degree, among peoples more civilized, yet not trained to self-government by the habits and experience of generations. In fact, there are but a few of the most advanced nations in whom the universal exercise of the pretended "inalienable right" to vote would not produce political and social convulsions. The truth is this: If the exercise of the suffrage by any individual or body of individuals involves detriment to the whole people, then the right to exercise it does not exist.

It is the right and the duty of the people to provide itself with good government, and this great practical right and duty is imperative and paramount; whatever conflicts with it must give way. The air-blown theory of inalienable right is unworthy the good sense of the American people. The most rational even of the suffragists themselves have ceased to rely on it.

Many women of sense and intelligence are influenced by the fact that the woman-suffrage movement boasts itself a movement of progress, and by a wish to be on the liberal or progressive side. But the boast is unfounded. Progress, to be genuine, must be in

accord with natural law. If it is not, it ends in failure and retrogression. To give women a thorough and wholesome training both of body and mind; to prepare such of them as have strength and opportunity for various occupations different from what they usually exercise, and above all for the practice of medicine, in which we believe that they may render valuable service; to rear them in more serious views of life and its responsibilities, are all in the way of normal and healthy development: but to plunge them into politics, where they are not needed and for which they are unfit, would be scarcely more a movement of progress than to force them to bear arms and fight.

The social power of women has grown with the growth of civilization, but their political power has diminished. In former times and under low social conditions, women have occasionally had a degree of power in public affairs unknown in the foremost nations of the modern world. The most savage tribes on this continent, the Six Nations of New York, listened, in solemn assembly, to the counsels of its matrons, with a deference that has no parallel among its civilized successors. The people of ancient Lycia, at a time when they were semibarbarians, gave such power to their women that they were reported to live under a gynecocracy, or female government. The word gynecocracy, by the way, belongs to antiquity. It has no application in modern life; and, in the past, its applications were found, not in the higher developments of ancient society, but in the lower. Four hundred years before Christ, the question of giving political power to women was agitated among the most civilized of ancient peoples, the Athenians, and they would not follow the example of their barbarian neighbors.

The advocates of woman suffrage have ridiculed the idea of any connection between voting and the capacity to fight. Their attitude in this matter shows the absence of reflection on questions of government, or the inability to form rational judgment upon them. In fact, it is with nearly all of them a matter, not of reason, but of sentiment.

The human race consists of two equal parts, the combatant and the noncombatant, and these parts are separated by the line of sex. It is true that some men are permanently disabled from

fighting, and others may be disabled in one year or one month, and fit to bear arms in the next; but the general fact remains that men are the fighting half of humanity, and women are not. Fundamental laws are made in reference to aggregates of persons, and not to individual exceptions; and it would be absurd to exact a surgeon's certificate of military competency from every voter at the polls. It is enough that he belongs to a body which, as a whole, can and will fight. The question remains, What has this to do with voting? It has a great deal to do with it, and above all in a government purely popular.

Since history began, no government ever sustained itself long unless it could command the physical force of the nation; and this, whether the form of government was despotism, constitutional monarchy, or democracy. The despot controls the army which compels the people to obey; the king and parliament control the force of the kingdom, and malcontents dare not rise in insurrection till they think they have drawn away an equal or greater share of it. Finally, the majority in a democratic republic feels secure that its enactments will take effect, because the defeated minority, even if it does not respect law, will respect a force greater than its own. But suppose the majority to consist chiefly of women. Then legality would be on one side and power on the other. The majority would have the law, and the minority the courage and strength. Hence, in times of political excitement, when passions were roused and great interests were at stake, the majority, that is, the legal authority, would need the help of a standing army. Without such support the possession of the suffrage by the noncombatant half of the nation would greatly increase the chances of civil discord. Once in our history a minority rose against the majority, in the belief that it could outfight it. This would happen often if the minority, as in the supposed case of woman suffrage, had not only the belief but the certainty that it could master the majority. It may not be creditable to human nature that if we would have a stable government it is necessary to keep the balance of power on the side of law; but the business of government is to shape itself to the actual, and not the ideal or millennial, condition of mankind.

Suppose, again, a foreign war in which the sympathies of our women were enlisted on one side or the other. Suppose them to vote against the judgment of the men that we should take part in it; or, in other words, that their male fellow citizens should fight whether they liked it or not. Would the men be likely to obey?

There is another reason why the giving of the suffrage to women would tend to civil discord. In the politics of the future, the predominant, if not the engrossing, questions will be to all appearance those of finance and the relations of labor and capital. From the nature of their occupations, as well as other causes, women in general are ignorant of these matters, and not well fitted to deal with them. They require an experience, a careful attention, a deliberation and coolness of judgment, and a freedom from passion, so rare that at the best their political treatment is full of difficulty and danger. If these qualities are rare in men, they are still more so in women, and feminine instinct will not in the present case supply their place. The peculiar danger of these questions is that they raise class animosities, and tend to set the poor against the rich and the rich against the poor. They become questions of social antagonism. Now, most of us have had occasion to observe how strong the social rivalries and animosities of women are. They far exceed those of men. If, in the strife between labor and capital, which, without great self-restraint on both sides, is likely to be a fierce one, women should be called to an active part, the effect would be like throwing pitch and resin into the fire. The wives and daughters of the poor would bring into the contest a wrathful jealousy and hate against the wives and daughters of the rich, far more vehement than the corresponding passions in their husbands and brothers.

The real issue is this: Is the object of government the good of the governed, or is it not? A late writer on woman suffrage says that it is not. According to her, the object of government is to give his or her rights to everybody. Others among the agitators do not venture either on this flat denial or this brave assertion, but only hover about them with longing looks. Virtually they maintain that the object of government is the realization of certain ideas or theories. They believe in principles, and so

do we; they believe in rights, and so do we. But as the sublime may pass into the ridiculous, so the best principles may be transported into regions of folly or diabolism. There are minds so constituted that they can never stop till they have run every virtue into its correlative weakness or vice. Government should be guided by principles; but they should be sane and not crazy, sober and not drunk. They should walk on solid ground, and not roam the clouds hanging to a bag of gas.

Rights may be real or unreal. Principles may be true or false; but even the best and truest cannot safely be pushed too far, or in the wrong direction. The principle of truth itself may be carried into absurdity. The saying is old that truth should not be spoken at all times; and those whom a sick conscience worries into habitual violation of the maxim are imbeciles and nuisances. Religion may pass into morbid enthusiasm or wild fanaticism, and turn from a blessing to a curse. So the best of political principles must be kept within bounds of reason, or they will work mischief. That greatest and most difficult of sciences, the science of government, dealing with interests so delicate, complicated, and antagonistic, becomes a perilous guide when it deserts the ways of temperance.

The suffragists' idea of government is not practical, but utterly unpractical. It is not American, but French. It is that government of abstractions and generalities which found its realization in the French Revolution, and its apostle in the depraved and half-crazy man of genius, Jean Jacques Rousseau. The French had an excuse for their frenzy in the crushing oppression they had just flung off and in their inexperience of freedom. We have no excuse. Since the nation began we have been free and our liberty is in danger from nothing but its own excesses. Since France learned to subject the ideas of Rousseau to the principles of stable freedom embodied in the parliamentary government of England and in our own republicanism, she has emerged from alternate tumult and despotism to enter the paths of hope and progress.

The government of abstractions has been called, sometimes the *a priori*, and sometimes the sentimental, method. We object to

this last term, unless it is carefully defined. Sentiments, like principles, enter into the life of nations as well as that of individuals; and they are vital to both. But they should be healthy, and not morbid; rational, and not extravagant. It is not common sense alone that makes the greatness of states; neither is it sentiments and principles alone. It is these last joined with reason, reflection, and moderation. Through this union it is that one small island has become the mighty mother of nations; and it is because we ourselves, her greatest offspring, have chosen the paths of Hampden, Washington, and Franklin, and not those of Rousseau, that we have passed safe through every danger, and become the wonder and despair of despotism.

Out of the wholesome fruits of the earth, and the staff of life itself, the perverse chemistry of man distills delirious vapors, which, condensed and bottled, exalt his brain with glorious fantasies, and then leave him in the mud. So it is with the unhappy suffragists. From the sober words of our ancestors they extract the means of mental inebriety. Because the fathers of the republic gave certain reasons to emphasize their creed that America should not be taxed because America was not represented in the British Parliament, they cry out that we must fling open the floodgates to vaster tides of ignorance and folly, strengthen the evil of our system and weaken the good, feed old abuses, hatch new ones, and expose all our large cities — we speak with deliberate conviction — to the risk of anarchy.[1]

Neither Congress, nor the States, nor the united voice of the whole people could permanently change the essential relations of the sexes. Universal female suffrage, even if decreed, would undo itself in time; but the attempt to establish it would work deplorable mischief. The question is, whether the persistency of a few agitators shall plunge us blindfold into the most reckless of all experiments; whether we shall adopt this supreme device for developing the defects of women, and demolish their real

[1] Counting Illinois, in which women were in 1913 granted the right to vote for presidential electors and for statutory municipal, township, and county officers, there are now (1916) over 4,000,000 women in the United States alone who have the franchise. — Ed.

power to build an ugly mockery instead. For the sake of womanhood, let us hope not. In spite of the effect on the popular mind of the incessant repetition of a few trite fallacies, and in spite of the squeamishness that prevents the vast majority averse to the movement from uttering a word against it, let us trust that the good sense of the American people will vindicate itself against this most unnatural and pestilent revolution. In the full and normal development of womanhood lie the best interests of the world. Let us labor earnestly for it; and, that we may not labor in vain, let us save women from the barren perturbations of American politics. Let us respect them; and, that we may do so, let us pray for deliverance from female suffrage.

CHAPTER XII

THE MODERN WOMAN MOVEMENT: ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Woman and the occupations, 493. — Effect of society life and fashion upon women, 509. — How home conditions react upon the family, 521. — Woman service, 527. — The economic dependence of women, 528. — The postgraduate mother, 535.

[The statutory modifications of the common law, alluded to in the preceding chapter,[1] which gradually gave to women a legal personality, with the right to own and control property, make contracts, to sue and be sued, to devise property by will, etc., have been due in large part, no doubt, to the development of an elementary sense of justice toward women, but this was stimulated greatly by the changed economic condition of women brought about by the Industrial Revolution. The transformation of methods of production from the old domestic system to the factory régime, bringing in its train as it necessarily did the transference of millions of unmarried girls and women from the unpaid industry of the old industrial household to the paid work of the factory and shop, is the historical cause of much that is of fundamental significance in the present woman movement. It is one reason, for instance, why the argument for equal suffrage has shifted from the early emphasis on natural rights to the modern plea for suffrage as a social expediency and a social justice in view of the fact that so many millions of women are at work outside the home and under conditions that demand the franchise as a matter of protection.

The entrance of women into industry, mercantile and clerical pursuits, and the professions constitutes one of the most profound economic and social changes in history. It has given rise to a set of conditions which it is the task of those actively engaged

[1] Page 447.

in finding solutions for the many-faceted labor problem to correct — long hours, less than subsistence wages, lack of organization and poor bargaining capacity, unsanitary and unfair conditions of work, and the like. Into these specific matters, despite their present signal importance to the welfare of the working women and to society as a whole, this book does not attempt to enter. The change in woman's economic status has far-reaching consequences, which must carry those who are concerned not only with immediate problems but with the future long-run development and welfare of society far beyond the confines of the question of pecuniary justice. Attention is here therefore the rather directed to certain suggestions as to the social and ethical consequences of the old domestic traditions and of the new industrial opportunities (or lack of them, as the case may be) with regard to the character and ambitions and social economy of girls and women; to the larger psychological and ethical influence of work outside the home; to the deeply important question as to whether it is possible for women in any large number to combine and harmonize the function of maternity with a specialized economic work other than housekeeping; and to the ethics of economic dependence and economic independence, respectively. Thought along these lines should not only make clear the economic and ethical causes which lie back of the power and breadth of the present complex and not wholly unified feminist movement, but lead to some basis of scientific and ethical judgment as to the aim and content of the movement.]

48. WOMAN AND THE OCCUPATIONS [1]

The women who are interested in suffrage for their sex, and who have shown themselves keen in utilizing all the arguments in favor of this movement, have grasped at the idea set forth by anthropologists that the women of early society occupied a prominent place in the political life of those times. And it is certainly true that the women of savage and barbarous societies and even

[1] By W. I. Thomas. Adapted from the *American Magazine*, September, 1909, pp. 463–470.

the women of our own historical times have sometimes had a more honorable and functional if not a more romantic position than the women of to-day. But I notice that the women who are using this argument for the advancement of woman's suffrage are ignoring the fact that the women had even a more important relation to the occupational than to the political life of those times. It is true that the women of the Wyandot tribe of Indians constituted four fifths of the civil council of that tribe, but they had no voice in the military council, and the recognition which they had was due to the fact that about four fifths of the tribal industries were in their hands, in addition to the main care of the children. Tacitus states that the ancient Germans "consulted their women in all grave matters," but it is also true that in these times the women performed all the labors which built up society, except only the fighting. Before the Roman law had modified the German life, the woman was in possession of all the household goods, and in fact these could be inherited only by women, never by men. In somewhat later times, as we see from a collection of *laws* called the *Sachsenspiegel*, the man's goods were his sword, his harness, and his horse. As a further concession he had two dishes, a towel, a tablecloth, and a piece of bedding, which had originally been his war blanket.

The women of these times built the houses, cultivated and owned the land, and did the manufacturing, with such assistance as they could get from the men. They created the goods, and men had as yet devised no means of dislodging them from the position of importance to which their labors had elevated them. No one would wish to restore a state of society where the women bore the whole industrial burden, but it is noticeable that the effect of these varied occupational activities on early women was excellent, both in respect to their character and their social position. They were functional, strong, and normal, and they had a dignity and respect worthy of their work. And it is also significant that wherever women have some definite occupational interests in the society of to-day, they still retain this real dignity and respect, and they retain them nowhere else. In colonial and frontier life, and likewise in the poor and the not-very-rich classes

of society in general, woman is still functional and is more likely to be accepted as an individual. . . . The most pitiful and the most just cry which I have heard from women comes from peasant Russia. The women of the three villages of Tver recently sent a message to the Duma begging that they should have the same rights as the men. "Till now," they said, "even though we were beaten sometimes, still we decided various matters together. . . . Have pity on us, in the name of God! We had formerly the same rulers as our husbands. Now our husbands are going to write the laws for us." These women are not supported by their husbands and they cannot apprehend why they should be ruled by them.

Women have lost their importance in society and their natural character as they have been withdrawn from the real work of society, and they have been particularly and wholly excluded from politics because politics has been and continues to be a continuation of those fighting activities with which women have never had anything to do. And they will regain and maintain their normal position in society in just the proportion that they regain their relation to the activities of society. The glorification of fighting, with its attendant contempt for labor, is one of the worst turns taken in the development of our society. As early as Tacitus the German warrior considered it "a dull and stupid thing to painfully accumulate by the sweat of his brow what might be won with a little blood." And some centuries later we find the sentiment commonly accepted that work was not "honest" in a "gentleman." War was the gentlemanly occupation — the "great game" it is constantly called in the old literature — and not only the laborer but the scholar, the "clerk" as they called him, was "a thing of naught." This sentiment was also the direct forerunner of that distemper which we call romanticism toward women. The lines of Guido Guinicelli,

> Before the gentle heart in Nature's scheme
> Love was not, nor the gentle heart ere Love,

express the general sentiment that refined feeling and passion were a monopoly of the aristocracy, and it was demanded that

the women of the aristocracy should be as delicate as this sentiment. The true lady was the prize of the true gentleman, and that must remain her only occupation.

But in the meantime our ideas of value have been revolutionized. We now appreciate intelligence more highly than fighting, and creative activity more than "conspicuous leisure," and we have a growing conception of the dignity of labor. In America, particularly, the conception of the value and even the obligation of labor has grown until the son of the rich man is beginning to be ashamed not to work, just as he was formerly ashamed to work. The old feeling has survived only in the tendency to exempt women from labor where this is economically possible, to keep them at any rate as the sign of an aristocratic grade. We are still ashamed of the mention of work in connection with the women for whom we are responsible.

At the same time the spirit of democracy and individualism is not a thing of applicability to men alone. Without any logical design we have been educating our girls as well as our boys, and women are beginning to wish to resume their personality in precisely the same way that "the masses" yearned for this and achieved it. Indeed, the well-born or educated women who have so far freed themselves from habit and tradition as to enter the world as individuals, no longer find any serious opposition, and they are succeeding in the arts and professions at least as well as men would succeed if they had been to the same degree deprived of personality and limited in opportunity.

But the question of woman's work is no longer one of sentiment alone. Under our individualistic and competitive industrial system men are no longer able to keep their women or even their children at home. Both Mr. Booth and Mr. Rowntree estimate that out of a population of 40,000,000 in Great Britain, 12,000,000 are either under or on the poverty line. The women and even the children are forced to work, because the present organization of society is no longer able to feed them. And just here transpires one of the saddest chapters in human history. The machine which man invented to relieve him of labor and to produce value more rapidly has led to the factory system of

industry, and the women and children are forced to follow the work to the factory. The machine is a wonderful expression of man's ingenuity, of his effort to create an artificial workman, to whom no wages have to be paid, but it falls just short of human intelligence. It has no discriminative judgment, no control of the work as a whole. It can only finish the work handed out to it, but it does this with superhuman energy. The manufacturer has, then, to purchase enough intelligence to supplement the machine, and he secures as low a grade of this as the nature of the machine will permit. The child, the immigrant, and the woman are frequently adequate to furnish that oversight and judgment necessary to supplement the activity of the machine, and the more ignorant and necessitous the human being the more the profit to the industry. But now comes the ironical and pitiful part. The machine which was invented to save human energy, and which is so great a boon when the individual controls it, is a terrible thing when it controls the individual. Power-driven, it has almost no limit to its speed, and no limit whatever to its endurance, and it has no nerves. When, therefore, under the pressure of business competition the machine is speeded up and the girl operating it is speeded up to its pace, we have finally a situation in which the machine destroys the worker.

Mrs. Kelley says of the sewing trade: "In the best factories the speed of the sewing machines has been increased so that they set, in 1905, twice as many stitches in a minute as they did in 1899. Machines which formerly carried one needle now carry from two to ten, sewing parallel seams. . . . Thus a girl using one of these machines is now responsible for twice as many stitches at the least and for twenty times as many at the most as in 1899. Some girls are not capable of the sustained speed involved in this improvement, and are no longer eligible for this occupation. Those who continue in the trade are required to feed twice as many garments to the machine as were required five years ago. The strain upon their eyes is, however, far more than twice what it was before the improvement. In the case of machines carrying multiple needles this is obvious; but it is true of the single-needle machines also. It is the duty of the operator

to watch the needle so intently as to discern the irregularity caused by a broken thread or broken needle, and to stop the machinery by pressing an electric button before any threads are cut by the broken needle or any stitches of the seam are omitted because of the broken thread. Now when the machine was 2,200 stitches a minute, as was the case in 1899, the writer, whose eyes are unusually keen, could see the needle when the machine was in motion. At the present speed the writer, whose eyes have remained unimpaired, is wholly unable to see the needle, discerning merely the steady gleam of light where it is in motion. To meet this difficulty . . . it is now the custom to suspend an electric light directly above the machine, so that a ray strikes the needle. The strain upon the eyes of the operators is almost intolerable, and a further winnowing out of the women eligible for this occupation follows." When a girl cannot keep the pace she is thrown out. The manufacturer cannot afford to keep a girl at a costly machine when the machine is not producing at a maximum rate. This would be to have a part of his plant lying idle. The manufacturers say: "If a girl cannot earn six dollars a week at machine work, after she has been doing it from six weeks to three months, she is not adapted to the work, and it is better to put another girl at her machine." And on the other hand, a comment frequently made by the girls is: "She got too slow She could n't keep up with her machine any longer." It amounts to this, that the girl can earn a living wage, if she is unusually gifted, *until she is worn out.*

It is, I believe, considered good business policy in some cases to work a horse to death, to wear him out fast, and take another. Certainly it would be a good policy to do so if horses had a very trifling value and could be had in unlimited quantities. At any rate it is good business to wear girls out in this way, for the initial outlay in their case is nothing at all, and they can be had in unlimited numbers. Professor James's theory of "getting your second wind," and "tapping unused reservoirs of energy" is doubtless sound psychology, up to the point where he leaves it, but there is a limit to it, and evidently working under great strain is advantageous only if the strain is relieved by considerable

intervals of rest and recuperation. This is the condition under which the artist works preferably, and is the most favorable one for creative work. But the girl paced by the machine has no considerable interval, and is doomed to break down, or to be pushed to a lower economic level. Her only other chance is marriage. The machine is the most effective device for "speeding up," because it puts more strain on the worker than he can put on himself without it, but in all "piecework" the operator is under heavy strain. There are factories in Chicago where the rate of pay per hundred pieces is one cent. Of course, the work passes through many hands, and each operation is simple, but a hundred operations of any kind for one cent is a great deal. A humane employer in Chicago recently looked into the case of a girl who had quit work in his factory, and found that she had been earning ninety-eight cents a week. And machine or no machine, our treatment of the working girl, particularly the factory girl, is scandalously out of harmony not only with our romanticism but with our plain human sentiments. I will not go into the budget which I have before me of a French working girl whose annual wage is $80, nor refer to the small earnings of the English factory girls whose wage is lower than that in this country, and usually about half that received by men for the same work.

"In Perth and Bungay, for instance, the women put in a bill at the end of each week, worked out on the men's scale. The cashier then divides the total by two, and pays the women accordingly." In London women are still working nineteen hours for one shilling, and shirts are still being made for seven and a half pence per dozen. These distressing conditions are well known, and they are actually a source of great concern to employers.

The employer under the competitive system is as helpless as the operative. He does not profit by the low wages, but the public, the "innocent bystander," gets the benefit. The employer of the girl who had received only ninety-eight cents a week allowed the operatives on a large contract of long standing to run their wages up to $16 and $18 a week (they had become so expert in the course of time), with result that another firm bid in the contract, amounting to many thousands of dollars annually.

Admitting, then, that conditions are very bad in certain of the occupations and that they are particularly and horribly bad for woman, is it wise for her to push out into this world? Is it not rather a world with which she should have nothing to do except to stay out of it or get away from it as fast as possible? Or admitting that certain women are being forced into work and even that they have complicated the industrial situation, should not the women of leisure and social position, who are economically provided for, refrain from entering or meddling?

Well, this is not fundamentally a part of the woman question at all, except to the extent that women have always been subject to exploitation by men, and that they are particularly helpless at present because our traditions and their training make them of little economic worth when they are thrown on the world. A woman has no safe and recognized place in society except as a dependent. But the whole question is broader than woman. When we come to examine society as a whole, and particularly our great industrial centers — the long hours and inadequate pay for both men and women, the sweating system, "unsanitary housing, poisonous sewage, contaminated water, infant mortality, the spread of contagion, adulterated food, impure milk, smoke-laden air, ill-ventilated factories, dangerous occupations, juvenile crime, unwholesome crowding, prostitution, and drunkenness" — we must conclude that no one of these conditions stands alone, but all are symptoms of a very bad general social situation — that society has not been looked after in these points wisely, affectionately, and honestly. This is due partly to greed, partly to helpless ignorance, and partly to sheer neglect of what was no one's particular business.

One of the standard arguments of those who believe in the low and essentially unimprovable mental condition of the savage is that he has no foresight, that he kills the emu chicken when it weighs only three pounds, that he fails to throw back the small fry when fishing, that with him it is either a feast or a famine, and that in general he thoughtlessly depletes his environment. But when we talk in this way we fail to recognize that a sense of thrift, an ability to spare and save, and to postpone an immediate satisfaction for the sake of improved conditions in the

future, is one of the hardest and latest lessons learned by the white race, and one only incompletely learned as yet. How much game have we spared in order to let it grow up? The wanton destruction of game and wholesale denudation of forests in this country represent heedlessness on a scale unexampled among the savages. And while we have learned the lesson of economy in a particularistic and industrial way we have failed to develop the idea that the individual has a social value which we cannot afford to destroy, and that in using up the life of the working girl and in the tolerance of an evil and destructive environment we are playing havoc with our own property. In certain of our great industrial organizations, indeed, the employer is already beginning to recognize that it is bad business to put the employee under an unendurable strain. The engineers on the eighteen-hour trains of the Pennsylvania road between Chicago and New York work only ten days in a month, and only reasonable hours on those days. The operative in this case is a valuable part of a valuable plant, not easily replaced and too precious to be wantonly destroyed or worked out in the shortest possible time.

By taking a temporary and shortsighted advantage of the numerosity, cheapness, and helplessness of women and girls we are in fact doing business on a ruinous principle. I do not believe that anyone in the world has a program that would immediately set these matters right, nor that any committee of persons could offhand formulate such a program. The only way is to work point by point, by legislation, sentiment, experiment, education, by the development of good will, and the substitution of simpler standards of living among the more fortunate classes. And I think that even more women than men, entirely uninvited and often unwelcome, have been working for some years at these questions, and they have displayed a wonderful amount of energy, good will, patience, and ability. As a matter of fact that occupation or rather that complex of activities which would conserve those interests of society so sadly neglected by politics has been called by Miss Addams "civic housekeeping." She says: "A city is in many respects a great business corporation, but in other respects it is enlarged housekeeping. If American cities have

failed in the first, partly because officeholders have carried with them the predatory instinct learned in competitive business, and cannot help 'working a good thing,' when they have an opportunity, may we not say that city housekeeping has failed partly because women, the traditional housekeepers, have not been consulted as to its multiform activities? The men of the city have been carelessly indifferent to much of this civic housekeeping, as they have always been indifferent to the details of the household."

It is idle, indeed, to speak of the exclusion of women from the occupations. They are entering them from the top and from the bottom. The ill-conditioned are being forced into them and the well-conditioned — those whom men have been educating while deploring the use of their education — are already entering them in considerable numbers at the top. And they are finding new and characteristic ways of giving to society that reserve of affection and nurture which they have heretofore reserved for the child and the home.

In the year 1900 there were more than 5,000,000 women gainfully employed in the United States (as against 23,753,836 men),[1] the rate of increase between 1890 and 1900 of the number of women so employed was much greater than the corresponding increase for the employment of men (for women 32.8 per cent; for men 21.9 per cent), and the number of women gainfully employed increased more rapidly in the decade than the female population. So, whether we wish it or not, the old order is already changing rapidly. It is too late to theorize on this point. It means simply that the old idea that all women should live on the activities of men and should limit their own interests to the bearing and rearing of children has gone to pieces.

But what of the home? Shall the married woman and the mother undertake anything seriously outside the home? Yes, I think it is psychologically, if not economically, necessary that she should be no exception. Let us for a moment assume that woman's participation in industry and the professions is of no

[1] The number of women gainfully employed in 1910 was 8,075,772, as against 30,091,564 men. — Ed.

importance from the economic standpoint, that men and machines are capable of producing enough wealth for the family. And let us recognize that from the human standpoint nature has been very unfair to woman, that her life is not a thing of her own but is imperiously demanded by the coming generation, that "bearing the torch of life" is a more important social function than nature has intrusted to any man, and that there is nothing good enough for woman within the power of man to confer on her. Yet incarceration within the home is the greatest curse that could overtake the nervous system and the mind of woman.

The question is, in fact, fundamentally one of psychology, and from this standpoint there is no doubt that our girls and women are viciously treated, or, let us say, they are in a vicious psychological situation, for nobody bears them any ill will. A principle firmly established in modern psychology is that there can be no high order of intelligence without a preponderating number of voluntary acts. The lower forms of life have no real choice. They have habitual reactions to a somewhat uniform outside world, but the outside world controls them, in the sense that they are *obliged* to respond to *all* stimulations. The moth does not plan to fly into the flame, but it is drawn in as the iron filing is drawn by the magnet. It has no mental machinery and no will to choose or resist — and this we may call the fatalistic stage of animal life. At the other end of the scale, the human mind legislates on all suggestions coming from without. And it is only on this principle of selecting some stimulations and rejecting others, of sitting still and picking and choosing, that you have freedom of action, and a situation in which the individual controls the outside world instead of being controlled by it.

Now it is possible to view the whole of human history from the standpoint of the proportion of willed over unwilled acts, of the preponderance of liberty over authority. The savage is popularly regarded as enjoying a state of freedom and irresponsibility, but it would be possible to show, as it has often been shown, that he is the most unfree person in the world. His obligation to the customs of his society, his magical ideas of what he must do and what he may not do, and his positive horror of departure from

the usual are very nearly absolutely binding. He views all nonconformity from the same standpoint of prejudice and habituation from which we view such a matter as carrying food to the mouth with a knife. All of his acts have been socially predetermined for him. With the growth of great states and great religious systems, — with their absolutism, despotism, aristocracy, omniscience, omnipotence, predestination, foreordination, will of god, will of the king, will of the pope, will of the priest, will of the master, — we have the power of choice assumed by a few members of society and negatived and paralyzed in the minds of the masses. The most attractive formulation of this practice in politics was that the best form of government is a wise and benevolent despotism, and that the history of the world is the fulfilling of the will of God. For these views we have substituted others — that the best government is a government of the people, for the people, by the people, and that the history of the world is a record of the mind and will of man. And we have gone so far as revolutions to establish these newer ideals. To man we grant a free personality and a free choice, but to woman we conceded only the status of infancy and tutelage — affectionate but psychologically as vicious as political or ecclesiastical absolutism.

There is a comfortable side to the theory that the wise and beneficent ruler will see that you suffer nothing in this world, on the sole condition of your obedience, and that holy men will mediate for you an eternal bliss on the sole condition of conformity to the will and doctrine of the church, and this sentiment of attaining the good for others, of conferring it on them instead of letting them work it out for themselves, has lived on in our patronage of the poor, of the workingman and of woman, even after our formal repudiation of the principle. But this attitude is a slur on the mind, and its persistence in any form is an admission that society has failed to provide conditions within which the mind can freely realize itself.

The ideally wise and sound choice is one in which all possible alternatives are considered. Any choice, in fact, involves the rejection of all other possible choices which present themselves, and consequently the most important principle in mental

life and the essential to wisdom is to know the conditions of the world as completely as possible. In this sense there is no such thing as a private mind. The mind must be open to all sorts of intrusions from the outside world. There is no possibility of determining beforehand what information may go into the formation of a judgment, and there is the certainty that if full information is absent the judgment will be imperfect. The content of the mind all comes, in fact, from the outside, and the mind must be open to the outside world in all possible ways — in freedom of motion, in freedom of conversation, and in freedom to explore all territories — even the outlawed territory of sex. It would be possible also to go back to the beginning and show that the grade of mind of any species or organism corresponds with its restricted or free power of exploration. The vegetable which does not move at all has no mind at all. The animal mind, which is closed to all but the simple and monotonous stimulations connected with food and sex, remains a simple and monotonous type of mind. That period of history when the mind was not free to explore certain questions is called the "dark ages." And the period of democracy, which is from the psychological standpoint the period of free mental exploration, is also the period of invention, not alone of the mechanical invention which is so conspicuous, but of such inventions as free public schools, preventive medicine, eugenics, and the evolutionary view of the world.

Nor is the case of illustrious men who have withdrawn themselves from society and worked in seclusion an exception to the law that the mind is not a private matter. The materials of knowledge are so vast and so various that out of mere economy of attention and time we have been compelled to resort to specialization, in which a man is supposed to know "something of everything and everything of something." The specialist is often very ill-informed about things in general, and our schools attempt to anticipate this defect by supplying him with a body of "cultural" materials before allowing him to specialize. But the narrowest specialist is not only filling in his consciousness through experiment, reflection, and classification, but he lives in a world of books which are a short cut to the opinions of millions of

men. He can virtually converse with any man, living or dead, who has anything of importance to say to him, by resort to the printed page. And it is even an economy of time to do this through books rather than conversation.

Mental improvement in both the individual and the race as a whole is closely associated with the development of the occupations. The mind is a product of activity, and the occupations are merely a formulation of activities along definite and habitual lines. The mind of man, indeed, is not radically improved, but the intensive and unremitting application of attention by men to special subjects gives in the aggregate more, and more varied, results than could be had if the attention of all played loosely over the whole field.

The progress of the world is dependent on the emergence of what we call useful ideas, and these ideas almost invariably emerge in connection with the occupations. We cannot control or predict their appearance, we can only increase the number of chances of their appearance by opening the field of competition to the maximum number of minds. Such an idea as electricity sets thousands to work along lines which they would otherwise never have entered, or gives a particular and socially valuable direction to their efforts. And thus the sum of knowledge is built up through those specialized pursuits which we call occupational. To exclude women from the occupations is therefore not only to exclude them from those forms of activity which most stimulate the mind, but to deprive society of the benefits which would follow both from their work and from those ideas which they would thus be put in the way of developing. And if there is any value in that variety of personality which compels men to different fields of interest, it is evident that women, differing from men in personality more than men differ from one another, are sure to contribute unanticipated results. Their admission is to increase the probability of the emergence of genius.

But I do not contend that women should go into the occupations so much because the occupations need them, though that is also true, as because of the need women have of the occupations. No one is altogether either male or female. The life of

men and women corresponds more than it differs. There is no mental function absent in either sex. The occupations represent modes in which the mind expresses itself. They are the moral field, the field of will, of experience, of practice, and of concrete purpose. In this sense work is not a duty but a right. Society may not only claim service from the individual, but the individual may claim the right to function.

At present the strain on women even in the well-to-do families is intolerable. Their isolation, the triviality of their interests, and their dependence on the will of another make them nervous and intensely personal, and merely to relieve the tension, if for nothing else, they should prepare themselves for an occupation which they can practice before marriage, continue to practice if they do not enter marriage, which they may intermit in those intervals when the child is entirely helpless, and which they can resume when the child is adult and departed. Such a preparation would not only overcome their feeling of dependence but would tend to make their choice in marriage more rational. And I do not think the ideals of eugenics can be realized until woman is as free as man in the choice of a mate.

Nor would I give a very definite meaning to the term occupation. There is no possible doubt that the lines containing the occupations will continue to shift and that the participation of women will continue to create new occupations. If the women of enforced leisure, for instance, would shift their interests from dress and fashionable functions and standards, that would constitute an occupation engaging their attention for some years. It is even certain that motherhood will become one of the occupations. The occupations imply a preparation and a purpose, and we cannot regard reproduction and the traditional home life of women as occupational, because mere reproduction is an organic act, frequently inadvertent, and the traditional home life has involved no adequate preparation for motherhood. We may fairly set down eugenic motherhood among the occupations, but even then a part of the mother's occupation will be to continue her concrete purposes and practices in the world at large, and to make excursions from the home for the sake of the home.

And, after all, it is not fair play to say that woman's whole life is demanded by the child, and let it go at that. Already the nurture of the child is carried on to a large extent outside of the home. And if those newer ideals of the home and the sentiment of eugenics to which I have referred are realized, if the child is not only in theory but in practice recognized as the main interest of society, the family and society will more and more assist the mother in his nurture. We must remember also that when women are naturally reared they have an astonishing amount of energy. The records of savage society and of peasant life still demonstrate this, as did the home before the coming of the machine. It may seem ungracious to say so, but we indulge a good deal in what the rhetoricians call the "pathetic fallacy" in connection with the bearing of children by women. Nature has given them an energy and disposition in proportion to this very serious function, so that under normal conditions it may be classed among the pleasures, almost among the intoxications. A normal woman can bear children and still retain more energy and more tenacity of life than nature usually gives to man. The close association which we find between marriage and the abandonment of concrete purposes is not therefore a sacrifice to motherhood but a habit. The ordinary woman instantly and utterly abandons all occupational preparation or practice at the altar, and this is quite aside from the anticipation of children. And the university women succumb almost as completely. Women indeed have improved in their mental attitude toward life since the early Victorian period to this extent, that they actually make a preparation for life, which they can use in case they do not accept marriage. But they keep only a wavering eye on the occupational outlook as a makeshift in case of their failure to realize on their matrimonial anticipations. Or at any rate when marriage is proposed to them they are unable to abandon the traditional view that marriage means a retirement from the world only less complete than retirement to a convent.

Woman's responsibility to the race may well be regarded as paramount, but it is not overwhelming, and it is neither wise nor kind to regard her life as a total loss in all points but this single

one. It would indeed seem that opposition to woman's participation in the totality of life is a romantic subterfuge, resting not so much on a belief in the disability of woman as on the disposition of man to appropriate conspicuous and pleasurable objects for his sole use and ornamentation. "*A little thing, but all mine own,*" was one of the remarks of Achilles to Agamemnon in their quarrel over the two maidens, and it contains the secret of man's world-old disposition to overlook the *intrinsic* worth of woman.

49. THE EFFECT OF SOCIETY LIFE AND FASHION UPON WOMEN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY[1]

The society manner was an extension of the habits acquired by girls for the purpose of their sphere, which included entertaining along with housekeeping and motherhood. Objectively, it was intended to make the guest have a good time by putting him at ease, and at the same time pleasing and piquing him with interest; subjectively, it was the accepted method of displaying the feminine charm, of giving marriageable girls a chance to make their market, and of maintaining the social status of the household. It therefore demanded a careful attention to appearances, the playing up of all the attractive resources of the feminine members of the family, and the concealment of whatever might not be creditable. If a woman thus set out to please everybody, even within the confines of her own social circle, she could never say what she thought nor behave as she felt. Indeed, the more charming she was, the more insincere she must necessarily be. She must always be complimentary to her acquaintances, praising their dress, belongings, and performances. The guest who loved music and sang off the key must be invited to perform as cordially as if she were a really pleasing musician; the man who told wearisome anecdotes must be met with all the spontaneous laughter due to wit. The more tactful the woman contrived to be, the more social success she attained and, *per contra*, the more insincere she became.

[1] By Mary R. Coolidge. Adapted from Why Women are So, pp. 103–107, 114–117, 148–168. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1912.

It is evident that slow-witted or straightforward women would have no chance at all in a society where the coin of exchange was mutual and graceful flattery. In the nature of things the quickest-witted women were the most capable of practicing concealment of their thoughts, while those of more solid qualities would either not be able to attain the acrobatic grace necessary to social success, or would have an honest distaste for its superficiality. The more intellectual and sincere, and the more reasonable a young woman was, the less likely she was to be socially successful, and she must either be content to be a "bluestocking," and remain unmarried, or she must conceal her natural common-sense and imitate the feminine characteristics then in vogue.

Thus imitation rather than originality became the keynote of women's lives. In a democratic society composed largely of people born in the working classes, whose social ambitions were chiefly limited to financial ease and the hope of rising into the next higher stratum, there were many kinds of men, but only two sorts of women. The success of a man consisted in material achievement; of a woman in appearing to be what was pleasing to man in order that she might be invited to share his height. Men were making themselves, so to speak, of the genuine stuff — soft or hard, fine or coarse-grained, of pine, oak, or mahogany; while women, of whatever material, must be carefully veneered with a thin and costly layer of unreality — a sort of imitation composite, a spurious femininity.

It is certainly significant that, in proportion as the women of the nineteenth century were released from domestic, manual labor, they become more and more extravagantly feminine; and that this phenomenon was a repetition of what had previously marked the behavior of every class of women at leisure throughout the world's history. There is no evidence that our manufacturing grandmothers of the early nineteenth century were afflicted with any such degree of effusive, excitable, unreasoning temperament as that which characterized the strictly feminine ideal of their immediate descendants. Among Parisians at the present day, where there is almost no line drawn between the economic sphere of men and women, and where both husband and wife

among the masses must work to make a living, there is no marked difference between them in respect to emotional expression. The women of Paris have fought as savagely as men in the revolutions; and French men are notoriously as emotional as the typical American woman, and as unreasoning when carried beyond self-control.

There can be no doubt that the social behavior which is commonly described as "typically feminine" is an overdevelopment of characters not at all uncommon among men, and often lacking in women. When women have been more given to superficial talk and gayety than men, it is because men desired them to be so, and because it was, therefore, to their advantage. If they have been accustomed to use hysteria as their weapon of defense, instead of talking reason or using their fists, it was probably because they had never had either encouragement or opportunity to employ mind or brute force.

With the opening of all occupations to woman, and with nearly equal opportunities for intellectual training, there has been developed in a single generation a large number of American women who are less excitable than a Frenchman, less sentimental than a German, and less emotional than an Italian — in short, almost as reasonable and self-poised as the men of their own class and race.

The Influence of Dress and Fashion

The ideals of art and physique, of beauty and of dress, had a constant reaction upon one another. The Puritan conception of womanhood which dominated this country till quite recently was less patently sexual than that of the older Christian teaching, but, as far as possible, it suppressed romantic love and the beauty-loving instinct. While the natural conditions in America were more favorable and were producing a common population of finer physique, orthodox religion was still insisting upon the "vileness" of humanity, the weakness and ensnaring nature of women, and the inevitable connection between vice and every form of art.

The insistence upon the essential sinfulness of every natural instinct which might have flowered in art, had a terrible effect

upon the minds of women. It produced in them a feeling of intimate shame. The body being vile, all their functions were shameful and to be concealed. From suppression to shame, from shame to distortion, were logical steps in the treatment of their bodies. The corset, for instance, worn originally in Europe as a means of emphasizing sex characters — the bust and the hips — became the armor of respectability for innocent and overmodest women. To be seen without it was not merely slovenly, it was improper, even vulgarly suggestive. As soon as any young girl approached adolescence, she had to put it on. Some mothers said, for propriety's sake; and other mothers, that she might have a good figure when she grew to womanhood. That is to say, she must develop the small waist, and the large hips and bust, like a French fashion plate, in order to meet the requirements of Puritan modesty. No better illustration could be found of the conflicting traditions which ignorant women were blindly following.

Without attempting to account for the vagaries of modesty — a subject upon which much has already been written — the effect of a single convention upon the health and beauty of women may be dwelt upon. Throughout the past century, to be obviously two-legged was to be immodest. The Chinese woman — as modest and feminine as any of her sex in the world, perhaps — has had the use of her legs, if not of her feet, for thousands of years, but the American woman has always had to pretend that she had only one. The peasant woman of northern Europe, though burdened with heavy petticoats, might exhibit her body below the knee, but the "free" woman of the new democracy had to conceal, as far as possible, even her ankles.

This convention restricted every activity, and was, unquestionably, one of the factors in the deterioration of the health of American women. For three hundred years western women have ridden on horseback sidewise, with feet enveloped in a voluminous skirt, solely because a French Princess long ago set the fashion to conceal her own deformed spine. Because the roués of a decadent society attached sexual significance to ankles, the American girl walked encased in heavy drapery, which compelled

a narrow, uncertain tread. Millions of women lifted their petticoats billions of times in the course of their lives; while housewives scoured their floors, hampered by the uniform of their sex, and endangered their lives whenever they got in or out of a vehicle; all for no other reason than that the particular form of modesty inculcated by Puritan society had tabooed legs in women. The early advocates of Women's Rights were right, if not wise, in associating a bifurcated costume with equality and freedom, but it was equally necessary to the production of true beauty.

Shame and inactivity, thus linked together, produced a strangely distorted and bloodless creature whose only sign of real loveliness was a pretty face. The grace of symmetry and the exhilaration of free motion were denied not only to women of the leisure classes, but to working women as well, because every woman in America was trying "to be a lady," and the conventions of the Foretime had so ordained. Even when the Puritan régime declined and women were beginning to be released from the older conventions, they were at the same time presented with a vicious foreign model by the vogue of fashions which had been brought in to promote journalism and manufacture.

Ever since the Civil War the amount of time and expense put upon dress by women in this country has been increasing, until now it has become the chief occupation and the accepted amusement of a very large number of those above the laboring class. It has been generally assumed that this is due to some inherent personal taste on the part of women; but it is a matter of economic history that dress as a pursuit has been the result of the development of manufacture and of modern methods of trade promotion rather than of an innate frivolity, to which leisure and idleness have always contributed.

When we visualize the typical jeweler, deft-handed, short-sighted, and stoop-shouldered; or the dry-goods clerk, radiating smiles and ladylike manners; or the politician, swollen with self-confidence and overeating; we do not assume that he could never have been any other sort of man, even though his natural temperament may have dictated his choice of occupation. It is taken for granted in explaining such men that their ambitions in

life have been molded by their environment to produce certain types of physique and character. It is a matter of common experience that there are very few human beings so specialized by their hereditary qualities that they could not have been different had they been born in another environment than the one in which we see them. When they are so specialized they are called eccentrics, and sometimes recognized as having genius.

One has only to observe the modifications of character and habits which take place in men who change from one industrial medium to another requiring very different qualifications, to infer that women of the same breed might show unexpected variations if their environment were as varied and as stimulating. The effect of social surroundings in developing in women an inordinate love of adornment can be best measured, perhaps, by contemplating other and rather unusual types produced by exceptional circumstances. During the past century, wherever a girl, by force of circumstance or natural hatred of physical restraint, refused to submit to the tyranny of dress, she became almost invariably and, it might almost be said, by virtue thereof, a superior human being. The wives of the California pioneers, brought up like other Eastern girls to give the utmost care to their dress, when transplanted to isolated homes on ranches and in mining camps, without servants, and often compelled to do the labor of a large household, while rearing their families, almost always emancipated their bodies from the trammels of long skirts and from corsets. Utility and cleanliness became the sole requisites of their clothing, and thus was released a vast amount of physical and mental energy to be spent in other and worthier directions. They managed complicated households, reared vigorous children, in emergencies guarded water rights and mining properties with a shotgun; and in their old age were as fearless, as able-bodied, as warm-hearted, and as capable as their partners.

The influence of the Quaker costume and plain traditions in minimizing feminine and developing larger human qualities in women is registered in the women's rights movement, in which the Friends played so large a part between 1840 and 1870. Lucretia Mott, the Quaker preacher, an exquisite, gentle, frail,

and yet brilliant woman, was doubtless the most important figure among all the delegates to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London. Clothes were the least of all concerns to her, we may infer, for she wrote of herself:

> My life, in the domestic sphere, has passed much as that of other wives and mothers in this country. I have had six children. Not accustomed to resigning them to the care of a nurse, I was much confined to them during their infancy and childhood. Being fond of reading, I omitted much unnecessary stitching and ornamental work in the sewing for my family, so that I might have time for this indulgence and for the improvement of the mind. For novels and light reading I never had much taste. The "Ladies' Department" in the periodicals of the day had no attraction for me.

By dwelling on such exceptional women, it may be possible to conceive what the effect of ornamentation as a principle aim in life has been upon the greater number of average young girls brought up in middle-class homes. To them dress involved a constant consideration of money — how to get it without directly entering the wage-earning class, how far it might be made to go, and even how things might be got without it. Money has rarely been looked at in the large by women as income or capital, but rather as a succession of petty, irregular sums to be spread over a thousand necessities and luxuries. Because the husband and father was the earning partner he was inevitably the financial head, paying the larger household expenses himself, and handing out to the wife and minor children for their clothing and incidentals such generous or niggardly pin money as his temperament and means dictated. The effect upon women was similar to that of an irregular wage upon the casual workingman; there was no incentive to thrift, but every inducement to shortsighted and petty extravagance. There was never butter to cover a whole slice of bread, therefore why trouble about butter at all? — why not have a string of imitation pearls? — so women naturally reasoned. Expenditure dribbled along on the hand-to-mouth principle: a girl might need hat, shoes, underwear, all at once, but, as the sum given her at any one time was never enough to cover them all, she naturally bought the hat first, the shoes next, and postponed the underwear, making the best appearance she could.

A constantly rising scale of dress accessories often cut off — among poorer girls — garments, and even food, necessary to health.

It is evident enough without further illustration that, because women did not earn their money, and received it irregularly in small amounts, they had no occasion to develop a balanced financial sense; but acquired, on the one hand, a wonderful skill in spreading petty amounts thinly over large areas, and, on the other, a perverted judgment of values. If this had produced in them only a petty thrift and foolish expenditure, the remedy would be obvious and easy; but it has, in truth, eaten into character much more deeply. For the love of dress and the necessity of satisfying it by getting it from some man who earned it, made girls from their childhood contrive, deceive, and maneuver. It is a common enough joke that men are better-humored after dinner than before, but among women it is a commonplace quite without any humorous color. Every dependent creature, whether woman or child, peon or dog, as a matter of safety or comfort, learns to read the temper of his master; and in proportion as he is able to play upon it, finds life easier. Wheedling and cunning, the whole battery of feminine weapons from caresses to tears and temper, were inevitably employed upon negligent and selfish men by their dependents; and often to the extent of imposition upon generous men.

The stylish woman had forever to pursue that will-o'-the-wisp of fashion, "the newest thing," not only in boots, stockings, lingerie, dresses, and hats, but also the latest-uttermost-refinement-of-the-newest-thing in braids, lace, embroidery, beads, passementerie, trimmings, of which there were hundreds of designs rapidly succeeding each other. There were, besides, an infinitude of shades, widths, textile surfaces, in an ever-enlarging variety of stuffs; and these had to be combined by herself or the dressmaker, after consultation of several American and French fashion books, in the momentarily approved design. And all this energy was expended without hope of anything more than temporary success, except for those who could make over or replace the garment to meet the next incoming fashion.

The making over of clothes every year, if not every six months, as the pace of fashion speeded up, came to take the place of many of those spurious handicrafts with which the clever woman of the mid-century had been wont to busy her hands. It became a matter of pride with those of small means to "make something out of nothing," as the complimentary phrase went — to contrive a new and stylish dress out of two old ones; to conceal paucity of material by piecing small bits of cloth together, and decorating the tell-tale seams; to make a jacket of a man's discarded overcoat, lined with the less-worn portions of an old silk petticoat. As the rule of fashion spread to carpets, curtains, bedding, and furniture, the inexorable principle of multiplying designs to stimulate buying, invaded this field as well; and the devoted housewife, according to her means and her ingenuity, conscientiously set herself the duty of keeping her house as well as herself and children "in the fashion." In all this she exercised her brain as much as her manufacturing grandmother had done before her, but with infinitely less of real value to show for it.

Perhaps all the more because the result did not command satisfactory appreciation from her men-folk, whose crude tastes and practical turn of mind did not readily grasp the desperate need of women to be in the fashion, she required the approval of other womankind. So much struggle and economy must be worthy of recognition; and if, unhappily, her men friends did not notice and praise the triumphs of her ingenious — and often wasted — skill, she turned to other women to secure their proper appraisal. It is no doubt true that women competing in the dress contest are often jealous of each other, but it is far more significant that they have devised a code of manners with which to satisfy each other's hunger for appreciation. Each agrees to admire, or, at any rate, to appear to admire, the other's dress. When two women meet, it is customary, after the conventional greeting, for one to say: "How pretty your new hat is!" And for the other to reply: "I 'm so glad you like it — I saw the new shape at Smith's Emporium, and I trimmed it with the velvet off my last winter's hat." When this topic has been canvassed to the satisfaction of the wearer of the hat, she in turn will

compliment her friend's taste and ingenuity by praising something she is wearing. In such wise have women expended their perverted abilities and kindliness, spurred on by the race of commercial fashion, and lacking an education in larger things.

Dress, moreover, came to take the place of healthful exercise and recreation. The lazy afternoon parade through the shopping streets, to see the newest fashions displayed four times a year at the change of seasons, became a weekly excursion as the varieties of materials and style increased. And in our day many women of small means know scarcely any other way of spending their leisure except to drag a fretful child past the shop windows every week-day afternoon, and then to go home and try to copy the most violent combinations of color and the most striking designs in sleazy, cheap imitations.

It is a trite old saying that a man with a champagne taste and a beer income is sure of trouble. In women a similar desire for display, gratified at the cost of the earning power of which they themselves have no direct experience, is equally disastrous in producing effeminacy and discontent. The capacity for detail developed through a thousand generations of domestic necessity has been turned into a few narrow channels, the chief of which has at last come to be the pursuit of dress. Their age-long economy has become shortsighted pinching in some, and equally ill-judged extravagance in others. And the constant chase after fashions which no amount of money would enable them really to come up with has produced a state of chronic dissatisfaction with themselves, their lot, and with the men who supply their income. Petty-mindedness has at last become the distinguishing characteristic of the average woman. The marvelous thrift which enables her to dress stylishly on a small sum; the originality with which she contrives and imitates ever-new prettinesses; the ingenuity with which she makes a good show on small resources — all these valuable but perverted qualities would, if applied to the larger problems of common life, clean up the cities, find a home for every normal child, and reform our haphazard domestic economy; and would produce that sureness of aim, that sense of being a

useful cog in the world's machinery, without which no human being can be happy.

The female mind, thus fed on details of ephemeral importance, had no reason for larger intellectual interests; and constant occupation with the attainment of the correct accessories of her costume left little leisure for reading. Such books as she found time for would naturally be of the emasculated sort, whose heroines were the beautiful and perfectly dressed kind she strove to be; to whom impossible, but perfectly moral, adventures happened, until they culminated in a blissful engagement. For a quarter of a century at least, the Sunday-school novel and magazines of the type of Godey's *Lady's Book* supplied the mental pabulum of the majority of American women. The magazines inculcated the pursuit of dress as a most important duty of woman as part of the ideal of gentility and religion set before the perfect lady.

And if it be thought that women no longer feed on this anæmic literary diet, one has only to examine any one of the strictly feminine journals to learn how pervasive it still is. Many of them profit by, if they are not published in, the interest of trade and manufactures for women, and it is highly important to them that the love of dress should be intensified.

Since the days of the forties, when French fashion plates were successfully introduced, this sort of literature has been served up to make women buy new, and always more fantastic, clothing. It requires no great acumen to conclude that it would inevitably lead to extravagance. Having no responsibility for earning their own money — though indirectly they might, nevertheless, earn it — and very little experience in handling it, except in small amounts, they did not reckon its value in the large. And having been encouraged to concentrate their energies on appearance, they came to have a highly cultivated taste — nay, more than taste, appetite — for pretty clothes which, like an appetite for drink or games of chance, must be satisfied. Yet it, like many another social habit, could never be satisfied. It might also be said that the more time and money they had to give to dress, the more discontented they were sure to be. If the father or husband

could not meet this rising demand, they pitied themselves for his lack of success; if he set a limit of expenditure, they regarded him as a selfish brute. Now and then they degenerated into dishonest schemers, running up large bills for which their menkind were responsible; cheating the dressmaker and the milliner; sending back garments as unsatisfactory after wearing them; practicing the deceits of the adventuress in the guise of a respectable woman of society.

Yet, in justice to womankind, it must be granted that the dress mania produced very few of these types, as compared with hundreds of conscientious, economical women, who, misled by the conventions of their social station, took out of themselves, rather than out of men's pockets, the wherewithal to achieve the proper clothes of a lady. These dear, fussy, dutiful creatures sacrificed their health, their love of nature, their taste for art, for literature, even their companionableness, to the Juggernaut of women — Suitability. Moreover, because men were conspicuously the producing class, and women for the most part obviously the consumers, extravagance came to be regarded as a female propensity; while, as a matter of fact, it was no more truly characteristic of one than of the other. What men spent in cigars and tobacco, in heavy eating and drinking, in club life and dues, and in careless, unconsidered sums, women balanced by their equally wasteful but careful spreading of small sums upon the elaboration of dress.

One of the last and most demoralizing aspects of fashion-promotion has been the infliction upon children of the over-developed taste for tawdry ornament. The women's magazines cater to the mother's pride by providing embroidery patterns to be worked upon little boys' blouses; suggestions of how to cut over little girls' dresses to keep pace with the newest idea. While the laundry bills mount ever higher, the fashionable little girl is rigged out in more fragile and impracticable and unwholesome clothing. It is as if the mother were still a child herself, playing with a live doll which, though it cannot be broken, may still be distorted into her own foolish image.

As a result of the combined influence of economic forces and social traditions, centering in dress, women have acquired a set

of habits of expenditure and thinking which lead to discontent and waste of time in the trivialities of taste, in the pursuit of petty economies, and in the discussion of dress detail. These are, however, the least of the evil effects of the dress cult: in many women they degenerate into exploitation of men, dishonesty toward tradespeople, and the vulgarities of conspicuous display. It may almost be asserted that competence, good humor, and intelligence in women are now in inverse proportion to the amount of time they spend on the fashion of their clothes. A woman of influence and a "real lady" in the twentieth century is known, more often than not, by the fact that she is not dressed conspicuously in the latest fashion. She may be known even more by the fact that her children are dressed in the simplest and most childlike manner.

50. HOW HOME CONDITIONS REACT UPON THE FAMILY[1]

Discussion of social processes, to be fruitful, must rest on some hypothesis as to the nature and purpose of society. It is here assumed that society is a life-form in course of evolution, that its processes are to be measured like those of other life-forms, as they affect the three main issues of existence — being, reproduction, improvement.

In so far as social processes are genetic they interest us as students and critics; in so far as they are telic they form the most practical and important subjects of study. The family has its origin in the genetic process of reproduction; but is modified continually by telic forces. In its present form it is an institution of confused values, based on vital necessity, but heavily encumbered with rudiments of earlier stages of development, some beneficent, some useless, some utterly mischievous; and showing also the thriving growth of new and admirable features.

We must consider it first on its biological basis, as a sex-related group for the purpose of rearing young; and the effect of conditions upon it should be measured primarily by this purpose.

[1] By Charlotte Perkins Gilman. From Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. III (1908), pp. 16–29.

Next we find in the existing family clear traces of that early long-dominant social unit, the woman-centered group of the matriarchate. Our universal and deep-seated reverence for the mother-governed home, with its peace, comfort, order, and good will, has survived many thousand years of patriarchal government, and refuses to be changed even by innumerable instances of discomfort, discord, waste, and unhappiness.

Superimposed upon this first social group comes the establishment of the patriarchate, the family with the male head, based upon the assumption by the male of sole efficiency as transmitter of life. In this form the family enters upon an entirely new phase, and includes purposes hitherto unknown. It becomes a vehicle of masculine power and pride — was indeed for long their sole vehicle: it produces its ethics, its codes of honor, its series of religions, its line of political development through tribe and clan, princedom and monarchy, its legal system in which all personal and property rights are vested in the man, and its physical expression in the household of servile women. It is from this period that we derive our popular impressions that the family is the unit of the state, that the man is the head of the house, and other supposedly self-evident propositions. The patriarchal family, even in its present reduced and modified form, is the vital core and continuing cause of our androcentric culture.

Fourthly, we must view it as an industrial group of self-centered economic activities, the birthplace of arts and crafts as well as of persons. While the natural origin of these industries is in maternal energy, the voluntary efforts of the mother being the real source of human production, yet the family, as an economic group in the modern sense, is also an androcentric institution. Besides the mother's work for her children, the patriarchal family required the service of the man by his women — a claim which has no parallel in nature.

There is nothing in maternity, nothing in the natural relation of the sexes which should make the female the servant of the male. This form of economic relationship was developed when the man learned to take advantage of the industrial value of the woman and added to his profitable group as many women as

possible. Moreover, when the masculine instinct of sex-combat swelled and broadened, blended with the hunter's predatory appetite, organized, and became war, then in course of time male captives were compelled to labor as the price of life, and set to work in the only social group then existent. It is to this custom, to this remote and painful period, that our institution owes its present name. Not father, mother, nor child, but servant, christens the family.

Further than this we find in our family group the development of a new relation, a new idea as yet but little understood, that which is vaguely expressed by the word marriage. Monogamy, the permanent union of one male and one female for reproductive purposes, is as natural a form of sex-relation as any other, common to many animals and birds, a resultant of continued and combined activities of both parents for the same end. This natural base of a true marriage should be carefully studied. Continued union in activity for a common purpose necessarily develops ease and pleasure in the relationship. The same couple can carry on these activities more easily than a new combination; hence monogamy.

In our human family we find many forms: androgyny, polygyny, and then the slow and halting evolution of monogyny. Monogynous marriage should include sex-attraction, romantic love, and a high degree of comradeship. It is now our common race ideal, recognized as best for the advantage of the child and the individual happiness of the parent; also, through greater personal efficiency, for the good of society. This form of marriage is slowly evolving in the family, but is by no means invariably present.

Lastly we must bear in mind that the family is our accepted basis of mere living; it, and its outward expression, the home, are so universally assumed to be the only natural form of existence, that to continue on earth outside of "a family," without "a home," is considered unnatural and almost immoral. In this regard the family must be studied as ministering to the health, comfort, happiness, and efficiency of adult individuals, quite aside from parental purposes, or those of marriage; as for instance

in the position of adult sons and daughters, of aged persons no longer actively valuable as parents; or of coadjacent aunts, uncles, and cousins; as also in relation to the purely individual interests of members of the family proper.

When we now take up our study of home conditions, we have definite ground from which to judge and to measure them. How do they react upon the family in regard to those three major purposes of life — being, reproduction, improvement? Do they best maintain human life? Do they best minister to the reproduction of the species? And to the evolution of monogyny? Above all do they tend to race improvement?

Mere existence is no justification, else might we all remain Archæan rocks. Reproduction is not sufficient, else the fertile bacterium would be our ideal. All social institutions must be measured as they tend not only to maintain and reproduce, but to improve humanity. We will make brief mention of our essential home conditions and examine their reaction on the family as touching (*a*) marriage, (*b*) parentage, (*c*) child-culture, (*d*) the individual and social progress. What are our essential home conditions?

Here we are confronted with so vast and tumultuous a sea of facts — noisy, painful, prominent facts — that proper perspective is difficult to obtain. Here we are confronted also with the most sensitive, powerful, universal, and ancient group of emotions known to man. This complex of feelings, tangled and knotted by ages of iron-bound association; fired with the quenchless vitality of the biological necessities on which they rest; intensified by all our conscious centuries of social history; hallowed, sanctified, made imperative by recurrent religions; enforced with cruel penalties by law, and crueller ones by custom; first established by those riotous absurdities of dawning ethics, the sex-tabus of the primitive savage, and growing as a cult down all our ages of literature and art; the emotions, sentiments, traditions, race-habits, and fixed ideas which center in the home and family — form the most formidable obstacle to clear thought and wise conclusion.

Forced by increasing instances of discontent, inefficiency, and protest within the group, we are beginning to make some study

of domestic conditions; but so far this study has been on the one hand superficial; and on the other either starkly reactionary or merely rebellious.

The first home conditions forced upon our consideration are the material. Here we note most prominently the effects of economic pressure in our cities; the physical restriction of the home in the block, the tenement, the apartment house; the devastating effects of the sweatshop; the tendency toward what we call "coöperative housekeeping."

As far as mere physical crowding is a home condition we may find that as far back as the cliff dwellers, find it in every city of the world since there were cities, find it consistent with any form of marriage, with families matriarchal, patriarchal, polygynous, and monogynous. The Jew throughout Christian history has suffered from overcrowding as much as any people ever did; but he has preserved the family in a most intense form, with more success than many of the races which oppressed him. Even the sweatshop, while working evil to the individual, does but draw tighter the family bond.

Therefore we are illogical in our fear of the city-crowding as the enemy of the home, the destroyer of family life.

Others, identifying family life with the industries so long accompanying it, disapprove of that visible and rapid economic evolution in which the "domestic industries" as such dissolve and disappear. Yet if these observers would but study the history of economics they would find the period of undisputed "home industries" was not that of high development in family life, but rather of the mixed group of women slaves and male captives, when marriage in our sense was utterly unknown. The attempt to "revive home industries" is not difficult, since our modern family still maintains that primitive labor status; but it is reactionary, and tends to no real improvement.

"Coöperative housekeeping," as a term, needs brief but clear discussion. The movement to which the phrase is applied is a natural one, inevitable and advantageous. It consists in the orderly development of domestic industries into social ones; in the gradual substitution of the shirt you buy for the shirt your

wife makes, of the bread of the public baker for the bread of the private cook, of the wine of known manufacture and vintage for the wine made for you by your affectionate great-aunt. All industry was once domestic. All industry is becoming social. That is the line of industrial evolution. Now what is "coöperative housekeeping"? It is an attempt to continue domestic industry without its natural base. The family was for long the only economic unit. The family is still, though greatly reduced and wastefully inefficient, an economic unit. A group of families is not a unit at all. It has no structure, no function, no existence. Individuals may combine, do combine, should combine, must combine, to form social groups. Families are essentially uncombinable.

Vintner, brewer, baker, spinner, weaver, dyer, tallow chandler, soapmaker, and all their congeners were socially evolved from the practicers of inchoate domestic industries. Soon the cook and the cleaner will take place with these, as the launderer already has to a great degree. At no step of the process is there the faintest hint of "coöperative housekeeping." Forty families may patronize and maintain one bakeshop. They do not "cooperate" to do this; they separately patronize it. The same forty families might patronize and maintain one cookshop, and never know one another's names.

If the forty families endeavored to "coöperate" and start that bakeshop, or that cookshop, they would meet the same difficulty, the same failure, that always faces illegitimate and unnatural processes.

The material forms of home life, the character of its structure and functions depend upon the relation of the members of the family. In analyzing home conditions therefore we will classify them thus:

A. *Ownership of women.* — It is to this condition that we may clearly trace the isolation of the home, the varying degree of segregation of the woman or women therein. The home is inaugurated immediately upon marriage, its nature and situation depending upon the man, and in it the man secludes his wife. In this regard our home is a lineal descendant of the harem. It is but a short time since the proverb told us "the woman, the

cat, and the chimney should never leave the house"; and again, "A woman should leave the house but three times — when she is christened, when she is married, when she is buried." In current comment upon modern home conditions we still find deep displeasure that the woman is so much away from home. The continued presence of the woman in the home is held to be an essential condition. Following this comes —

B. *Woman service.* — The house is a place where the man has his meals cooked and served by the woman; his general cleaning and mending done by her; she is his servant. This condition accompanies marriage, be it observed, and precedes maternity. It has no relation whatever to motherhood. If there are no children the woman remains the house-servant of the man. If she has many, their care must not prevent the service of his meals.

In America to-day, in one family out of sixteen, the man is able to hire other women to wait upon him; but his wife is merely raised to the position of a sort of "section boss"; she still manages the service of the house for him. This woman service has no relation to the family in any vital sense; it is a relic of the period of woman slavery in the patriarchal time; it exhibits not the evolution of a true monogamy, but merely the ancient industrial polygamous group shorn down to one lingering female slave. Under this head of wife service, we must place all the confused activities of the modern home. Reduced and simplified as these are, they still involve several undeveloped trades and their enforced practice by nearly all women keeps down the normal social tendency to specialization. While all men, speaking generally, have specialized in some form of social activities, have become masons, smiths, farmers, sailors, carpenters, doctors, merchants, and the like; all women, speaking generally, have remained at the low industrial level of domestic servants. The limitation is clear and sharp, and is held to be an essential, if not the essential, condition of home life; the woman, being married, must work in the home for the man. We are so absolutely accustomed to this relation, that a statement of it produces no more result than if one solemnly announces that fire is hot and ice cold.

To visualize it let us reverse the position. Let us suppose that the conditions of home life required every man upon marriage to become his wife's butler, footman, coachman, cook; every man, all men, necessarily following the profession of domestic servants. This is an abhorrent, an incredible idea. So is the other. That an entire sex should be the domestic servants of the other sex is abhorrent and incredible.

Under this same head we may place all the prominent but little understood evils of the "servant question." The position is simple. The home must be served by women. If the wife is unable to perform the service other women must be engaged. These must not be married women, for no married man wishes his private servant to serve another man. When the coachman marries the cook, he prefers to segregate her in the rooms over the stables, to cook for him alone. Therefore our women servants form an endless procession of apprentices, untrained young persons learning of the housewife mainly her personal preferences and limitations. Therefore is the grade of household services necessarily and permanently low; and household service means most of the world's feeding, cleaning, and the care of children. The third essential home condition is:

C. *The economic dependence of women.*—This is the natural corollary of the other two. If a man keeps a servant he must feed him, or her. The economic dependence of the woman follows upon her servitude. The family with the male head has assumed that the male shall serve society and the female shall serve him. This opens up an immense field of consequences, reacting most violently upon the family, among which we will select here two most typical and conspicuous. Suppose that the man's social service is of small value as we measure and reward our laborers. His return is small. His wages we will roughly estimate at $600 a year, a sum the purchasing power of which is variable. In our present conditions $600 is little enough for one person. For two it allows but $300 each. For six, if they have four children, it is $100 a year apiece — less than $2.00 a week for each, to pay for food, clothes, shelter, everything. This visibly spells poverty. While one man's production is worth to

society but so much, and while that one man's production is forced to meet the consumption of six; so long, even without any other cause, the resultant is general poverty — a persistent condition in the majority of homes. To segregate half the productive energy of the world and use it in private service of the crudest sort is economic waste. To force the low-grade man to maintain an entire family is to force a constant large supply of low-grade men.

The second of these consequences is the unnatural phenomenon of the idle woman. The man, whose sex-relation spurs him to industry, and whose exceptional powers meet special reward, then proceeds to shower gifts and pleasures upon the woman he loves. That man shall be "a good provider" is frankly held to be his end of the family duty, a most essential condition of home life. This result, as we so frequently and sadly see, is the development of a kind of woman who performs no industrial service, produces nothing, and consumes everything; and a kind of man who subordinates every social and moral claim to this widely accredited "first duty," to provide, without limit, for his wife and children.

These two home conditions, the enormous tax upon the father, if he is poor, together with the heavy toil of the mother, and the opposite one of the rich man maintaining a beautiful parasite, have visible and serious results upon the family.

The supposedly essential basic relations, the ownership of woman, the servitude of woman, and the economic dependence of woman, with their resultants, give rise to the visible material conditions with which we are familiar. The predominant concerns of the kitchen and dining room, involving the entire service of the working housewife, rigidly measure the limitations of such families; while the added freedom of the woman whose housework is done vicariously seldom tends to a nobler life. Our insanitary households, our false and shallow taste, our low standard of knowledge in food values and nutrition, the various prosaic limitations within which we are born and reared are in the main traceable to the arrested development of the woman, owing to the above major conditions of home life.

Let us now show the reaction of the conditions above stated upon the family in modern society, in the order given, as they affect (*a*) marriage, (*b*) maternity, (*c*) child-culture, (*d*) the individual and society.

We are much concerned in the smooth and rapid development of a higher type of marriage, yet fail to see that our home conditions militate against such development. The effect of the modern home, even with its present degree of segregation of women, with its inadequate, confused, laborious industrial processes, and with its overwhelming expenses, is to postpone and often prevent marriage, to degrade marriage when accomplished through the servile and dependent position of the wife, and also to precipitate unwise and premature marriage on the part of young women because of their bitter dissatisfaction with the conditions of their previous home. This last gives an advantage in reproduction to the poorer types. The wiser women, preferring the ills she has to those she foresees only too clearly, hesitates long, delays, often refuses altogether; not from an aversion to marriage, or to motherhood, but from a steadily growing objection to the position of a servant.

The man, seeing about him the fretful inefficiency of so many misplaced women, hearing *ad nauseam* the reiterant uniform complaints on "the servant question," knowing the weight of the increasing burden for which the man must "pay, pay, pay," waits longer and longer before he can "afford to marry"; with a resultant increase in immorality.

This paradoxical position must be faced fully and squarely. The industrial conditions of the modern home are such as to delay and often prevent marriage. Since "the home" is supposed to arise only from marriage, it looks as though the situation were frankly suicidal. So far, not seeing these things, we have merely followed our world-old habit of blaming the woman. She used to be content with these conditions we say — she ought to be now — back to nature! The woman refuses to go back, the home refuses to go forward, and marriage waits. The initial condition of ownership, even without service, reacts unfavorably upon the kind of marriage most desired. A woman slave is not a wife.

The more absolutely the woman is her own mistress, in accepting her husband and in her life with him, the higher is the grade of love and companionship open to them. Again the economic dependence of the woman militates against a true marriage, in that the element of economic profit degrades and commercializes love and so injures the family. It may be said that the family with the male head cannot exist in a pure form without its original concomitants of absolute personal ownership and exploitation of woman. When the ownership is no longer that of true slavery but enters the contract stage, when marriage becomes an economic relation, then indeed is it degraded. Polygyny is a low form of marriage; but, as modern polygynists have held, it at least tends to preclude prostitution. The higher marriage toward which we are tending requires a full-grown woman, no one's property or servant, self-supporting and proudly independent. Such marriage will find expression in a very different home.

Next comes the reaction upon motherhood, the most vital fact in the whole institution. Our home conditions affect motherhood injuriously in many ways. The ownership of the woman by the man has developed a false code of morals and manners, under which girls are not reared in understanding of the privileges, rights, and preëminent duties of motherhood. We make the duty to the man first, the duty to the child second — an artificial and mischievous relation. There is no more important personal function than motherhood, and every item of arrangement in the family, in the home, should subtend its overmastering interests.

Ownership of women first interferes with the power of selection so essential to right motherhood, and, second, enforces motherhood undesired — a grave physiological evil. The ensuant condition of female servitude is an injury in demanding labor incompatible with right maternity, and in lowering the average of heredity through the arrest of social development in the mother. It is not good for the race that the majority of its female parents should be unskilled laborers, plus a few unskilled idlers.

In poverty the overworked woman dreads maternity, and avoids it if she can. If she cannot, her unwelcome and too frequent children are not what is needed to build up our people. In wealth,

the woman becomes a perpetual child, greedy and irresponsible, dreads maternity, and avoids it if she can. Her children are few and often frail. Neither the conditions of the poor home nor of the rich tend to a joyous and competent maternity.

In this one respect the home, under present conditions, is proved an unfit vehicle for the family. In itself it tends to reduce the birth rate, or to lower the quality of the most numerous children; and all of them inherit the limitations of a servile or an irresponsible motherhood.

As regards child-culture, our home conditions present a further marked unfitness. Not one home in a thousand even attempts to make provision for child-culture. If the home has but one room that room is a kitchen; but few indeed are the families who can "afford a nursery." Child-care is wholly subordinate to kitchen service; the home is a complicated, inconsistent group of industries, in which the child must wait for spare moments of attention; which attention when given is that of a tired cook, or a worried housekeeper. No clearer comment can be made on the inadequacy of home conditions to serve their natural ends than in this major instance; they do not promote, but on the contrary they prohibit the development of higher standards of child-culture.

As to mere maintenance of life, our children die most numerously during the years of infancy, when they are most wholly at home. As to reproduction, we have shown the effect on that; and as to improvement, it is a general admission that the improvement of the human stock does not keep pace with material progress. We need here a wise revision of domestic conditions in the interests of the child. At present any man who has a home to let, be it room, apartment, or house, prefers his tenants to be without children. The home, the birthplace, the rearing-place, is not built, fitted, nor managed for the benefit of children.

What is its further effect on the individual, and through him on society? Do the common home conditions of our time promote health, insure peace and comfort, tend to that higher development of the individual so essential to social progress?

Here we find another large ground for criticism. Modern society calls for individuals broad-minded, public-spirited, democratic,

courageous, just, intelligent, educated, and specialized for social service. The family with the male head and its accompanying conditions of woman-ownership, service, and dependence tends to maintain in our growing democracy the grade of development, the habits of mind, the childish limitations of its remote past. In it is a masculine dominance which finds expression in our political androcracy. In it is a degraded womanhood which not only limits individual development in the mother, but checks it in the father through heredity and association, and acts powerfully to keep back the progress of the child. Because of the low grade of domestic industry, the food habits of humanity have remained so long what they are, tending to self-indulgence and excess, to extravagance, to many forms of disease.

Mere confinement to a house is in itself unwholesome, and when that house is a cookshop and laundry, it is further disadvantageous.

The man, bound in honor (in his androcentric code of honor) to provide at all costs for his dependent family, has saddled himself with the task of making the product of one meet the consumption of many; and in making the woman a nonproductive consumer, he has maintained in half the world the attitude of the child — the willingness to take, with no thought of giving an equivalent.

The social processes, left wholly to the male, are necessarily belligerent and competitive; and in the resultant turmoil, each man must needs strive to maintain his little island of personal comfort rather than to do his best work for the world.

Home conditions which tend to results like these require most serious consideration. They react upon the family in general as tending to restrict its natural evolution toward higher forms. They react upon it specifically as we have seen, precipitating injudicious marriage, postponing marriage, degrading marriage; similarly do they affect motherhood, enforcing it where the woman is not free to choose, and where she is free to choose tending to postpone and prevent it because of its difficulties. The mechanical and industrial conditions of our homes, with their reaction upon character, lie at the base of that artificial restriction of motherhood so widely lamented.

Again, they react upon child-culture, in age-long suppression of that greatest of sciences, in confining the care of little children to the ignorance of incompetent mothers and less competent servants. While the home enforces the condition of female servitude our children must continue to be born of and reared by servants.

Finally, these same conditions, these limitations in structure and function, this arrested womanhood and low-grade child-culture do not tend to develop the best individuals nor to promote social progress. Such as we are we are largely made by our homes, and surely we do not wish to remain such as we are. Our average health, longevity, efficiency, standard of comfort, happiness, and pleasure do not show the most wholesome influences.

The work of the constructive sociologist in this field is to establish what lines of change and development in our homes, what broad and hopeful new conditions, will act in harmony with social processes, will tend to a better marriage, a higher grade of motherhood, a freer and nobler environment for the individual. We need homes in which mother and father will be equally free and equally bound, both resting together in its shelter and privacy, both working together for its interests.

This requires structural and functional changes that shall eliminate the last of our domestic industries and leave a home that is no one's workshop.

The woman, no longer any man's property, nor any man's servant, must needs develop social usefulness, becoming more efficient, intelligent, experienced. Such women will bring to bear upon their proper problems, maternity and child-culture, a larger wisdom and a wider power than they now possess.

The home, planned, built, and maintained by men and women of this sort, would react upon its constituent family in wholly advantageous ways.[1]

[1] For a detailed and more definite statement of Mrs. Gilman's ideas concerning the reaction of the family and our present domestic economy upon women and children, see her "Women and Economics" and her "Concerning Children."

51. SOCIAL USE OF THE POSTGRADUATE MOTHER[1]

Nature has indeed conveyed to us in no uncertain manner her determination that her gifts shall be shared with an absolute justice between her men-children and her women-children. The boy has his long, straight path of progress, passing on into youth, and later manhood, up to the point where senile decay threatens; which point clean living, noble purpose, intellectual activity and wise physical, mental, and moral hygiene of every sort may push far into the seventies or eighties, or even beyond, if the prophets of a longer term of life for mankind may be believed. This long straight pathway gives man his preëminence as a special worker and vocational expert. The girl, on the other hand, has her better start in constitutional vigor and her surer normality and balance of faculties; and the woman, throughout early and later experience, possesses her stronger recuperative power, her greater capacity for constant labor if free from excessive strain and varied in sort; and her curving line of muscular and nervous power, while giving more variability and less dependable response to highly organized labor, insures her a finer and more flexible adjustment to the general demands of the social order. If she marries and has children she has her longer "curve" of recurrent need for special consideration, protection and care. At last she emerges from the variability which is the price of her special sex-contribution to the social fabric, and becomes in a peculiar and a new sense a citizen of the world; a *Person*, whose own relationship to the social whole may now of right become her main concern. The audiences composed of professional workers and members of reformatory organizations and leaders in philanthropy are often a striking testimony to the as yet half-conscious response of women to this call of their second youth. The faces of women of sixty years and over, lined with marks of many emotions and much lore of life-experience, are alight with an enthusiasm and a hope, a strong and vital interest in life and its meaning, which loses nothing in attractiveness when matched against the groups

[1] By Anna Garlin Spencer. From Woman's Share in Social Culture, pp. 233–252. Mitchell Kennerley, New York, 1913.

of college girls as they leave their Alma Mater. Indeed the mothers are often younger at the moment than their daughters just graduating, because love has taught them as well as books, and contact with child-nature has kept them hopeful as well as made them wise, while the student, still in the period of acquisition, is always in danger of mistaking words for life, theories for realities. Moreover, women who have had a true marriage and a welcome discipline of family service have had what no young women, and few if any unmarried women possess, the constant help of the masculine way of looking at things to balance and keep sane their distinctly feminine approach to life. They are therefore able, if they have used well their opportunities, to understand men and women alike and to work for and with both impartially. This is a point of far more social importance than is at present recognized. If there are any dangers of "feminization" threatening us in the school or in society at large, any real overplus of specially "womanly influence" in our present civilization, those dangers inhere in the large celibate majority of intellectual leaders and representatives of womanhood in the field of expert knowledge and work. There is a "finicky," overprecise, ultra-refined morality and idealism which women develop by themselves, and which is difficult to adjust to the larger, looser, simpler, but often more vital ethics and aspiration of men. The rounded wisdom and experience of the postgraduate mother (who usually has to practice her motherhood on her husband as well as her sons and thus learns tolerance and breadth of view) will come to be prized at its full social value, therefore, when more women qualify for its highest potency and the world learns at last what "old women" are for, and what social end they may serve. Then it will be at last understood why nature preserves so carefully both the life and the health of women; why she gives them a new strength of body, a new youthfulness of purpose, a new capacity for spiritual adventure, so far in excess of men, when the time comes that their whole life may rightfully become their own in a more complete sense than ever before.

It is said of the high-caste Brahman that he has three stages in life, three grand divisions of duty and of experience. First, he

must be a learner, devoted to acquiring the knowledge that a leader of men should possess; next, he must be a father and householder, paying loyally his debt to society by rearing offspring who may connect his ancestors with his descendants in worship and family continuity; last, he may become a pilgrim, a solitary seeker for truth, enjoying at will the high communion of those who live but for spiritual ends of being. The modern woman has now outlined before her, faintly as yet but growing in clearness, her own "threefold path of life." First, the learner and the doer fitting for self-support and self-direction; next, the devoted servant of life's most intimate demands upon human beings of the mother sex; last, a conscious sharer, in a new and more inspiring sense, in the larger life of the race.

There can be no general clearness of vision as to this threefold path of womanhood, however, until more educated and competent women prepare for their last and splendid opportunity of service by a better use of the leisure hours of that period of life which is given especially to family interests. The vulgar phrase, "She does not need accomplishments now, her market is made," only emphasizes the too frequent undercurrent of women's attitude toward personal achievement. If one must earn a living outside the home, ambition now makes most women seek to do it in the best way they can and to the highest results of financial and social return. But the average married woman, with or without children, is too prone to look upon her life as ceasing to afford or to need new or continued modes of self-expression. There is an almost fatal tendency among young married women of average education and circumstances to give up wholly the vocational interest which was theirs before marriage. "No, I don't play now, I gave up practicing after John was born." "No, I don't paint now, the house takes so much time and Mary is a great care." "I never think of reading a book now, the magazines are all I can manage with the house, and no maid." "I can't work at my trade or my clerical work now, of course, for I can't be gone from the house all day." How often these and similar expressions are heard! It is true, of course, that competitive industry being arranged for all-day service, most married

women are unable to engage profitably or properly in the work they did before marriage. But there are few women who cannot keep at least a selective and constant interest, and some small practice to "keep the hand in," that will stand them in stead if there should be need of earning in case of widowhood or financial calamity, or when larger leisure from the upgrowing of the children makes it well for them to have some special interest of their own. Moreover, the period of life when a woman has the largest end of her activity fastened to the family need, and her economic position, therefore, properly secured by her husband's work for the family, is precisely the period when she may use her leisure, be it much or little, in preparation for some kind of work she wants to do but was not trained for as a girl. How many men find themselves in positions where they are kept doing what they would so gladly exchange for another sort of labor no one was wise enough to fit them for in youth! The tragedies of misfit industry, the heroisms of men who stick at a hated task because it is all they know how to do and they dare not leave it for the sake of wife and bairns, — these are material for great dramas. How rich an opportunity many women waste, an opportunity to prepare in a leisurely way, through years of security of home protection and care, by use of the bits of leisure almost every day affords, for the work nature intended they should do. Women have but just begun to see and use the advantages of their threefold path of life and only those most clear-sighted and brave can as yet do so.

One thing stands in the way of women's realization and appropriation of these advantages, and that is the aristocratic attitude of both men and women toward "paid work" for women. So long as it is thought unfitting for a married woman to earn money inside or outside the home, so long as it popularly discredits a man if his wife thus earns as a result of her own labor outside domestic work, we shall have a majority of women unwilling and unable to use to best advantage the leisure hours of their earlier married life and hence unable to use most effectively their third stage of opportunity. Enough has been said in this discussion to show that it is intended to strengthen rather than to weaken the

demands of family life and child-care upon women. It remains to insist that until women themselves outgrow, and teach their "men folks" to outgrow, the notion that it is honorable for men to earn money in useful labor but dishonorable or a dire misfortune for women to do so, the right personal and social use of women's lives cannot be accomplished. It is now considered right and highly proper for a woman to earn money if unmarried and her "father can't take care of her," or if a widow whose "husband did not leave enough to support her," or a wife whose husband is disabled, ill, or incompetent. It must become natural and common in the public eye for any woman to earn money who wants to and can. At present we have advanced little beyond the period when the "wife of Thomas Hawkins" was granted by the selectmen of her town, in the seventeenth century, the "right to sell liquors by retayle, considering the necessitie and weak condition of her husband"; and when widows were "approved" by the church trustees to earn a pittance in "sweeping and dusting the meetinghouse" because they had no "provider."[1] The great city of New York still requires its married women teachers to swear that their husbands are morally, mentally or physically incompetent in order to retain their positions!

The adjustment in plans of living to home needs and obligations is a private concern of each married pair. The only social claim is that the children, if there are any, shall be well cared for in all respects, physical, mental, moral and vocational. The adjustment of each woman to her own vocational desires, capacities and opportunities is a matter for herself and her husband to settle between them; it is not even the proper concern of either mother-in-law! The more exceptional women earn in art and literature, in singing, painting, acting, on a plane where it is clear they are conferring social benefits and hence have a right to financial returns which do not degrade but give distinction, the more nearly we approach a time when common women may earn money by any sort of labor they can do well enough to be paid, and whether married or single, without injuring their own or their husband's social position. We are, however, a long way from

[1] Early Colonial Records.

that day now, when even the law penalizes the marriage of teachers and custom forbids any organized adjustment of labor to the special needs of the house-mother. The choice for the manual worker is sharply made, "labor all day and leave your baby at the day-nursery or stop at home and starve." The choice is almost equally difficult for the clerk, the stenographer, the telephone operator, the professional woman, the business manager. The Utopias in which all these difficulties vanish with a "presto change" are interesting to read of in books; but what is really helping the actual situation is that men and women, richer or poorer, but of the moral and intellectual élite, are now working out for themselves many modifications of the rigidity of modern industry as it relates to the married woman and the mother, in a most difficult but a most useful domestic experimentation.

Meanwhile the average young married woman, and especially the average young married woman of good education and fairly good financial circumstances, needs most of all to see and to use her fine chance for preparation for vocational achievement, or for social usefulness, after she has become released from the heaviest duties to her family. Everything done by such a young woman in a professional manner and for pay on a business basis, helps to democratize the industry of women and to place the whole relationship of her sex to industry on a truly social plane. The aristocratic notion that it is a dire calamity for a married woman to have to earn money can only be outgrown by having multitudes of married women who do not have to earn money for personal comforts or family well-being do something that the world wants to pay for and take their compensation naturally as men take it for worthy service. Whether or not, however, women earn money in personal labor outside the home during the years when their chief devotion must be to the family needs, they can keep interest and study and acquaintance open toward the free time of their second youth, when they will need and want to do something for and by themselves to round out their own personal lives: whether that something shall be a paid or an unpaid service. All this presupposes that women shall have had needed care and protection and support in their distinctive function of

motherhood and thus have escaped that too common tragedy of overwork and neglect which now leaves so many women helpless and invalid in middle life. The majority of house-mothers among the wage-earning class are now overworked and underfed; overburdened with care and denied all the diversions and rest that enable women to keep well and happy and able to enter upon their third stage of life fitted for its opportunities and its joys.

Moreover, it must be pressed home to the public mind and conscience that the waste of womanhood in its later life has been throughout the ages, and now is, the result of an ignorant and careless treatment of girlhood. The same scientific inquiry which proves the eligibility of womanhood to a ripe and useful, a vital and youthful-hearted old age, demonstrates beyond cavil the social crime of ignoring the special danger point in the physical life of woman. We learn from every quarter of science that the weak point in womanhood is between the ages of thirteen or fourteen, and nineteen or twenty years. At that time and that alone death and disease stand nearer and more threatening to the girl than to the boy. At that time and at no other, save during actual childbearing, the womanhood of the race stands in greater need of special protection and help from society and from parenthood than does the manhood of the race. Mature women may always need social protection against long-continued, monotonous and uninterrupted labor. They may always be less able than men to survive shocks of accident or to sustain hardest trials of muscular effort without permanent harm. As Professor Thompson says: "Men are stronger in relation to spasmodic efforts and isolated feats." Hence the rule of the sea in shipwreck, or of the land in any terrible disaster, the rule of "women first to be saved," has a reason in the nature of things, since men can summon so much more special power for the special demand. The greater tenacity of life among women, however, their greater resistance to disease, their larger capacity for continual, sustained effort if that is varied in form and not too severe, are ample proofs that women need not be invalids or "weak," and that it is a social mistake or a social crime, or both, if they are so in any prevailing numbers at any period of life. The reason that the old age

of women is so often pathological in condition, the reason that marriage and maternity mean so often extreme suffering and disease, the reason that so many women fail of the second youth that is their birthright and have instead a long decay of life in depressing helplessness and futile longing, is more than all else because the first youth of women is so generally misused. Those years between fourteen and twenty when death and disease stand nearest to womanhood are the very years when in many civilizations marriage and childbearing have made their heaviest demands upon the young life. The physical weakness of both men and women in India, their lack of stamina, their easy yielding to all manner of diseases, their quick fading at the touch of hardship, this is the price India has paid for her child marriages. And not this alone, although this is so obvious that all mark its terrible consequences of social mistake. There is another price paid, the very life-portion of nature's dower to the women of India, nature's dower of health and happiness. Nowhere do women so age in mid-life, so suffer with all manner of maladjustments of physical, mental, and moral condition, as in countries where girlhood is thus sacrificed, and the time of all others when womanhood most needs care for the upbuilding of the individual life is misused for a premature devotion to other lives. The sadness of the women of India, who have become conscious of their lot and its contrast with happier lives, is only understood when we see clearly what an outrage upon nature's laws is this marriage of unformed girlhood. We trace in every civilization that has thus ignored the danger point in womanhood's physical development the same weakness in the race, the same unutterable sadness of premature old age and of widespread disease among the women.

We are not to take credit to ourselves, however, as a civilization humane and wise in this matter. We are doing almost as wicked and wasteful a thing as respects the girlhood of the poorer classes in these United States in the morning of the twentieth century. Read again what we do to our young girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty, when of all the periods of life for women there is most danger of premature death and of wasting

and disabling disease.[1] Concerning the two hundred and ninety-five separate employments in which women earn wages and salary, as recorded in the census of 1900, two facts stand out prominently,— namely, the youth of the women and girls, and the low quality and poor pay of the work of the majority among them. Other facts are coming clearly into light, baleful in their significance, as we more closely study conditions. In the canning factories 2400 rapid and regular motions a day in tin-cutting for the girls employed; girls sixteen to twenty years of age, and speeded to the limit of supreme exhaustion in this race to keep ahead of the other workers. In the confectionery business, 3000 chocolates "dipped" every day at fever heat of energy. In the cracker-making trade, the girls standing or walking not six feet from the ovens show a white faintness from heat and hurry as they handle a hundred dozen a day; and "can't stand the work long," as even the strongest confess. In the cigar-making industry 1400 "stogies" a day worked over by girls seventeen to twenty years of age; and not only that but children, boys and girls from five to twelve years old, stripping tobacco as helpers and the whole work so exhausting that even the older girls say they "can't keep the pace more than six years." In the garment trades, the sewing machines speeded to almost incredible limits, the unshaded electric bulbs and the swift motion of the needle giving early "eyeblur" and a nerve strain that enables the strongest to earn only five to six dollars a week, while the goal of eight dollars won by a ruinous "spurt" only crowds down the average wage by cutting "piecework" prices. And in this trade "custom work" brings the unsanitary tenement sweatshop into union with the best factories, to work the children younger and under worse conditions and leave no rest-time for youth even in the home. In the laundries women are operating machines so heavy that their whole bodies tremble with the strain of their use; and the muscular system, drawn upon for this "spasmodic effort for an isolated feat," repeated as rapidly as the body can be forced to act, under the spur of a never-ceasing pressure, is often that of young girls, many of them under sixteen years of age.

[1] See Edith Abbott, Women in Industry.

In the metal trades 10,000 "cores" a day turned out after two or three years' apprenticeship, and still the young girl under twenty is most in evidence in the bewilderingly rapid process. In the manufacture of "caskets" and other articles where strong lacquer is used, the manufacturer often says he "can't stand it more than two or three minutes in the room" where the fumes of the preparation are worst, but his girls work in it ten hours a day for the pitiful wage of nine dollars a week, called "good pay for women." In the soapmaking business the girls must wrap 1100 cakes of soap a day in the bad air and worse smells of most such places in order to get a decent wage. The "telephone girl" gets many a harsh criticism; it might be better if she got a little more attention as a social factor. Her age is seldom over twenty; seventeen to eighteen years is the average. Physicians tell us that it is ruinous to the nervous system to do this exacting work more than five hours a day even with an hour's rest, complete and in the best possible conditions, between each two and one-half hours of service. But our telephone girls work their five hours in continuous service and if after four or five years of such labor they "break down," what then? In mercantile houses the all-day standing which is the rule injures girls so seriously that physicians continually complain about it. The law that requires seats in department stores is so much a dead letter that the girls laugh bitterly at any question concerning its enforcement. In places where five or six hundred girls are employed nineteen to thirty seats may be provided; but to use even these may cost the girl her position. The hours, from eight to five or from eight to six o'clock, and the low wage which forbids proper clothing and nourishment if wholly depended upon for self-support, add to the peril of the shopgirl's condition. The "moral jeopardy of her position," as Miss Butler[1] calls it, is also a factor of sinister suggestion, when we remember that with all their hard and continuous labor, three fifths of the shopgirls earn less than seven dollars a week. The much vaunted "chivalry of men," the proudly assumed "reverence for womanhood" paraded in public addresses on the glory and moral excellence of our present

[1] Elizabeth B. Butler, Women in the Trades.

civilization, do not work far down in the social scale. The fact is that because women are the cheapest of laborers and because young women must all work for pay between their school life and their marriage in the case of the poverty-bound, the poorest-paid and many of the hardest and most health-destroying of employments are given them as almost a monopoly. Nature has warned mankind through unnumbered centuries, since the human intelligence has been able to perceive cause and effect, that if we wanted strong nations we must have strong mothers, and if we wanted strong mothers we must safeguard the girls from overwork and all manner of economic evils: but we still turn deaf ears to the warning.

In circles of society less pressed by economic need we misuse girlhood in many other ways. The pressure upon the early precocity of the girl in school, the strain of "society" functions too elaborate and nerve-wearing for youth, the undercurrent of vulgar and wicked selling of maidenhood in legal but unholy marriage to the highest bidder in rank and money, — all these things despoil the precious and lovely freedom and joy of the potential mother. Some time we must be wiser and shield and protect, as now even the most careful parent finds it almost impossible to do alone and unaided by social customs and ways of living, what nature has asserted by her most solemn commands to be the first right of human beings of the mother-sex, namely, a happy and natural girlhood. Given that for the majority of the sex, given the right use of the period of marriage and maternity not only as related to the duty to the family but also as that may be a preparation for the best use of the later years, then indeed would the second youth of women show such fruitage in personal values and in social service as the world has not yet seen. Then would it be clearer, even to dull perception, why more women than men live to old age and why more women than men "keep the child-like in the larger mind" and hence may have many a belated springtime of growth.

The moral of all this must be pressed home to the master forces of vocational direction and control. It must of all things be emphasized that not only is "teaching woman's organic office

in the world," but that married women and mothers have done most of the teaching of all the younger children in all the past civilizations, and there are the best of reasons why they should continue to do so. Instead of penalizing the marriage of women teachers the public-school management of the United States should offer a premium for the marriage of these women; especially those whose proved fitness for the teacher's office presents the first diploma in the curriculum of successful motherhood. The private schools now utilize such women both as heads of schools and as teachers. The premium that should be offered by the public-school system need not and should not be a continuance in the school work under the same exhausting and inexorable demands which are met by the unmarried teacher, who works so well after her many years of experience in "the system" while trying so heroically to change and improve it. The premium given the married woman teacher, with children or of whom society may expect offspring of a needed kind, should be in freedom of choice of lines of work, in adjustable hours, and in all other details of flexibility of service needed by the house-mother. Although compensation should of course be given, the scale of wages of these part-time workers should not disarrange those schedules which secure to unmarried teachers, who give uninterrupted service for a long career and who constitute the permanent staff in every school, their full share of "equal pay for women for equal work with men" in the higher competitions of professional life. Such schedules are a vital need, not only for the sake of justice but for the right use of those exceptional educators among women who, whether married or unmarried, can serve as superintendents and heads of departments in the highest positions. There is nothing more needed in education, however, than a vastly increased teaching force, and a corresponding opportunity to modify and vary the grade system, especially in the elementary schools, to suit the needs of a wider range of child-capacity. We ought to have two or three part-time married women teachers to every celibate woman, younger or older, who gives whole service to the public schools. Moreover, the caretaking of the weak and ignorant and undeveloped, the moral

protection of children and youth in recreation and in labor, the succor of the needy, and the general expression of social control and social uplift, these are woman's special functions in the social order and have ever been her peculiar responsibility. The vital need in these fields to-day is not alone for a minority of trained workers, such as the schools for social workers are turning out each year, but also for a large majority of citizens devoted to the public weal and able and willing intelligently to carry out and perfect, modify and balance the schemes of the experts and "paid workers" who make "scientific philanthropy" a life work. Women will doubtless always take a larger share in this part-time service in the lines indicated than men can do; and older women, those in the third stage of life, are now entering this field with enthusiasm. As volunteers and as helpers, paid and unpaid, they are doing much of the constructive and ameliorative, the reformatory and the preventive work of social reform. When, however, women enter this field late in life, or after a merely amateur and impulsive response in earlier life to the call of social need, they enter by a vocational leap, as it were, from the inner to the outer circle of human interests. This gives, at the worst, an awkward meddling with established rules of procedure; and at best fails to give highest effectiveness. Women who have had four years of college and two years of special training in a teacher's college or school of philanthropy and then, after two to six years of professional work in their chosen field, marry to take charge of an individual home, are too valuable assets of educational opportunity to be left without social pressure and financial incentive to continue that work with the necessary modifications. The same is true of the minister, the lawyer, and above all the doctor and the nurse, as well as of all other women specialists in professional labor.

The difficulties of the woman worker who marries and has children increase as we go down the scale through commercial, clerical, and manual employments; but they are not insuperable; and the ingenuity of industrial mechanism needed for the higher utilization of the paid work of women in other than purely private domestic lines waits for development only for a more just perception in the common sense regarding women's work-power.

The present pressure upon the wages of men that makes so many house-mothers obliged to add to the family income at the worst time of their lives for economic strain, and at any work they can get, however exploited and health-destroying, is no solution of the problem; it is an aggravation of it dire in social results. Real solutions of social problems are not worked out by people wholly "under" their circumstances.

With, however, a true solution of the problems of womanhood, achieved not by flights of fancy but by patient infinitesimal efforts of daily living in which no inherited or present duty is neglected, and no opportunity for shaping toward future conditions is ignored, we shall gain at last for social culture in all lines, and for industry in many forms, a needed class of slowly trained, slowly apprenticed workers in every field where women naturally excel; to rise finally at the third period of their lives to positions of command where women are now most needed. This will mean new ways of conserving hitherto exploited capacities and gifts of the mass of mankind. For women of the right sort and the right training, shielded by men's protection and care from the heaviest economic pressure during early life and developed in personality by the special demands upon them in the home, will see to it when they arrive at their rightful place of control that neither professional demand nor the industrial order shall take such a heavy toll from life itself in the effort to make a living!

"Old men for counsel?" Yes, surely, now as of old; and it is well for humanity that it learned this bit of social wisdom so early. Old women for new work for the race? Yes, surely; and well will it be for human progress when mankind learns this new lesson of social wisdom and makes fitting social use of the postgraduate mother, eager and fresh in her second youth, for a new pathfinding for the feet of the coming generations before she draws down the curtain and says good night.

CHAPTER XIII

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

Plato's view, 550. — Differences in the mentality of the sexes, 552. — Woman's education — a man's view, 562. — Woman's education — a woman's view, 567.

[Much of the limitation of women's activity and of the suppression of her freedom of thought and impulse, which has come to be called, after Mill, "the subjection of women," has been due to preconceived and erroneous ideas as to the influence of the fact of sex upon the nonsexual functions of life. One of the most ill-used terms in the English language is the word "natural," especially when it is used in relation to sex. People speak glibly of this or that characteristic of women, or men, as the case may be, as "natural," meaning thereby that the trait is inborn in the individual through organic heredity, and that it is not a product of response to a given environment. It is difficult to realize how great are the differences of social training, of environmental stimuli in general, afforded the boy and the girl. Nowhere has this unscientific and superficial mode of thought, of attributing to nature what may be due to "nurture," played sadder havoc to the cause of justice and progress than in its easy assumption of innate and ineradicable *mental* differences between the sexes. There are perhaps certain *a priori* reasons, such as the physiological relation of the mother to the child, why we might look for a more widely diffused and active sense of sympathy, for instance, in women than in men, but no one can say scientifically, on the basis of ordered and carefully examined inductive evidence, that important natural mental differences do, or do not, exist. Modern scientific psychology has made but the veriest beginnings of a study of this problem, and the general tendency is to relegate it to the limbo of "academic" questions — possibly because of the almost hopeless nature of the task of distinguishing between

facts that are natural, the result of organic heredity, and those that are due to education, using that term in the broad sense of adaptation to, and by, a social environment. Nevertheless, no small portion of society is organized, and carries on its processes, upon the old assumptions of the inferior intellectuality and rationality of woman, and her "finer sensibilities."

Far more attention is still given to the policies which should govern the education of boys and men than is given to the education of girls and women. The new movement for vocational guidance, which fortunately has been taken up for girls as well as for boys, as well as the growth of the women's colleges and coeducational institutions, and the great number of girls in the high schools, is beginning to draw more attention to the question of the proper education for women. We are thus introduced to a most interesting and socially significant opposition of ideals for the future of the education of girls and women in this country.]

52. PLATO ON THE TALENTS AND EDUCATION OF WOMEN[1]

If the male and female sex appear to differ in reference to any art, or other occupation, we shall say that such occupation must be appropriated to the one or to the other: but if we find the differences between the sexes to consist simply in the parts they respectively bear in the propagation of the species, we shall assert that it has not yet been by any means demonstrated that the difference between men and women touches our purpose; on the contrary we shall still think it proper for our guardians and their wives to engage in the same pursuits.

Pray tell us whether, when you say that one man possesses talents for a particular study, and that another is without them, you mean that the former learns it easily, the latter with difficulty; and that the one with little instruction can find out much for himself in the subject he has studied, whereas the other after much teaching and practice cannot even retain what he has learned; and that the mind of the one is duly aided, that of the other thwarted, by the bodily powers. Are not these the only

[1] Adapted from "The Republic," sections 454–456.

marks by which you define the possession and the want of natural talents for any pursuit?

Well, then, do you know of any branch of human industry in which the female sex is not inferior in these respects to the male? or need we go to the length of specifying the art of weaving, and the manufacture of pastry and preserves, in which women are thought to excel, and in which their discomfiture is most laughed at? In almost every employment the one sex is vastly superior to the other. There are many women, no doubt, who are better in many things than many men. I conclude, then, that none of the occupations which comprehend the ordering of a state belong to women as women, nor yet to man as man; but natural gifts are to be found here and there, in both sexes alike; and, so far as her nature is concerned, the woman is admissible to all pursuits as well as the man; though in all of them the woman is weaker than the man.

Shall we then appropriate all duties to men and none to women? On the contrary we shall hold that one woman may have talents for medicine, and another be without them; and that one may be musical and another unmusical. And may there not be a love of knowledge in one and a distaste for it in another? and may not one be spirited and another spiritless? If that be so, there are some women who are fit and others who are unfit, for the office of guardians. For were not those the qualities that we selected, in the case of the men, as marking their fitness for that office? Then as far as the guardianship of the state is concerned, there is no difference between the natures of the man and of the woman, but only various degrees of weakness and of strength.

Then we shall have to select duly qualified women also, to share in the life and official labors of the duly qualified men; since we find that they are competent to the work, and of kindred nature with the men.

If the question is how to render a woman fit for the office of guardian, we shall not have one education for men, and another for women, especially as the nature to be wrought upon is the same in both cases.

53. ARE THERE "NATURAL" DIFFERENCES IN THE MENTALITY OF THE SEXES?[1]

We may now bring together the results obtained from the various fields, and ascertain whether or not any broad generalizations with reference to the psychological norms of men and women which can be regarded as of fundamental importance have been reached.

It has been found that motor ability in most of its forms is better developed in men than in women. In strength, rapidity of movement, and rate of fatigue, they have a very decided advantage, and in precision of movement a slight advantage. These four forms of superiority are probably all expressions of one and the same fact — the greater muscular strength of men. In the formation of a new coördination women are superior to men. The greater muscular strength of men is a universally accepted fact. There has been more or less dispute as to which sex displays greater manual dexterity. According to the present results, manual dexterity which consists in the ability to make very delicate and minutely controlled movements is slightly greater in men; that which consists in the ability to coördinate movements rapidly to unforeseen stimuli is clearly greater in women.

There have been two opposing views on the general subject of the sensibility of the sexes; one assigning the keener senses to men, and the other to women. They have been based either on inadequate experiment in a few fields of sensibility or on general theoretical considerations. The present investigation of the total field of sensibility has resulted in the following conclusions regarding thresholds and discriminative sensibility:

Thresholds. — Women have lower thresholds in the recognition of two points on the skin; in touch; in sweet, salt, sour, and bitter taste; in smell; in color; and in pain through pressure.

[1] By Helen B. Thompson. From The Mental Traits of Sex, pp. 169–182. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1903. Dr. Thompson carried out rigid experiments on twenty-five men and twenty-five women, all students, in the psychological laboratory of The University of Chicago, to determine whether there were measurable differences, and if so, how great, in the mental activities of the two sexes. The pages here given are the concluding chapter of her book.

Men and women are alike in respect to the upper and lower limits of pitch. Men have a lower threshold in the perception of light.

Discriminative sensibility. — Women have finer discrimination in pitch and in color. Men and women have equal discrimination in temperature, in odor, and in passive pressure. Men have finer discrimination in lifted weights; in sweet, sour, and bitter taste; in shades of gray; probably in areas on the skin (the test on this subject does not warrant certainty); and in visual areas.

The number of cases in which the advantage is on the side of the women is greater than the number of cases in which it is on the side of the men. The thresholds are on the whole lower in women; discriminative sensibility is on the whole better in men. Those sensory judgments into which sensations of movement enter directly, such as the discrimination of lifted weights and of visual lines and areas, are somewhat better in men. All these differences, however, are slight.

As for the intellectual faculties, women are decidedly superior to men in memory, and possibly more rapid in associative thinking. Men are probably superior in ingenuity. In general information and intellectual interests there is no difference characteristic of sex.

The data on the life of feeling indicate that there is little, if any, sexual difference in the degree of domination by emotion, and that social consciousness is more prominent in men and religious consciousness in women.

Let us now turn to the question how well or how ill these results accord with the prevailing biological view of the mental differences between the sexes.

It is perhaps not fair to speak of a prevailing view in a question regarding which dispute is so rife; but the view which seems to command the adherence of most scientists at present is that advanced by Geddes and Thompson.[1] It is worked out in some detail on the psychological side by Fouillée.[2] Brooks[3] and

[1] Patrick Geddes and J. Arthur Thompson, The Evolution of Sex. London, 1889.

[2] Alfred Fouillée, Tempérament et caractère selon les individus, les sexes et les races. Paris, 1895.

[3] W. K. Brooks, "On the Development of Voluntary Motor Ability," *American Journal of Psychology*, Vol. V (1892), p. 269.

Patrick[1] represent the same tendency. The view is not altogether free from contradictions, nor entirely satisfactory in so far as it pretends to be a theory of the evolution of sex. Leaving these points aside, its general tenets are that the differentiation between the sexes in the course of evolution has been in the direction of a sort of division of labor, the male assuming the processes of nutrition and the female those of reproduction, which has made women more anabolic and men more katabolic in physiological structure. This difference is displayed in its most elementary form by the two sexual cells. The female is large and immobile. It represents stored nutrition. The male cell is small and agile. It represents expenditure of energy. From these fundamental characteristics the social and psychological differences can be deduced. The female represents the conservation of the species — the preservation of past gains made by the race. Her characteristics are continuity, patience, and stability. Her mental life is dominated by integration. She is skilled in particular ideas and in the application of generalizations already obtained, but not in abstraction or the formation of new concepts. Since woman is receptive, she possesses keener senses and more intense reflexes than man. Her tendency to accumulate nutrition brings about a greater development of the viscera, and, since emotions are reflex waves from the viscera, woman is more emotional than man. The male, on the other hand, represents the introduction of new elements. Males are more variable than females throughout the animal kingdom. Everywhere we find the male sex adventurous and inventive. Its activities are characterized everywhere by impulsiveness and intensity, rather than by patience and continuity. Men are more capable of intense and prolonged concentration of attention than women. They are less influenced by feeling than women. They have greater powers of abstraction and generalization.

It is evident that, on the surface at least, the results at which we have arrived accord very well with this theory. Men did prove in our experiments to have better-developed motor ability

[1] G. T. W. Patrick, "The Psychology of Woman," *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. XLVII (1895), p. 209.

and more ingenuity. Women did have somewhat keener senses and better memory. The assertion that the influence of emotion is greater in the life of women found no confirmation. Their greater tendency toward religious faith, however, and the greater number of superstitions among them, point toward their conservative nature — their function of preserving established beliefs and institutions.

But before we accept the theory advanced as the correct interpretation of the facts, it would be well to examine a little more closely the evidence on which it rests, and consider whether or not there is any other possible interpretation with equal claims to a hearing.

In the first place, this theory, in so far as its deductions about mental characteristics are derived as necessary conclusions from the nature of the genital cells, seems to rest on somewhat far-fetched analogies only. The sets of characteristics deduced for the sexes may be correct, but the method of deriving them is not very convincing, nor is the set of characteristics derived for each sex entirely consistent. Women are said to represent concentration, patience, and stability in emotional life. One might logically conclude that prolonged concentration of attention and unbiased generalization would be their intellectual characteristics. But these are the very characteristics assigned to men. Women, though more stable in their emotions, are more influenced by them, and, although they represent patience and concentration, they are incapable of prolonged efforts of attention. Men, whose activity is essentially intermittent, and whose emotions are greater in variety and more unstable, are characterized by prolonged strains of attention and unbiased judgment. It may be true, but the proof for it does not appeal to one as very cogent. In fact, after reading the several expositions of this theory, one is left with a strong impression that, if the authors' views as to the mental differences of sex had been different, they might as easily have derived a very different set of characteristics. There is truth as well as humor in Lourbet's[1] suggestion that, if the nature of the genital cells were reversed, it would be a little easier for this school of

[1] Jacques Lourbet, La Femme devant la science contemporaire. Paris, 1896.

evolutionists to derive the characteristics of sex with which they finally come out. In that case, the female cell, smaller and more agile than the male, would represent woman with her smaller size, her excitable nervous system, and her incapacity for sustained effort of attention; while the male cell, large, calm, and self-contained, would image the size and strength, the impartial reason, and the easy concentration of attention of men.

The fact which is put forward to prove the greater natural ingenuity and inventiveness of man is his greater variability. Lombroso, without more ado, asserts that the male is everywhere, and in all respects, more variable than the female, and that this fact alone is sufficient to prove his greater creative ability. The doctrine has been unquestioningly adopted by all the advocates of this theory. It is called upon to explain the occurrence of more individuals of unusual mental capacity, both above and below the norm, as well as to account for the greater versatility and inventiveness of the male mind.

Unfortunately for the theory, the latest researches on the question of variability have failed to sustain it. Pearson[1] subjects the previous methods of measuring variability to criticism, and finds them very faulty. He insists that pathological variations are not a fair test of average variability in the sexes, because many diseases have a tendency to attack one sex rather than the other. The true measure of the variability which must be regarded as important in evolution is, he says, the amount of normal variation found in organs or characteristics not of a secondary sexual character. The variation, however, of any organ must be judged by its relative departure from its mean, not, as has formerly been done, by its absolute variation, or by its variation relatively to some other organ. Taking all the available physical measurements of human beings as a basis for his calculation, Pearson finds the total trend of his observations to be toward a somewhat greater tendency to variation in women than in men. He concludes that "the principle that man is more variable than woman must be put aside as a pseudo-scientific superstition until

[1] Karl Pearson, The Chances of Death, Vol. I, chap. viii ("Variation in Man and Woman"), p. 256. London, 1897.

it has been demonstrated in a more scientific manner than has hitherto been attempted."

While it may still prove true that men are intellectually more variable than women, it cannot be deduced directly from the universally greater variability of man. The fact is often held to be proved from the greater prevalence of both genius and imbecility among men, but, as Pearson points out, these are both forms of abnormal variation. It is perfectly conceivable that the class which presented the greatest number of abnormalities in a character might not be the class which displayed the widest normal variations of that character.

But even though it could be shown that men are intellectually more variable than women, it is still difficult to see why this would give a basis for the statement that inventiveness and ability to arrive at new generalizations are characteristic of the male mind as opposed to the female. It would, if true, lead us to expect a greater number of intellectually inferior and of intellectually superior individuals belonging to the male sex. In so far as great originality is characteristic of exceptional mental ability, it would lead us to expect that the greatest discoveries and inventions should come from these exceptional individuals. But that is not at all the same thing as saying that originality and inventiveness are characteristic of the male mind as a whole, in opposition to the female mind, as a whole. This statement assumes not merely greater variability of mind in general, but the presence of a variation in a given direction.

The biological theory of psychological differences of sex is not in a condition to compel assent. While it is true, therefore, that the present investigation tends to support the theory, it is just as true that the uncertain basis of the theory itself leaves room for other explanations of the facts, if there are other satisfactory ways of explaining them.

In considering the question whether or not there is any other explanation for the facts in the case, it is important to remember that the make-up of any adult individual cannot be attributed entirely to inherited tendency. The old question of the relative importance of heredity and environment in the final outcome of

the individual must be taken into consideration. Although the timeworn controversy is far from satisfactory settlement, the results of recent observation on individual development have tended to emphasize more and more the extreme importance of environment. The sociological experiments in which very young children from the criminal classes have been placed in good surroundings, with no knowledge of their antecedents, have shown that such children usually develop into good members of society. The entire practical movement of sociology is based on the firm conviction that an individual is very vitally molded by his surroundings, and that even slight modifications may produce important changes in character.

The suggestion that the observed psychological differences of sex may be due to difference in environment has often been met with derision, but it seems at least worthy of unbiased consideration. The fact that very genuine and important differences of environment do exist can be denied only by the most superficial observer. Even in our own country, where boys and girls are allowed to go to the same schools and to play together to some extent, the social atmosphere is different, from the cradle. Different toys are given them, different occupations and games are taught them, different ideals of conduct are held up before them. The question for the moment is not at all whether or not these differences in education are right and proper and necessary, but merely whether or not, as a matter of fact, they exist, and, if so, what effect they have on the individuals who are subjected to them.

The difference in physical training is very evident. Boys are encouraged in all forms of exercise and in out-of-door life, while girls are restricted in physical exercise at a very early age. Only a few forms of exercise are considered ladylike. Rough games and violent exercise of all sorts are discouraged. Girls are kept in the house and taught household occupations. The development of physical strength is not held up to girls as an ideal, while it is made one of the chief ambitions of boys.

While it is improbable that all the difference of the sexes with regard to physical strength can be attributed to persistent difference in training, it is certain that a large part of the difference

is explicable on this ground. The great strength of savage women and the rapid increase in strength in civilized women, wherever systematic physical training has been introduced, both show the importance of this factor. When we consider other forms of motor ability than mere muscular force, such as quickness of reaction and accuracy of coördination, it seems very probable that mere differences of physical training are ample to account for these differences of sex. While it seems to be true that slower rates of movement and decreased accuracy of coördination do result from greatly inferior physical strength, it is not true that the correlation is quantitatively a close one. Even with wide differences in muscular force, the difference in motor ability is comparatively slight. Where the differences in strength are slight, we have no reason to expect differences in motor ability on that ground.

When we consider the other important respect in which men are supposed to be superior to women — ingenuity or inventiveness — we find equally important differences in social surroundings which would tend to bring about this result. Boys are encouraged to individuality. They are trained to be independent in thought and action. This is the ideal of manliness held up before them. They are expected to understand the use of tools and machinery, and encouraged to experiment and make things for themselves. Girls are taught obedience, dependence, and deference. They are made to feel that too much independence of opinion or action is a drawback to them — not becoming or womanly. A boy is made to feel that his success in life, his place in the world, will depend upon his ability to go ahead with his chosen occupation on his own responsibility, and to accomplish something new and valuable. No such social spur is applied to girls. Royce[1] in his article on the psychology of invention says:

> Only heredity can account for the very wide differences between clever men and stupid men, or explain why men of genius exist at all. But the minor and still important inventiveness of the men of talent, the men of the second grade,

[1] Josiah Royce, "The Psychology of Invention," *Psychological Review*, Vol. V (1898), p. 113.

is somehow due to a social stimulation which sets their habits varying in different directions. And this stimulation is of the type which abounds in periods of individualism. . . . For once more, the primary character of the social influences to which we are exposed is that, within limits, they set us to imitating models; they tend to make us creatures of social routine, slaves of the mob, or obedient servants of the world about us. . . . Inventions thus seem to be the results of the encouragement of individuality.

If one applies these words to the question of the relative inventiveness of the sexes, and realizes the wide differences in social influence which still exist even in a community where women have more freedom and more education than anywhere else in the world, it seems rash to assume that the observed difference in inventiveness represents a genuine and fundamental sexual difference of mind. The fact that the difference revealed by experiment is so slight in men and women whose educations have been as nearly alike as those of students in a coeducational university, tends to throw further doubt on the fundamental importance of this distinction. The very brief period in which women have been given any systematic education, or any freedom of choice in occupation, makes it impossible to decide the question on the basis of previous achievement.

The same social influences which have tended to retard the development of motor ability and of inventiveness in women would tend to develop keenness of sense and the more reproductive mental processes, such as memory. The question is largely one of the distribution of attention. A large part of a boy's attention goes toward his activities — the learning of new movements, the manipulating of tools, the making of contrivances of various sorts. A girl's less active existence must be filled with some other sort of conscious process. The only possibility is that sensory and perceptual processes should be more prominent. In some cases the special training of girls tends directly toward the development of a special sense. This is notably true in color, and perhaps has some influence in taste. On the more purely intellectual level, it is only natural that in the absence of a sufficient social spur toward originality and inventiveness, they should depend more upon memory for their supply of ideas. It

is easier for any individual to learn someone else's ideas than to think out his own. Every teacher has to struggle against the tendency to memorize merely, and to endeavor in every way to stimulate original thought and help pupils to form the habit of doing their own thinking. It is no great matter of surprise that in the absence of social stimulus toward originality of thought, women should have tended, from inertia, to stay in the realm of reproductive thinking.

It will probably be said that this view of the case puts the cart before the horse — that the training and social surroundings of the sexes are different because their natural characteristics are different. It will be said that a boy is encouraged to activity because he is naturally active — that he is given tools instead of a doll because he is naturally more interested in tools than in dolls. But there are many indications that these very interests are socially stimulated. A small boy with an older sister and no brothers is very sure to display an ambition to have dolls. It is in most cases quenched early by ridicule, but it is evident that a boy must be taught what occupations are suited to boys. The sorrows of a small girl with brothers because she is not allowed to run and race with the boys and take part in their sports and games have frequently been recounted. If it were really a fundamental difference of instincts and characteristics which determined the difference of training to which the sexes are subjected, it would not be necessary to spend so much effort in making boys and girls follow the lines of conduct proper to their sex. The more probable interpretation of the facts is that the necessities of social organization have in the past brought about a division of labor between the sexes, the usefulness of which is evident. Social ideals have been developed in connection with this economic necessity, and still persist.

This is not the place to discuss the question whether or not the conditions of social organization still demand the same division of labor, and make the preservation of the traditional ideals for the sexes necessary to the good of society. If such is the case, there is no doubt that the present state of affairs will persist. There are, as everyone must recognize, signs of a radical change

in the social ideals of sex. The point to be emphasized as the outcome of this study is that, according to our present light, the psychological differences of sex seem to be largely due, not to difference of average capacity, nor to difference in type of mental activity, but to differences in the social influences brought to bear on the developing individual from early infancy to adult years. The question of the future development of the intellectual life of women is one of social necessities and ideals, rather than of the inborn psychological characteristics of sex.

54. WOMAN'S EDUCATION — A FORECAST[1]

When I was invited to speak here it was suggested to me that I say something about the future of the higher education of women; and that task I gladly accepted.

We cannot tell much about the future except as we study the past and the present; and therefore the first thing I want to do is to state as clearly as I can what seems to me to have been accomplished in the last thirty-five years concerning the higher education of women in our country. I remember very well the beginnings. I remember the doubts which accompanied those beginnings — doubts in which your president has just intimated that I might possibly have shared.

Three doubts, at least, fundamental in their nature, important with regard to the immediate success of the higher education of women, and important, certainly, with regard to their future, seem to me to have been resolved. Three distinct apprehensions concerning the effect of the higher education upon women seem to me to have been dissipated, to have been removed.

In the first place, there was perfectly sincere doubt (because there was very little experience to go upon) whether young women were as capable as young men of receiving what was then called the higher education — whether young women had the capacity to master by study what were the traditional subjects of what was called higher education.

[1] By Charles W. Eliot. From the *Magazine of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ*, February (1908), pp. 101–105.

Now that doubt has been removed. We have learned by actual trial that young women can learn all the more difficult subjects of education just as well as young men; and there is some evidence to show that on the average they will master those subjects better than the average young men. Some people think that is because they are brighter; other people think it is because they are more conscientious and diligent. But, whatever the reason, the fact has been established that young women can take college subjects and deal with them just as well as young men can. That is a good deal to have learned in a single generation. And one advantage of having already learned that is that the women's colleges need no longer copy absolutely the programs for young men's colleges. Relief from that necessity ought to produce very favorable changes in women's colleges during the next twenty years.

The fact is that it was a worthy motive which impelled the managers of women's colleges, at first, to copy abjectly the programs for young men. The leaders wanted to prove just the thing that has been proved — that young women were just as good as young men for those studies, and for that order of studies, and to that limit of studies. That having been proved, women's colleges are now free to arrange for an education for women which is specially adapted to the needs of women. I look forward, therefore, to the excellent progress of the women's colleges of the United States in this respect during the next twenty years.

A second point of serious apprehension existed thirty-five years ago. It was feared that if young women of eighteen years of age or so studied in colleges three or four years, such study would have serious ill effect on their health and on their fitness for their natural functions in after life. This apprehension was felt by many physicians, and warmly expressed.

For a whole generation we have been trying the experiment; and the result is perfectly clear. Those apprehensions have not been justified. It is apparent that young women can work three or four years, between eighteen and twenty-two, not only without impairing their physical vigor, but all the time improving it, if they live wisely and under right conditions. That is a good deal to have learned in a single generation; but the record is made.

And, thirdly, there was a strong apprehension felt by many excellent people, by many men who loved and venerated the women who had brought them up, who had lived with them, who had brought up their children, that in this process of the higher education of women, young women would be denaturized. They admitted that young men were not denaturized in any way by the higher education at college, but they thought there was a serious chance that young women would be altered in their nature, in their feminine nature, by this process of a higher education.

It has turned out that a young woman who studies in college from eighteen to twenty-two is no more altered in her nature than is a young man who goes through the same process. It takes a great deal more than that to alter the nature of woman!

I suppose this apprehension was based upon the fact that women seem, at least to men, more tender, fragile, delicate, than men; and therefore it was feared that they would be more easily bruised or coarsened than men; that the kind of public life, so to speak, in large groups would have some tendency to deprive them of their natural delicacy, refinement, and tenderness. It has not turned out so; and everybody recognizes that it has not turned out so; and here, again, is a considerable achievement for a single generation. A groundless fear has been dismissed. And still Dr. Williams tells us that the professions have not been invaded by women, and that the occupations they have entered upon, the fields they have vanquished, were more or less unexpected occupations and fields and professions; that the anticipations of the friends of the higher education of women have not been realized any more than the apprehensions of the foes of that education.

Looking forward to the future I shall venture to offer a partial explanation of the phenomena to which Dr. Williams alluded. If we could say in regard to the education of young men that that education should be directed always to the one particular occupation which the young men were perfectly sure to engage in, we should simplify very much the education of young men. We cannot say that. After the college education of young men is over they scatter into an enormous variety of occupations and pursuits;

and the higher education for young men has not the advantage of preparing a very great majority of them for a single calling. I submit that the higher education for young women ought to avail itself of that very great advantage. The great majority of women go out into the world to a single occupation. The married women bear and rear children; the unmarried, though they do not bear, bring them up. The result is that the immense majority of women go into the one single occupation of rearing children.

Why has not that advantage been seized upon in the higher education of women? Because that single occupation has not generally been regarded as an intellectual occupation. I venture to think that is one of the greatest mistakes civilized men and women have ever committed. The one great occupation of women is the most intellectual occupation there is in the world. It calls, and calls loudly, and often calls in vain, for carefully trained mental powers, as well as great moral powers. Let me endeavor to justify my statement that this main occupation of women is in a high degree an intellectual one; and I do not confine my view to fortunately placed women, as the world thinks. I say that the normal occupation of women is a high intellectual one in all walks of life; that in the lowest walks of life the occupation of the woman, fairly done, is higher than the occupation of the corresponding man; and that the same ought to be true, and often is true, of the higher walks of life.

Think of the opportunities of applying all sorts of knowledge acquired. The mother of five or six children has to follow the development of these children up to twenty or twenty-five years of age, which is a wonderful training in itself for that mother. Ordinarily it is the mother that does the training, rather than the father; and this training lasts twenty years, and takes effect upon a group of children ordinarily very unlike in capacity, powers, disposition. The group calls for all the mother's power of observation and discrimination in perceiving the diversities in the children. What a power a loving mother has to train all her children's minds, to bring them up to a love of reading and to feed that love. In family government there is a great deal of mind as well as character. It is impossible, for instance, to be just, daily,

hourly, by the moment, unless to clear insight and strong moral perception there be joined sound thinking. Yet there is no more precious attribute of the mother and the trainer than justice.

Think how many arts and sciences can be applied day by day in the conduct of a family. Think what the world lacks in this respect — the material knowledge to be applied in the bringing-up of a family. There is a deal to be done in that direction; and the women of the higher education are the best fitted to do it.

I say, therefore, that this normal occupation of women should be the main object of the training supplied in the higher education of women. It has not been thought of in that way. The colleges for men have, in some respects, given a perverted view of the object of the higher education, particularly during the last twenty years. They have been too much inclined to develop the material, professional, vocational objects; whereas, the main object is that cultivation which prepares a man for discharging the duties of life, not only with accuracy and justice and competent knowledge, but with enjoyment, with happiness. That is the object that should be kept before young women in their colleges — the acquisition of the powers which will enable a woman to discharge well her main function in life, not only with accuracy and justice, but with enjoyment, bringing forth happiness for herself as well as for her family.

The main object of the higher education of women has not been kept sufficiently in view. Of course there are objects, plenty of them — training for the professions, training for all the charities and the other works that Dr. Williams has described to you, training for all that enjoyment and usefulness that Professor Clemen described in his discourse on art and the artistic spirit and the contribution of the artistic spirit toward all the activities of a nation. It is woman to whom falls, in greater part, the training of the population in the sense of beauty and in the worth of beauty. Who keeps the flowers blooming in the average house lot? Who fills the southern window with plants in tin cans and broken pieces of pottery? Who engages the florist to keep the rich houses filled with flowers through all the season? For whom are all the beautiful objects in the rich home procured and set

forth? Always by and for the woman. Who teaches the little children to enjoy the beauties of nature and of art? Always, or almost always, the woman.

I look forward therefore to the future of the higher education for women as a great influence in the perfecting of family life, of home life, of household joy and good. It has been perfectly natural that the higher education of women should have been directed toward bringing women into new occupations. That was one of the ambitions of the leaders, and particularly to bring them into the professions — the professions as men have made them. Natural, I say; inevitable, perhaps. But wiser ways and methods will come into play, because it is not the chief happiness or the chief end of woman, as a whole, to enter these new occupations, to pursue them through life. They enter many which they soon abandon; and that is good — particularly the abandonment. But, natural and inevitable as this tendency was in the beginning, the higher education of women should be recognized as the development in women of the capacities and powers which will fit them to make family life more intelligent, more enjoyable, happier, more productive — more productive in every sense, physically, mentally, and spiritually. To this modification of the higher education of women as we have seen it during the past generation may we not all look forward with abundant hope?

55. THE EDUCATION OF THE GIRL[1]

I do not know why an utterance on that subject in yesterday morning's paper stirred me up more than similar ones which I am constantly seeing in print. Perhaps it was because the utterer was advertised as an "authority" on "vocational education," for his words did not differ essentially from the current platitude. "The problem of girls' education is simple," he said in effect, "since what you have to do is merely to train them to be homekeepers; to teach them the details of the management of the house and the care of children, and not to despise domestic duties."

[1] By Mary Leal Harkness. From the *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1914, pp. 324–330.

I regret that I inadvertently gave away the paper this morning, for I should be glad to quote the "authority's" own statement as to the complexity of the problem of the boy's education as contrasted with the perfect simplicity of that of the girl's. He does recognize that it may be difficult to determine just what vocation may satisfy the physical and spiritual needs (I put the physical first, of course, because that is the up-to-date order of consideration) of a boy between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one, and admits that a good deal of anxious thought should be given to the question by the truly conscientious educator. But he evidently considers that it is a peculiar token of the dispensations and compensations of an all-wise Providence that time for this is given to the thoughtful pedagogue through the fact that he has to spend practically none in guessing at the possible destiny of the girl.

Considering that even in the remote days of Carthaginian Dido *varium et mutabile femina* seems to have been a proverb, and that ever since, in various tongues and under various skies, woman has been described always as "uncertain, coy and hard to please," there is a note of originality in this serene assumption that in one respect, and that the supreme one, she is invariable, and perfectly easy to please, and I almost feel constrained to apologize for calling it a "platitude." On the whole, however, I think I shall let my descriptive term stand, for the definition of a platitude does not demand that it should also be inconsistent with some other platitude.

But why, I beg to ask, does everyone know that the vocation which is sure to delight every girl and in which she is sure to succeed (always provided, of course, that she is given the proper "practical" training in her school days) is housekeeping and the rearing of children, when even the cocksure vocationalist has to admit that he cannot always foretell with absolute certainty whether a boy of fourteen was made to be a carpenter or an engineer, a farmer or a Methodist preacher? In our outward configuration of form and feature we women confessedly differ as greatly from one another as do men. Why this assumption that in the inward configuration of character, taste, and talent we are all made upon one pattern? I must say that the perpetual

declaration on the "woman's page" of modern periodicals that "every woman should know how to cook a meal, and make her own clothes, and feed a baby" fills me with scorn unutterable. But then for that matter the mere fact of a "woman's page" fills me with scorn. Why not a "man's page," with a miscellany of twaddle, labeled as exclusively adapted to the masculine intellect? The idea that literature is properly created male and female is no less absurd than the idea that there is one education of the man and another of the woman. And it is no more essential to the progress of the universe that every woman should be taught to cook than that every man should be taught to milk a cow.

I do not propose to enter into any discussion of the possible mental superiority of either sex over the other (although I cannot resist quoting in an "aside" the recent remark to me of a teacher of distinguished judgment and long experience: "The fact is, girls are much better students than boys"), but only to maintain this: that girls show as much diversity of taste in intellectual work as boys, that their aptitude for work purely intellectual is as great, and that, therefore, whatever variation is made in the present plan of their education, it should not be based upon the narrow foundation of preconceived ideas of differences inherent in sex. I do not believe that anything necessarily "becomes a woman" more than a man, except as our superstition has made it seem to do so.

Yet, as a matter of fact, superstition begins to hamper a girl's education almost at the very beginning, and one of the first forms which it takes is "consideration of her health." Consideration for the health of a child of either sex is more than laudable, if it be intelligently exercised; but I really cannot see why our daughters deserve more of such consideration than our sons. And the typical consideration for the health of the little girl and the young maiden is not infused with a striking degree of intelligence, as is evidenced by the very small amount of intelligence with which we invariably credit the girl herself. For absolutely the only kind of activity which we ever conceive to be injurious to her is mental activity.

One might perhaps agree to the reiterated parental excuse for half-educated daughters that "nothing can compensate a girl for the loss of her health," if parents would explain how they think that anything can compensate a boy for the loss of his. But they take that risk quite blithely, and send him to college. Personally I have never seen any evidence that the risk for either sex is more than a phantom, and I believe that it is yet to be proved that the study of books has ever in itself been responsible for the breaking down in health of any human being. Many foolish things done in connection with the study of books have contributed to the occasional failure in health of students, but there is, I firmly believe, no reason but prejudiced superstition for the unanimity with which the fond mamma and the family physician fix the cause of the breakdown in the books, and never in the numerous and usually obvious other activities. And in the spasms of commiseration for the unfortunates whose "health has been ruined by hard study" nobody has taken the trouble to notice the by-no-means infrequent cases of young persons, and girls especially, of really delicate health, who have stuck to their studies, but with a reasonable determination not to try to stick to ten or a dozen other side issues at the same time, and have come out of college, not physical wrecks, but stronger than when they went in. And who shall say with what greater capacity for enjoying life than those who have devoted the principal energy of their adolescence to the conservation of their health — frequently with no marked success?

So far as the normal child is concerned, his — and her — brain is naturally as active as his body, and it is not "crowding," nor yet "overstimulation," to give that active and acquisitive brain material worth while to work with. Therefore, the pathetic picture which has been painted recently in certain periodicals of the lean and nervous little overworked schoolgirl may be classed, I think, among the works of creative art rather than among photographs taken from life. Such pictures, as art, may rank very high, but do not deserve great commendation as a contribution to the science of education. I am not saying that there are not many abominations practiced in our schools,

especially of primary and secondary grade; but they are not in the direction of overeducation.

The thing against which I pray to see a mighty popular protest is the wasting of children's time, and the dissipation of all their innate powers of concentration, through the great number of studies of minor (not to use a less complimentary adjective) educational value, which is now one of the serious evils in our schools. And I think that this evil is bearing rather more heavily upon the girls than upon the boys, for more than one reason.

First, if there is actually a difference, innate or developed by years of artificial sex-distinction, in the attitude of boys and girls toward their studies, it is that girls generally do seem inclined to take their school work somewhat more seriously than boys, whether this be due to greater interest in the work itself, or greater sensitiveness to failure. Consequently the mere effort to give conscientious attention to so many different subjects may produce a nervous condition; but not because a girl is learning too much, or even, in a certain sense, working too hard.

Secondly, because this multiplication of the trivialities of education in the lower grades means the neglect or postponement of subjects which even the "progressives" still allow to approximate, at least, the fundamentals, there is a congestion of all these more important subjects, besides a fresh array of time-devouring frills, in the high-school years, — the one period in a girl's life when, if ever, she does run some risk of physical breakdown from overstrain. As a result, if she be conscientious and ambitious, she does sometimes give way under the dread of failing to carry the suddenly increased load for which she has not been properly trained. But this, remember, is not the result of hard study; it is the natural consequence of never having been taught how to study hard.

But thirdly, the multiplicity of facts now being pursued in the schools is particularly deadly to the girl because it gives a fresh impulse to the thing which has long been the peculiar foe of woman's development: the tendency to dissipate her abilities in the pursuit of an infinity of trivial activities. Trained in school to think that there are "so many things that it is nice for a girl

to know how to do," she goes on into womanhood, and through it, still thinking that there are so many things that it is nice for a woman to do, and she ambles along, doing them, so far as time and strength permit, until she comes up to that final function, which, it is truly refreshing to think, demands even of a woman her undivided attention. How pleasant to remember that not even the most domestic will ever have to turn back from the gate of death to embroider a centerpiece or heat the milk for the baby.

Would men ever get anywhere, do you think, if they fussed around with as many disconnected things as most women do? And the worst of our case is that we are rather inclined to point with pride to what is really one of the most vicious habits of our sex. We have all seen the swelling satisfaction with which the comely young schoolma'am, complimented upon a pretty gown, announces, "I made it myself." And we have all heard the chorus of admiring approbation following the announcement — joined in it, perhaps, and asked to borrow the pattern. But really, viewed in the light of reason, what is there about the feat upon which she should so plume herself? Suppose that a man should point proudly to his nether garments, and say, "Lo! I made these trousers." I have not a mental picture of even the most economical of his fellow clerks, or mail carriers, or clergymen, or school-teachers, crowding around to admire and cry, "What a splendid way to spend your time out of business hours! And it looks just like a tailor-made." (Which last is just as truly a lie when we tell it to our fellow women as it would be if men told it to men.)

The truth is, most school-teachers who make their own clothes ought to be ashamed of it, for they are stealing time which belongs to their profession and their patrons. And if they defend themselves, as many of them have pitifully good reason to, with the plea of salaries so near the starvation point that they might go unclad unless they fashioned their own covering, I would reply that perhaps the general average of the salaries of women teachers might be appreciably raised, if any considerable number of them spent their time out of school hours in efforts to make themselves worthy of even the salary they now receive. . . . I should consider it very close to a sin for me habitually to do my own laundry

work, not because I should be taking the work from a poorer woman who needs it, — I wonder why a certain type of social theorist accuses women like me of doing that by entrance into professional life, and then is so calm when we "save money" by keeping her regular work from the dressmaker or laundress, — but because I should be taking my time and my energy from the pupils to whom I am pledged to fit myself to teach Latin as well as I possibly can.

But my objection to the whole movement to "redirect" the education of girls is not that many very good things are not put into the redirected curriculum, but that its whole direction is wrong. I cannot say that it is not a good thing for *some* women to know how to cook and sew *well*, for it is indeed both good and necessary to civilized life. I cannot say that some of the subjects introduced into a good domestic-science course are not educative and truly scientific, because I should be saying what is not true. But I do believe that the idea at the basis of it all is fundamentally false. For the idea is this: that one half of the human race should be "educated" for one single occupation, while the multitudinous other occupations of civilized life should all be loaded upon the other half. The absurd inequality of the division should alone be enough to condemn it. The wonder is that the men do not complain of being overloaded with so disproportionate a share of the burden. I dare say it is their chivalry which makes them bear it so bravely.

This statement of the division is not inconsistent with my complaint that women try to do too many things. They do, but they are all things which are supposed to be included in some way or other within their "proper sphere," the maintenance of the home. Sometimes I grow so weary of The Home that if I did not love my own I could really wish that there were no such thing upon this terrestrial ball. I do love my own home, but I protest that the primary reason is not because my mother is a good cook, although she *is*, notably. Even as I write these words I thrill with the thought of my near return to her strawberry shortcakes. But I know other homes where there is also strawberry shortcake of a high order, in which I yet think that even filial devotion would

have a hard task to make me feel much contentment. I might say the same of the various things that make my home attractive to look upon. Yet the course of study which would graduate "home-makers" is based upon the principle that "home" consists primarily of these things. I am aware that its makers would include certain studies supposed to contribute to "culture," but even where these are well taught, they are still, in my opinion, rendered largely ineffectual by the false motive for study inculcated from the beginning, which makes them all, for women, only side issues.

I cannot see that girls were created essentially to be "home-keepers" any more than boys. Men and women, so far as they choose to marry, are to make a home together, and any system of education which so plans the division of labor between them that the woman shall "make" and stay in a place for which the man pays and to which he returns once in twenty-four hours, is wrong for at least two good reasons. It trains to two such different conceptions of responsibility that true companionship and community of interest is diminished, and often almost destroyed; and it so magnifies a specialized manual training for the woman that it places her at the end in the artisan class, and not in the educated. If a woman so trained knows how to care for the minds of her children as well as she knows how to feed and dress and physic and spank them, she owes it to the grace of Heaven and not to her "vocational" education "for motherhood." But I do not believe that girls should be "educated to be mothers" at all, in the absurdly narrow sense in which such education is now conceived.

Every form of special instruction as a preparation for parenthood that can be necessary for a girl is necessary for a boy also. For what does it profit a woman or her offspring to have kept herself strong and clean, to have learned the laws of sex-hygiene and reproduction, or of care of the child, if the father of that child has failed to do the same?

But I cannot see how the world can have gone so mad as it has over the idea that *the birth of the child*, and its few subsequent months of existence, constitute the epochal point, the climax, as it were, in the life of any married pair. Surely, it is a very narrow view of life which fails to see how much is to be done in

the world besides rearing children. It is true that society does perhaps in a way recognize this, but it seems to wish all active doing relegated to the men, while the woman's contribution is confined to "influence" exerted while nursing a numerous progeny through the diseases of infancy in a happy and perfectly sanitary home. It is time for a more general recognition that such "feminine influence," like honesty, *laudatur et alget*. The average woman only influences her husband or children to anything good through her brains and character, and the degree of power to express either brains or character depends mainly upon education. It sounds well to proclaim the mothering of the world as woman's greatest profession, her truest glory; but it would be well also to consider that such "mothering" as is mostly done — and will be, so long as women are taught to prepare only for its physical demands, its purely material services — is never going to be either great or glorious. An education which can give the greatest intellectual strength, the completest mental sanity, and so the broadest outlook upon life, is the need and the right of girls and boys alike.

But surely it cannot be said that their need is met alike unless the likeness in their education extends also to the ideal of the use that is to be made of it after school days are past. If the colleges in which women are taught have failed at all in accomplishing their full possibility, it has been in the comparatively small degree to which they have succeeded in removing even from the minds of the young women themselves the hoary idea that, after all, the principal thing to be expected of the higher education of women is still the diffusion of an exceptionally exalted type of the aforementioned "influence." It does seem rather a small return for years of collegiate effort that the best that can be said of them is that a woman's mental attainments have proved a great assistance to her husband's career as a Cabinet officer. I cannot think that we shall have what wholly deserves to be called an educated womanhood until we have dissipated the idea, still so prevalent even among women themselves, that a woman needs to have a definite occupation only until she marries, or if she fails to marry. That "a woman must

choose between marriage and a career" is the most detestable of all the woman platitudes in the entire collection, because, while most of these platitudes are merely stupid, this one is wholly vicious. It has been so incessantly reiterated, to the accompaniment of much shallow sentimentalizing on the sacredness of home and mother, that the public has never been allowed a quiet moment to reflect on its injustice, and to realize how possible, and therefore imperative, is its removal along with other ancient injustices.

As I have urged in a previous article, the recently born and phenomenally growing department of education which styles itself variously Domestic Science, Household Economy, and I believe one or two other impressive things, might be the pioneer in this great work of justice, if it would. So far as that educational movement adds to woman's ability to become a good citizen by leading her to an intelligent interest in the civic problems of housing, feeding, teaching, and amusing not alone her immediate family group, but a whole community, it does more in the right direction. But the very women who are themselves making a successful profession of teaching this group of subjects (thanks mainly to their having received the sort of education they now deprecate for women in general) apparently claim for them no greater mission for the average young woman than ability to guard her husband from ptomaine poison in his ice cream, or to make gowns and shirt waists well enough so that she can earn a living, "if she ever has to work."

Shall we never cease to hear that contemptible reason for a girl's education? An age in which women have proved themselves possessors of intellects might naturally be expected to recognize as a province of their education the ability to discover some particular intellectual bent whose training and development for lifelong use are not contingent upon matrimony and the financial condition of two men — their fathers and their husbands respectively. It is held rather reprehensible to say it, but I do not see why every girl has not as good a right as every boy to dream of fame, and to be put in the way of reaching fame. If ninety-nine per cent of the girls fail of even the smallest title to

fame, just as ninety-nine per cent of the boys do, yet the level of their lives must inevitably be raised by the education and the educational ideals which we should provide for them all for the sake of the hundredth girl. The supreme ideal which I hope that our schools may some day inspire is that every girl should discover something, whether of fame-bringing probabilities or not, which will seem to her worthy of being a life work.

In nearly every present plan for the education of girls there lurks the same fatal weakness; girls are not made to realize as boys are that they are being educated for a business which must last as long as life lasts; that they are to feel an interest in it and grow in it, — to develop it, if possible; they are not taught that a definite purposeful share in the outside world's work is a privilege, not a misfortune. My own theory is that the only way in which such a state of feminine mind can be made general is by broadening woman's education on the purely intellectual side; but of course I am open to conviction that the result can be better attained by "scientific" breadmaking, — even to the exclusion of Latin and Greek.

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BOOK IV

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

CHAPTER XIV

THE MARRIAGE IDEAL AND THE ETHICS OF DIVORCE

New Testament teachings, 581. — The Catholic doctrine of marriage, 586. — Protestant doctrine of marriage and divorce, 593. — The viewpoint of modern religious idealism, 599. — Marriage and individuality, 602. — Marriage and contract, 609.

[Despite the amount of attention directed to the increasing frequency of divorce, it is a curious fact that even among educated people very little thought has until recently been given to the nature of marriage. Proposals for divorce reform, or advocacy of reforms already proposed, usually proceed upon purely traditional and largely uncritical conceptions of the nature and ethics of the matrimonial state. This is due partly to the fact that the growth of a scientific and critical spirit in social ethics is a comparatively late development, and partly to the fact that the family has under static and nonevolutionary habits of thought been considered as beyond the province of critical examination. The "sanctity of the family" is a phrase oft repeated but seldom defined, and the real ethical content of it is obscure because taken for granted. The development of the scientific habit of thought in ethics, of democratic sentiments, and of individualism, have, however, produced a new spirit of constructive criticism of marriage and family relations along with other social institutions, and we have accordingly the stimulus of sharply contrasted views. To understand the issues involved it is necessary to have clearly in mind the biblical basis for the ecclesiastical, authoritative view of marriage as well as some idea of the evolution which Christian marriage ideals have undergone. The Catholic doctrine in its

essentials is based upon the dictates of the Council of Trent, and is thus far little influenced by Modernism within the Church. While Protestant doctrine in practice, permitting divorce as it does for the one (disputed) scriptural ground of adultery (sometimes somewhat broadly interpreted), is more liberal than the Catholic theory, the most idealistic views of ethicists both inside and outside the Church are practically the same — uniting in the thought that no really Christian marriage, no marriage between parties actuated by an ideal social ethics, can be terminated by divorce. In contrast to these views, which perhaps may be said to have in mind human relations as they ought to be rather than as they are likely to be, more recent and more rationalistically outspoken views of some sociological writers deal with marriage and divorce in their practical social aspect — as matters, like other social relations and institutions, to be regarded in the light of social, economic, and practical ethical conditions. The ethics of divorce, in this rationalistic view, is not to be determined by religious tradition or by appeal to authority of any kind, but to a rational and unbiased examination of actual facts in their bearing upon justice to the individual and upon rational progress in general social well-being. It is possible that the idealists are willing to sacrifice the individual to an assumed abstract social good; it is also possible, on the other hand, that the rationalists are overly optimistic in the belief that social welfare cannot be thought of apart from the welfare of individuals and that a real social morality will follow only upon the right of the individual to free himself, or herself, from an unfortunate bond which seems, at least, to negate the purpose and happiness of life. This, however, is a question for the student to decide.]

56. THE TEACHINGS OF JESUS AND OF PAUL

MARK x, 2–12. And the Pharisees came to him, and asked him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? tempting him. And he answered and said unto them, What did Moses command you? And they said, Moses suffered to write a bill of divorcement, and to put her away. And Jesus answered and said

unto them, For the hardness of your heart he wrote you this precept. But from the beginning of the creation God made them male and female. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh: so then they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let no man put asunder. And in the house his disciples asked him again of the same matter. And he saith unto them, Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her. And if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery.

LUKE xvi, 18. Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery: and whosoever marrieth her that is put away from her husband committeth adultery.

MATTHEW v, 31, 32. It hath been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement: but I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery.

MATTHEW xix, 3–9. The Pharisees also came unto him, tempting him, and saying unto him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause? And he answered and said unto them, Have ye not read, that he which made them at the beginning made them male and female. And said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they twain shall be one flesh? Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. They say unto him, Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away? He saith unto them, Moses because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so. And I say unto you, Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery: and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery.

1 CORINTHIANS vii, 1–4, 7–16, 25–40. Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me: It is good for a man not to

touch a woman. Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband. Let the husband render unto the wife due benevolence: and likewise also the wife unto the husband. The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband: and likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife.

For I would that all men were even as I myself. But every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that. I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, It is good for them that they abide even as I. But if they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn. And unto the married I command, yet not I, but the Lord, let not the wife depart from her husband: but and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband: and let not the husband put away his wife. But to the rest speak I, not the Lord: If any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away. And the woman which hath an husband that believeth not, and if he be pleased to dwell with her, let her not leave him. For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: else were your children unclean; but now are they holy. But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases: but God hath called us to peace. For what knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband? or how knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt save thy wife?

Now concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord: yet I give my judgment, as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful. I suppose therefore that this is good for the present distress, I say, that it is good for a man so to be. Art thou bound unto a wife? seek not to be loosed. Art thou loosed from a wife? seek not a wife. But and if thou marry, thou hast not sinned; and if a virgin marry, she hath not sinned. Nevertheless such shall have trouble in the flesh: but I spare you. But this I say, brethren, the time is short: it remaineth, that both they that have wives be as though they had none; and they that weep, as though they wept not; and they that rejoice, as though

they rejoiced not; and they that buy, as though they possessed not; and they that use this world, as not abusing it: for the fashion of this world passeth away. But I would have you without carefulness. He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord: but he that is married careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife. There is difference also between a wife and a virgin. The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit: but she that is married careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband. And this I speak for your own profit; not that I may cast a snare upon you, but for that which is comely, and that ye may attend upon the Lord without distraction. But if any man think that he behaveth himself uncomely toward his virgin, if she pass the flower of her age, and need so require, let him do what he will, he sinneth not: let them marry. Nevertheless he that standeth steadfast in his heart, having no necessity, but hath power over his own will, and hath so decreed in his heart that he will keep his virgin, doeth well. So then he that giveth her in marriage doeth well; but he that giveth her not in marriage doeth better. The wife is bound by the law as long as her husband liveth; but if her husband be dead, she is at liberty to be married to whom she will; only in the Lord. But she is happier if she so abide, after my judgment: and I think also that I have the Spirit of God.

Ephesians v, 22–33. Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and he is the Saviour of the body. Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing. Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish. So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife loveth himself. For no man ever

yet hated his own flesh; but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord the church: for we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery: but I speak concerning Christ and the church. Nevertheless let every one of you in particular so love his wife even as himself: and the wife see that she reverence her husband.

Colossians iii, 18, 19. Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord. Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them.

1 Timothy iii, 2, 11, 12. A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach. Even so must their wives be grave, not slanderers, sober, faithful in all things. Let the deacons be the husbands of one wife, ruling their children and their own houses well.

Titus ii, 1, 3–5. But speak thou the things which become sound doctrine: the aged women likewise, that they be in behaviour as becometh holiness, not false accusers, not given to much wine, teachers of good things; that they may teach the young women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children, to be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good, obedient to their own husbands, that the word of God be not blasphemed.

1 Peter iii, 1–7. Likewise, ye wives, be in subjection to your own husbands; that, if any obey not the word, they also may without the word be won by the conversation of the wives; while they behold your chaste conversation coupled with fear. Whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price. For after this manner in the old time the holy women also, who trusted in God, adorned themselves, being in subjection unto their own husbands: even as Sara obeyed Abraham, calling him lord: whose daughters ye are, as long as ye do well, and are not afraid with any amazement.

Likewise, ye husbands, dwell with them according to knowledge, giving honor unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel, and as being heirs together of the grace of life; that your prayers be not hindered.

57. THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF MARRIAGE [1]

Every honest man sees the gulf into which the frequent disruption of the marital relation will eventually bring us. Better than anyone else could say it the learned and saintly Pontiff, Leo XIII, has summed up the consequences of divorce in these words: [2]

> Divorce renders contracts changeable; weakens the mutual love of the contracting parties; gives inducements to unfaithfulness; is injurious to the rearing and education of children; breaks up the domestic relations; sows dissensions among families; lessens and degrades the dignity of woman, who is thus exposed to be cast off, after having been the slave of man's passions. And as nothing conduces more to the destruction of families and the destruction of national power than corruption of morals, it is easily seen how hostile to the prosperity of the family and of the State are the divorces which spring from the corrupt morals of the people, and as experience teaches, open the door, and lead the way to greater public and private degradation.

All sincere Protestants subscribe to these words of the Holy Father. They know and admit that the Catholic Church is not responsible for raising the sluices of divorce, but that its possibility arises from the looseness of Protestant teaching and practice. They destroyed the sanctity of marriage when they denied its sacramental character.

But, although Protestants and infidels know in a general way that the Catholic Church does not tolerate divorce, their information in regard to the Catholic doctrine on marriage is not very clear nor very full. Many of them do not take the trouble to study her teaching on this or any other subject, and yet there is among some a desire for more information regarding it.

[1] By H. A. Brann. Adapted from the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, July, 1883, Vol. VIII, pp. 385–404.

[2] *Encyclical* of February 10, 1880, found in "Acta quae apud Sanctam Sedem," etc., Vol. XII.

Marriage, under the law of nature, was a mere contract, seldom, however, divested of a religious character. It is even in the law of nature intentionally indissoluble; for it is a union of two hearts, pledging to each other undying love. In this union children are to be brought up to maturity by their parents; and these parents, in their old age, are to be supported by their grateful children. The unity of the family is thus preserved intact.

It is an article of Catholic faith, defined in the 7th canon of the 24th session of the Council of Trent, that the consummated marriage of Christians can never be dissolved as to the vinculum, or bond, save by the death of either party. There is no exception to this rule. The Pope himself cannot make one, for he has no right to dispense with the divine law. Where there has been mutual consent, and no impediment nor informality, the married person is married for life. This doctrine was denied by Calvin, who permitted divorce, *a vinculo*, for cause of adultery; by Luther, who permitted it even for theft or any sin, or frequent quarreling, or if one of the parties remained too long absent; while Bucer thought that a man could divorce his wife as often as he found her disagreeable; and she could divorce him for a similar reason.[1]

No matter what crime a Christian man or woman commits, it does not break the matrimonial chain, according to the teaching of the Catholic faith. There is, indeed, in the Catholic Church a partial divorce permitted. It is from bed and board only, and is granted in the case of adultery, or for other grave causes. The Church considers the marriage contract as indissoluble by its very nature, but especially since its elevation to the dignity of a sacrament which represents the union of Christ with his Church; which union is indissoluble, for the Divine Word will never lay aside the humanity which He assumed. The whole of Catholic tradition is in favor of the indissolubility of marriage. The testimony of the Fathers on the subject is too long to quote, and it may readily be found in any textbook of Catholic theology. The voice of universal Catholic tradition on this matter is heard in the decree of Pope Eugene IV, approving the Council of Florence, which gave expression to the faith of the United Greek

[1] "De Augustinis, De Re Sacrament," Vol. II, p. 282.

and Latin Churches in the fifteenth century. "Although for cause of fornication, separation from bed and board is allowed, yet it is not lawful to contract another marriage, since the bond of a lawful marriage contract is perpetual."

[The writer here gives an extended discussion of the Biblical texts bearing on the question.]

The Anglican *branch* of Protestantism having allowed absolute divorce for cause of adultery, in fact owing its very existence to the English king who divorced his wife and the Catholic Church at the same time, the other "branches"[1] could not be expected to do better. The consequence is that partial divorces are hardly understood outside the Catholic Church. The United States, where so many "branches" exist, and where being in a majority they control civic legislation on the subject, are now morally degraded on account of the facility with which divorces are granted. Thus in most of our States a man may run away from his wife when he is tired of her, remain away from her for a few years and then marry another, or he may enjoy this privilege as a reward of misbehavior for six months. To this degree of degradation has the Protestant reformation brought the holy institution of marriage. When will the conservative thinkers in the sects and out of them do justice to the Catholic Church on this important matter? Do they not see that she alone, by her unflinching and unyielding position in regard to the sanctity and indissolubility of the marriage relation is the only breakwater to the advancing tide of social immorality in our country?

Impediments to legal marriage. The superiority of the sanction which the Catholic Church gives to domestic society, and her protection of the holy sacrament of matrimony are further evidenced in the number and character of impediments with which she has hedged it in. The Hebrew prohibitions of marriage as found in the book of Leviticus are in many respects different from those of the Catholic Church. The Hebrew law was a national dispensation and narrow in its import. There was in it the obligation of keeping the tribes distinct from one another, and of confining the royal descent and the priesthood to special

[1] I. e., denominations. — Ed.

families. Hence, certain consanguineous marriages and marriages of affinity not permitted by the Church, were not only allowed, but commanded, by the law of Moses. The Catholic Church having abolished carnalism and enlarged the limits of charity by inculcating the doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man through the Incarnation, set her face from the very first against the intermarriage of relatives, among other reasons for the purpose of widening the relationship of the family, and destroying selfishness, which is the foe of Christian charity.

The broad reverence for the sacrament of marriage pervades all the Church's impediments both of consanguinity and affinity. The impediments are twofold, those which simply impede so as to render the contract illicit but not invalid, and those which impede so as to render it null and void. A special prohibition as to time, place, or person, or an injunction to comply with certain formalities, thus to marry a Protestant, to marry without publication of banns, would render a marriage illicit and sinful but not necessarily invalid.[1] Care should be taken not to confound the Church's *impedimenta impedientia* with what are called "voidable" contracts in the civil law. A marriage which is merely illegal in the eyes of the Church is sinful, but not "voidable." The sin may be wiped out by contrition and sacramental confession; but the marriage cannot be annulled even by the Pope, unless the impediment is *dirimens*, or one that invalidates the contract.

As marriage is a sacrament, though having the nature of a contract, the Catholic Church claims exclusive control over it, and permits the State to legislate only with regard to its civil effects. If the State does more than this, the Church considers it an intrusion, which she out of charity or courtesy may tolerate, provided the State law does not interfere with the matter, the form, or ministers of the sacrament. The matter is the consent of the parties delivering over to each other a right to each other's body; the form is the consent formally expressed by words or

[1] By a papal decree of 1907 civil marriages and marriages in non-Catholic places of worship are declared to be not only sinful and unlawful, but actually null and void. — Ed.

other signs in the actual delivery of this right; and the ministers of the sacrament are the contracting parties themselves, the priest being only the minister of the Church. She will never recognize the doctrine that the State can make a law annulling the marriage contract between Christians. In this matter she claims absolute and exclusive jurisdiction, limited only by the divine and the natural law. In regard to these *diriment* impediments the words of Blackstone are appropriate: "These disabilities make the contract void *ab initio*, and not merely voidable; not that they dissolve a contract already formed, but they render the parties incapable of performing any contract at all; they do not put asunder those who are joined together, but they previously hinder the junction, and, if any persons under these legal incapacities come together, it is a meretricious and not a matrimonial union." [1]

Some of these "disabilities," as laid down in the canon law, are as follows: solemn vows and holy orders. The marriage of nuns and monks or of subdeacons, deacons, priests or bishops, is null and void. Consanguinity, in the collateral line, annuls to the fourth degree inclusive; thus the marriage of cousins is null and void. The disability of relatives in the direct line as to marriage is unlimited. Those spiritually related cannot marry. The marriage of godfather or godmother with a godchild or its parents is void, as is the marriage of baptizer to baptized, or to the baptized parents. The same law holds good for those acting as godparents in confirmation, and to the same extent as in the case of baptism.

Adoption is another annulling impediment. The adopter cannot marry the adopted child or its children; nor can the adopted marry the children of the adopter, nor the widow of the adopter; nor can the adopter marry the widow of the adopted.

Affinity arising from a legitimate marriage is an annulling impediment, and, like consanguinity in the collateral line, extends to the fourth degree inclusive. If it arise from an illicit connection it extends only to the second degree. No man can marry his wife's sister or her niece.

Adultery committed with a promise of marriage renders the marriage void. The marriage of an unbaptized person with one

[1] Blackstone, Commentaries, Bk. I, chap. xv.

that is baptized is invalid. The reason of this impediment is evident. The Catholic Church loves the souls of her children too well to permit them to run the risk of losing their faith, or of bringing up children without it; and consequently, if possible, she will grant no dispensation to marry an unbeliever, unbaptized or baptized, unless the faith of the Catholic party and of the offspring, should there be any, be secured from molestation.

These are some of the chief impediments. It will be found that motives of sound public policy and supernatural wisdom have dictated their enactment. The relation involved in consanguinity, affinity, and adoption are too close not to be fenced off by impediments which are the sentinels of purity.

But are there not cases where public policy or private justice would prompt a departure from the general laws regulating these impediments and render a dispensation not only useful but necessary? May there not sometimes be a wrong that can be righted, or a sacred duty that can be fulfilled only by removing the barrier to a matrimonial disability? And is there no power on earth competent to do it? Yes; the Catholic Church has the dispensing power, and she exercises it through her head, the Pope, or his appointed delegate. Most of the impediments are of purely ecclesiastical origin. The Church made them. The Church for good reasons can unmake them. The vicar of Christ, the successor of St. Peter, who holds the keys of apostolic power to bind or loose according to the commission given to him as infallible teacher and supreme legislator for God's people, uses the dispensing power wherever the good of society, or of religion, or the eternal salvation of souls may require it. That he, as the chief spiritual authority in Christendom, should have this power is implicitly, though unintentionally, conceded in those words of Blackstone: "The punishment therefore or annulling of incestuous or other unscriptural marriages is the province of the spiritual courts, which act *pro salute animarum*."

The power to annul is correlative with the power to dispense. Unfortunately, however, some of the civil powers have not been willing to leave marriage to the jurisdiction of the Church; considering it as a mere profane contract, they have loosened its bond

and destroyed the whole order of society, as the condition of the countries — France for instance — proves where the sacramental character of marriage has been ignored. There is no remedy for this perturbation of the moral order but a return to the doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church. She teaches that marriage is a holy sacrament, and that the Christian family, of which it is the corner stone, has its prototype in the Holy Trinity itself. Just as in the divine family there are three in one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, bound together by eternal and indissoluble love, so in the human family there are the husband, wife and child bound together by mutual and indissoluble love. As Christ had two natures united in one person, so in marriage there are two persons in one flesh, but considered as only one moral person. Christ is the head of the Church; the husband is the head of the family. The Church is Christ's spouse, whom he nourishes with infallible doctrine and vivifies with his perpetual presence, which fructifies and fecundates, producing children of God and heirs of heaven; as the husband in the sacrament of marriage protects and supports the partner of his bosom and brings up children in the order of nature to be raised by the grace of baptism to the supernatural order. Christ has promised to remain with his Church all days, even to the consummation of the world; and the Christian husband and wife in the sacrament of marriage pledge fidelity to each other to the end of their lives. Christ in the Church deserts the soul that mortally sins, but His significant grace deserts no man, and the stamp of baptism always remains. The repentant sinner is always welcome to His divine arms. There has been, as it were, a partial divorce between him and his Redeemer; something like the divorce from bed and board which may take place among married Christians. The blessing of Christ is on the married couple from the beginning; the ring that symbolizes their union is blessed, and abundant graces are showered upon them through the sacrament, enabling them to bring up their children in the fear and love of God. This is the only doctrine that will sanctify the family and save the State; and this is the doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church alone.

58. PROTESTANT DOCTRINE OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE[1]

As to the Nature of Marriage

In its practical results, therefore, the Reformation had little effect on law and theory as to the *form* of wedlock. For England it had no significance at all; and the same is true of Germany, except so far as Luther's view of the *sponsalia* may have found some expression in legislation and judicial decree. With respect to the *nature* of marriage the case is very different. The dogma of its sacramental character was abandoned throughout the Protestant world. In its place a new conception arose; and it is very instructive to trace the process of change in the mind of Luther himself. As late as 1519 he declares that "the marriage state is a sacrament," an outward "symbol of the greatest, holiest, noblest, most worthy thing that has ever existed or can exist: the union of the divine and human natures in Christ"; and this symbol he explains entirely in harmony with the "dogmatism of the Middle Ages, notably that of St. Thomas Aquinas, who sought the motive of the marriage sacrament in legalization of the sensual impulse." In the very next year, however, and again in 1539, he expresses himself decisively against the ancient Catholic doctrine.[2] Nevertheless, in his various attempts to define the matrimonial state an apparent contradiction is presented which is hard to reconcile, and which is of great significance in the long struggle for the instituting of civil marriage. On the one hand, though not technically a sacrament, marriage is described as holy, a "most spiritual" status, "ordained and founded" by God himself. It is the source of domestic and public government, the foundation of human society, which without it would "fall to pieces." So holy is the state of matrimony, in Luther's conception, that he must perforce still use the term "sacrament" to convey his meaning. On the other hand, his writings contain

[1] By George Eliot Howard. From A History of Matrimonial Institutions, Vol. I, pp. 386–388; Vol. II, pp. 60–67, 71–72. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1904. (Most of the bibliographical notes are omitted.)

[2] Luther, Von der Babylonischen Gefengkniss der Kirchen; idem, Von den Conciliis und Kirchen (1539).

passages of a very different tenor. "So many lands, so many customs, runs the common saying. Therefore since weddings and matrimony are a temporal business, it becomes us clerks and servants of the church to order or rule nothing therein, but to leave to each city and state its own usages and customs in this regard." Elsewhere, in words which anticipate the sentiment of Milton by a hundred years, he insists that "matrimonial questions do not touch the conscience, but belong to the temporal power," warning the clergy not to meddle with them unless commanded by that authority. Marriage, he emphatically declares, is a "temporal, worldly thing," which "does not concern the church."

Thus Luther provided the arsenal from which both the friends and the foes of civil marriage drew their weapons.

The Protestant Doctrine of Divorce

(*a*) *Opinions of Luther and the Continental reformers.* — With the rejection of the sacramental theory of marriage at the Reformation it was inevitable that more liberal ideas respecting divorce should arise. The mother church was accused of fostering vice by professing a doctrine too severe;[1] while at the same time she was bitterly reproached with a scandalous abuse of her own jurisdiction through which in effect the forbidden degrees had become an open door to divorce for the use of the rich and powerful. Accordingly, the leaders of Protestantism took intermediate ground. On the one hand, while Luther and some other reformers sanctioned temporary separations of husband and wife, there was a strong tendency to reject entirely perpetual divorce *a mensa et thoro* as being a "relatively modern invention" unknown to the

[1] The writings of Luther, Milton, and other Reformation and Puritan writers abound in examples of such charges. "For no cause, honest or necessary," says Martin Bucer, "will they permit a final divorce: in the meanwhile, whoredoms and adulteries, and worse things than these, not only tolerating in themselves and others, but cherishing and throwing men headlong into these evils. For although they also disjoin married persons from board and bed, that is, from all conjugal society and communion, and this not only for adultery, but for ill usage, and matrimonial duties denied; yet they forbid those thus parted to join in wedlock with others: but, as I said before, any dishonest associating they permit." — "The Judgment of Martin Bucer," in Milton's Prose Works, Vol. III, p. 292.

ancient Church; and a condition of life incompatible with the true ideal of wedlock. On the other hand, they generally favored complete divorce *a vinculo*, admitting two or more grounds according as they interpreted strictly or more liberally the scriptural texts. For they still appealed to authority rather than to reason and experience in their attempts to solve a great social problem. They were thus often sorely embarrassed. Their writings, indeed, reveal not a little of the casuistry and self-deception which so often vitiate the reasoning of the canonists and their predecessors.[1]

From the outset the Continental reformers took a bold stand;[2] for the Protestant doctrine of divorce, like the Protestant conception of the form and nature of marriage, was shaped mainly by the thought of Martin Luther. Yet revolutionary as were his teachings, he did not go so far in his departure from the orthodox rule as did some of his contemporaries and successors. The analysis of Richter has disclosed two distinct tendencies in the doctrine and practice of the Reformation period. In the sixteenth century the more rigid or conservative direction is taken by Luther and the more influential Protestant leaders, among whom are the theologians Brenz, Bugenhagen, Chemnitz, Calvin, and Beza, with the jurists Kling, Beust, and Schneidewin. All are agreed that absolute divorce should be granted for adultery, although some of them, like Chemnitz, appear to discriminate against the woman in this regard. Malicious desertion is also generally admitted as a second cause for the full dissolution of wedlock, following the same Bible text which gave rise to the *casus apostoli* of the canonists.[3] It is characteristic of Luther and the representatives of the more rigid tendency that, rather than multiply the number of admissible grounds of divorce, an effort was made by hard logic to broaden the definition of desertion so as to give to it a wide range without seeming to transgress

[1] For example, see Milton's specious argument, following the allegorical method of some of the early theologians, to show the scope of the term "fornication" as used by Jesus and Moses: "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," Prose Works, Vol. III, pp. 251–258, 394–401.

[2] See Milton's summary of their views: "Tetrachordon," loc. cit., pp. 423–433.

[3] 1 Cor. vii, 15.

the letter of scriptural authority.[1] In this way, for instance, *saevitia*, or cruelty, was included, as was also refusal of conjugal duty, eventually giving rise to the doctrine of "quasi-desertion." But for this last cause a marriage must not be dissolved except on failure of all prescribed means, however cruel, to induce reconciliation or submission. For it was a natural result of the carnal theory of wedlock that theological dogma and church ordinance alike in effect permitted a brutal husband, through the aid of fine, exile, or imprisonment, to force an unwilling wife to render him her "conjugal duty."

Only two general causes of full divorce on alleged scriptural authority were thus admitted by Luther and his immediate followers. Other offenses, except as by logical fiction brought under the definition of desertion or adultery, were merely accepted as grounds of temporary separation from bed and board, subject to reconciliation.[2] On the other hand, the representatives of the more liberal tendency anticipated in many ways modern ideas as

[1] As early as 1520 in his Von dem bab. Gefängniss der Kirche (Strampff, pp. 349, 350, 381, 382) Luther admits the two grounds of divorce, adultery and desertion; the latter when either spouse abandons the other "über zehen Jahr oder nimmer wiederkommen." Two years later, in his Vom ehelichen Leben, he appears to regard refusal of conjugal duty as equivalent to desertion. "We may find an obstinate woman," he says, "who stiffens her neck, and if her husband should fall ten times into unchastity, cares nothing about it. Here it is time for a man to say, 'if you won't, another can be found that will. If the wife will not, let the maid come.' Yet let it be so that the husband give her two or three warnings beforehand, and let the matter come before other people, so that her obstinacy may be known and rebuked before the congregation. If she will not, let her be gone, and procure an Esther for yourself and let Vashti be off, as Ahasuerus did." — As rendered by Woolsey, Divorce, pp. 130, 131. For the original see Strampff, pp. 350, 351, 394, 395; Luther's Kleinere Schriften, Vol. II, pp. 26–31; and Sarcerius, Vom heil. Ehestande, pp. 137, 138.

[2] Luther does not allow absolute divorce on account of anger or incompatibility, *insidiae*, or attempts upon life, exile, sickness, incurable disease, misfortune to an innocent spouse, or similar grounds: see his Von Ehesachen, in Strampff, pp. 398, 399; Vom ehel. Leben, *ibid.*, p. 400; Predigt von dem Ehestande (1525), *ibid.*, p. 400; and Auslegung des 7. Cap. 1 Cor. (1523), *ibid.*, pp. 397, 398, where only temporary separation is allowed, unless one of the parties refuses reconciliation and the other "kunnt nicht halten," but in this case the "separation has the refusal of conjugal duty as a consequence, or it has become malicious desertion" (Strampff, pp. 351, 352, 382, 396 ff.). Cf. Brenz, Wie yn Ehesachen . . . zu Handeln: in Sarcerius, Vom heil. Ehestande, pp. 155 ff.; Dietrich, Evang. Ehescheidungsrecht, pp. 31 ff.; Hauber, Ehescheid. im Reformat., Vol. II, pp. 242 ff.

to the grounds of absolute dissolution of the marriage bond. Avoiding to some extent the indirect method of attaining practical ends by juggling with definitions, they were inclined to appeal for authority directly to Roman imperial legislation; and so, "since the other direction is connected with the canon law, we have here a phase of the struggle" between that system and the Roman jurisprudence. The first step in the liberal direction is taken by Erasmus, who sustains a rational method of dealing with the divorce problem through appeal to the teachings of the early Fathers, notably those of Origen; and this brought him in contact with the principles of the old Roman law. His influence, as Richter strongly urges, seems to have been felt by Zwingli, who, with his disciple Bullinger, argues that in admitting adultery as a cause of divorce the Scriptures sanction as such all equal or graver offenses. Accordingly, in the Zurich marriage ordinance of 1525, "adultery, malicious desertion, and plotting against the life of a consort are not regarded as the only causes, but rather as the standard causes of divorce, and to the judge it is left to decide what others shall be put by their side. And not only this, but cruelty, madness, leprosy, are mentioned as causes which the judge can take into account." Lambert of Avignon is likewise conspicuous for liberal ideas regarding the causes of divorce. Anticipating the principle so often enforced by modern legislation, he holds that when a wife is forced by intolerable suffering to leave the husband who mistreats her and denies her proper support, this should be counted as repudiation by the man, and not as desertion by the woman, who should therefore be allowed to contract another marriage. Similar views are held by Bucer, Melanchthon, and the jurist Monner. All accept the two general causes, and each admits several other grounds.

With no exception in case of divorce, the Continental reformers appear to sanction the remarriage of the innocent man or woman without any delay or other condition.[1] The earliest church ordinances confer the same privilege; but regarding the question

[1] Of course, after regular process was somewhat developed the *toleramus*, or permission of the magistrate concluding the decree, was requisite to the remarriage even of the innocent person.

whether an adulterous spouse should be suffered to contract further wedlock the Protestant leaders are not agreed. The majority would have the magistrate deal with the offender according to the harsh principle of the Jewish law. Such is the view of Bugenhagen, who opens his discussion with the curt remark that were the adulterer hanged there would be small need of further parley. Lambert of Avignon insists that the culprit ought to be stoned, warning the sluggish magistrates that they themselves perish even because they do not administer this punishment. Beust, on the contrary, prides himself that in the land of the Saxons there is no flinching in this regard, and so the divorce question in that country is solved. Beza and Brenz are both eager for the death penalty. Melanchthon appears to favor the same treatment, or else exile of the guilty spouse in case the political magistrate is unwilling to proceed with such rigor; for he says the "condemned is as one dead" to his innocent spouse. Similar is the position of Luther, who "insists with great energy that death ought to be the penalty for adultery, but since the civil rulers are slack and indulgent in this respect, he would permit the criminal, if he must live, to go away to some remote place and there marry again. So Calvin, in several places, declares that death ought to be inflicted for this crime, as it was by the Mosaic code, but if the law of the territory stop short of this righteous penalty, the smallest evil is to grant liberty of remarriage in such cases."

(*b*) *Opinions of the English reformers.*— The Fathers of English Protestantism as a body are more conservative than their brethren across the channel.[1] By the chiefs of the really reforming, or Puritan, party among them, however, ideas scarcely less bold than those of Luther or Calvin are advanced. The same arguments are used and the same causes of separation are admitted. But these ideas ultimately find no place in the canons of the established church.

[1] Cf. Lecky, Democracy and Liberty, Vol. II, p. 200; Glasson, Le mariage civil et le divorce, pp. 310, 311; and idem, Histoire du droit, Vol. V, pp. 89 ff.

59. THE SOCIAL GOSPEL OF DIVORCE[1]

The proper approach to this very delicate and difficult subject is through the family as an institution. From Jesus' point of view of the sanctity and divine origin of the family as a social institution, his position as to divorce is inevitable. As law did not create marriage, so it cannot break it. "What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

This general principle Jesus carries out into detail more than is customary in his teaching. There are many subjects upon which the world has sought his elaborated opinion, only to be disappointed; but in the matter of marriage and divorce he carries his instruction out into the nearest approach which he ever makes to actual legislation. The marriage union is never to be broken unless, possibly, through the unfaithfulness of one of the parties (Matt. v, 32; xix, 9).

This radical teaching of Jesus is even more marked when one recalls that it was in express opposition to the trend of custom among the Jews. The Semitic nations never regarded divorce of the wife by the husband as a very difficult matter. In the time of Jesus the custom was growing more frequent, as the more liberal rabbis made the grounds of divorce ever more numerous. More than that, Jesus' words were addressed explicitly to those who asked him concerning the rightfulness of divorce. The only conclusion that can be safely drawn is that Jesus regarded marriage as such a final union of two lives as to be indissoluble, barring the one possible exception.

But one must not mistake here. To treat this one exception as justifying the easy-going divorce legislation of the present day is absurd. Even more absurd would it be to insist that Jesus commended a divorce under any circumstances. His reply to the Sadducees was, it is true, a recognition of the legitimacy of the Mosaic legislation concerning divorce, but even then only as a compromise with the divine order. Remarriage of divorced persons he regarded as adultery. The ideal of the family which he

[1] By Shailer Mathews. From The Social Gospel, pp. 41–46. The Griffith and Rowland Press, Boston, 1910.

sets up is evidently one which is practicable in a strict sense only among those who conform to the Christian conception of human relations.

Clearly there is in the social gospel no justification of the perversion of family relations exhibited in our divorce courts. The place of cure, however, does not lie in such courts, but in the home itself. Divorce between Christian husband and wife should not even be mentioned. The principle of love, which would lead a man to leave his offering at the altar until he had become reconciled to his brother, is certainly applicable to the Christian family. And far more than is usually believed, the same principle will hold among those who do not claim to be disciples of Jesus. Whatever exceptional cases may arise, the fundamental principles of Jesus in application to the family life would prevent divorce and maintain the family.

In order to establish a home that shall be permanent and indissoluble, it is necessary to rely upon something more than social conventions. They are, of course, helpful and in some cases serve as admirable social buttresses. It is highly desirable that unjustifiable divorce should subject its parties to social loss. But as the experience of the church of Corinth shows, social customs are not to be substituted for Christian principles. Back of all customs there must be the purity of life that maintains the sanctity of marriage in the heart. To commit adultery therein is in some particulars as monstrous a crime as open breaking of the marriage laws; and it is scarcely less dangerous to marriage as an institution. The Christian citizen will do well to guard against all the incitements both of the theater and of literature, of dress and of custom, which prompt to that dissolution of the marriage tie which results from the perverted soul. Here, as in all social relations, the Christian is concerned primarily with the quality of life. Out from life itself flows that which either establishes or destroys social institutions.

No modification of this position is to be based on the teaching of Jesus that, sacred as the family really is, marriage is, after all, only physical, intended for an age of physical existence. "In the resurrection," says Jesus, "there is to be no marriage." No one

can interpret such a view as in any way a reflection on the sanctity of the institution. Jesus never thought about so-called "soul marriages." At most he is here simply emphasizing the difference between the two modes of life which are implied in the differences between two ages. It would be altogether illegitimate to infer that he would admit divorces among his disciples in case of so-called "incompatibility of temper" or the destruction of conjugal love. Neither of these unfair interpretations falls within the possible exception already noted to his general teaching. Jesus would urge that a family once founded upon love is to be maintained by the maintenance of that love. The more danger there is of that passing, the more effort should be made to retain it. Reconciliation and spiritual unity are two elementary expressions of that love, which is a precondition of all Jesus' social teaching. In other words, divorce is impossible in the persistently and genuinely Christian home. And such a home should be the model for all others.

How far these Christian ideals should be involved in legislation is, and is likely to be always, a matter of some dispute. But this much is clear: All legislation protecting the family should move in the direction of the ideal set by Jesus. In the same proportion as the public mind becomes filled with the spirit of the gospel will this become inevitable. Even if complete recognition and realization of the ideals of Jesus for the family are possible only among those whose lives are embodying the spirit of Jesus, a society controlled by absolutely unchristian ideals as to the family is incredible. It would fall to pieces in the home. Yet, we should probably all admit that, as long as sin is harmful, some allowance is rightly made by law for the protection of its victims in the family. For this seems recognized by Jesus in his estimate of the Mosaic permission of divorce. The great principle of love would not permit society to leave either member of a family at the mercy of a dangerous life partner. To-day, as in the time of Moses, an absolute ideal can be only to some extent approximated because of sin, which sometimes makes the sacrifice of ideals necessary in legislation. But this is at best a departure from the ideals of the gospel. If men and women

were all that they should be, it would be unneeded. In our practical legislation this concession to the needs of the injured party should not be made into a principle. The progress of the gospel should make it unnecessary. For in such progress the sanctity of the family would never come into question, and we should be free from one growing habit — to overlook divorce and allow full social privileges to those divorced on unscriptural grounds. The gospel has higher ideals for the family than has the divorce court.

60. THE REPRESSIVE INFLUENCE OF MARRIAGE UPON INDIVIDUALITY[1]

Mrs. Augusta Webster amusingly points out the inconsistencies of popular notions on this subject. She says:

> People think women who do not want to marry unfeminine; people think women who *do* want to marry immodest: people combine both opinions by regarding it as unfeminine for women not to look forward longingly to wifehood as the hope and purpose of their lives, and ridiculing and contemning any individual woman of their acquaintance whom they suspect of entertaining such a longing. They must wish and not wish; they must by no means give and they must certainly not withhold encouragement — and so it goes on, each precept canceling the last, and most of them negative.

There are, doubtless, equally absurd prejudices which hamper a man's freedom by teaching girls and their friends to look for proposals of marriage, instead of regarding signs of interest in a more wholesome spirit. It is certain that we shall never have a world really worth living in, until men and women can show interest in one another without being driven either to marry or to forego altogether the pleasure and the profit of frequent meeting. Nor will the world be really a pleasant world while it continues to make friendship between persons of opposite sexes well-nigh impossible, by insisting that they *are* so, and thereby, in a thousand direct and indirect ways, bringing about the fulfillment of its own prophecy. All this false sentiment, with the restrictions it implies, makes the ideal marriage — that is, a union

[1] By Mona Caird. Adapted from The Morality of Marriage, pp. 102–109, 143–145. George Redway, London, 1897.

prompted by harmony of nature and by friendship — almost beyond the reach of this generation.

"At last," another lady bursts forth, "we have some one among us with wit to perceive that the life which a woman leads with the ordinary sherry-drinking, cigar-smoking husband is no better than that of an Eastern slave. Take my own case, which is that of thousands of others in our land. I belong to my lord and master, body and soul. The duties of a housekeeper, upper nurse, and governess are required of me. I am expected to be always at home, at my husband's beck and call. It is true that he feeds me, and that for his own glorification he gives me handsome clothing. It is also true that he does not beat me. For this I ought, of course, to be duly grateful; but I often think of what you say on the wife and servant question, and wonder how many of us would like to have the cook's privilege of being able to give warning to leave."

If the wife feels thus, we may be sure the husband thinks he has his grievances also; and when we place this description side by side with that of the unhappy plight of bored husbands commiserated by Mrs. Lynn Linton, there is no escaping the impression that there is something very "rotten in the state of Denmark." Amongst other absurdities, we have well-meaning husbands and wives harassing one another to death, for no reason in the world but the desire of conforming to current notions regarding the proper conduct of married people. These victims are expected to go about perpetually together, as if they were a pair of carriage horses; to be forever holding claims over one another, exacting or making useless sacrifices, and generally getting in one another's way, with a diligence and self-forgetfulness that would be admirable were it not so supremely ridiculous. The man who marries finds that his liberty has gone, and the woman exchanges one set of restrictions for another. She thinks herself neglected if the husband does not always return to her in the evenings, and the husband and society think her undutiful, frivolous, and so forth, if she does not stay at home alone, trying to sigh him back again. The luckless man finds his wife so *very* much confined to her "proper sphere," that she is, perchance, more exemplary than entertaining. Still, she may look injured and resigned, but she must not seek society and occupation on her own account, bringing new interest and knowledge into the joint existence, and becoming thus a contented, cultivated,

and agreeable human being. No wonder that, while all this is forbidden, we have so many unhappy wives and bored husbands. The more admirable the wives, the more profoundly bored the husbands.

Doubtless there are bright exceptions to this picture of married life, but we are not dealing with exceptions. In most cases, the chain of marriage frets and chafes, if it does not make a serious wound; and where there is happiness — as we are so often assured that there is — it is dearly bought, and is not often on a very high plane. For husband and wife are then apt to forget everything in the narrow interests of their home, to depend entirely upon one another, to steep themselves in the same ideas, till they become mere echoes, half-creatures, useless to their kind, because they have let individuality die. There are few things more stolidly irritating than a very "united" couple. The likeness in appearance and gesture that may often be remarked between married people, is a melancholy instance of this communal form of degeneration. This condition, be it observed, is the very antithesis of that deep and real unity of two individualities, which are harmonious just because they are *not* identical — as two colors, for example, may be exquisite in harmony, where a mere repetition of the same tint, in two nominally separate objects, would create nothing but a tiring monotony.

The tyrannical spirit has little or no check under present conditions of married life, for the despot — male or female — knows that the victim must bear whatever has to be borne without hope of relief on this side the grave; except when the grievance is of such a nature as to come within the reach of the law; a wide enough margin to give scope to sufficiently serious cases of tyranny, as probably nobody would attempt to deny.

This tyranny takes various forms; many of them — and these are perhaps the most difficult to deal with — being based upon pleas of love and devotion; a devotion which claimants have no weak idea of presenting gratis. Often the tyranny expresses itself profitably by appeals to the pity and the conscience of the victims; by threats of the suffering that will ensue to the despot, if his wishes are heartlessly disregarded. Should these measures

fail, more drastic methods are adopted. There are stern or pathetic reminders of indisputable claims, accusations of selfishness, of failing duty, and so forth. Between married people, this system is carried to its extreme, and derives much of its power from the support of popular sentiment.

Upon the legal bond is founded every sort of sentimental tie, till at last the couple so bind and entwine themselves with multitudinous restrictions, that every vestige of freedom disappears, and obligation enters into the very citadel of the heart. All spontaneity must and does evidently depart, and if feelings so bullied and pinioned show the tendency of all prisoners to escape, then loud are the wailings of the injured one, who has succeeded at last in worrying affection to death. The luxury of a grievance is the sole remaining consolation. It seems strange that, with so long an experience behind them, human beings have not yet learned that, though they may obtain dominion by making large demands, they are likely to win regard in inverse proportion to their claims; and that, in any case, it is a little absurd to set up an injured and fretful demand for affection, as if it could be laid on with the gas and the water, and kept going in regular quarterly supplies. Even when such conduct does not destroy attachment, it does what perhaps is worse; it destroys individuality.

There must be a perpetual surrender of tastes and opportunities, in deference to the affectionate selfishness of the devoted partner, who is unable to realize that what may seem trivial to him is a matter of importance to someone else. The husband cannot bear to be parted from his wife for a single evening; therefore unselfishness dictates that the wife shall sacrifice her innate love of — say the drama (which he energetically loathes), and forego every opportunity of gratifying her taste. The adoring wife, on the other hand, who hates to leave home, feels deserted and miserable if her husband is absent for more than twenty-four hours, and she either complains mournfully when he returns, recounting her sufferings, or perhaps, in eloquent silence, intimates to him that he is a brute.

He, therefore, feels it his duty to curb his predilection for travel, restricting his wandering soul to a dash down to the sea

or the river, sandwiched between prologue and epilogue of apologies, except at such times as the martyr's crown stirs his wife's ambition, and she bravely accompanies him on a painful little pleasure excursion.

Thus each one of this estimable couple has to give up what is most prized, in deference to the feelings of the other, who becomes a sort of amiable vampire, draining the lifeblood from its willing prey.

This process of mutual injury is carried on in most marriages that are called happy. In marriages that are called unhappy, one of the pair has ordinarily proved recalcitrant, resisting the effacing process which the other sought to enforce — *hinc illæ lacrimæ!*

Perhaps, on the whole, happy marriages of this order are more disastrous than unhappy ones, for the united pair finally succeed, at large cost and trouble, in inflicting upon one another the greatest loss that a human being — as such — can sustain, since he misses his inheritance: his own development, the peculiar experiences that await him in the domain of his slumbering personality, the peculiar contributions that humanity might have won from him. Thus both he and the community are defrauded, since man can possess and enjoy only so much of the universe of things as he can perceive; or in other words, the rank and the nature of human life are determined mathematically by the extent and the character of individual consciousness. All that tends to narrow and stunt this, narrows and stunts the life of the whole race, and retards its growth. Popular sentiment is busy at this stunting process. Thus we find the system almost reducing itself to absurdity in orthodox family life, wherein — speaking roughly — all approved persons are conducting their existence, not according to their own convictions, but according to those of some affectionate relative. In short, every estimable person is acting vicariously on the motives of somebody else.

We come to the conclusion, that the present form of marriage — exactly in proportion to its conformity with orthodox ideas — is a failure. If certain unconscious heretics, ignoring the teachings of orthodoxy, have given us inspiring examples of what

marriage might be and can be, such instances afford no argument in favor of the institution as it is at present interpreted. Just to the extent to which a union follows that popular interpretation, is it a degrading bondage.

The coercive element in marriage, be it observed, has been introduced as a crude corrective to the utter helplessness to which law-aided custom has reduced women. Wives (as it is even now argued) would be deserted by their husbands and left to starve, unless the law compelled the latter to remain with them. To place women in such a position that they need no longer chain unwilling husbands to their side from sheer dread of starvation, does not appear a particularly shocking proposition, when looked at calmly. When we are assured that marriage is really for the protection of the woman, there is indeed some truth in the assertion. She has been brought to a position which obliges the law to come to her aid, now and then. Her capital (as so many men have naïvely pointed out, without the faintest suspicion of the terrible wrong implied by the fact) consists in her youth, beauty, and attractions. She must invest it in marriage, and Society offers a guarantee for the payment of the interest. Such is the protection that marriage offers to women!

There are many signs that this arrangement is ceasing to be satisfying to either sex. They both more or less chafe against the commercial element, which social conditions still prevent them from either abolishing or ignoring. An increasing number of women are refusing a life of comparative ease in marriage, rather than enter upon it as a means of livelihood, for which their freedom has to be sacrificed. As this sentiment grows general, men and women cannot fail to recognize, as a mere truism, that so long as affection and friendship remain between a married couple, no bonds are necessary to hold them united; but that when these cease, the tie becomes intolerable, and no law ought to have power to enforce it. It need scarcely be added that there are, in these days, a growing number who insist that there must be complete acknowledgment of the right of the woman to possess herself, body and soul, in absolute independence. It has

been part and parcel of her slave's position that this right has hitherto been denied her, by the sentiment of her contemporaries, nay, until the decision in the Jackson case, by force of law.

As the monogamic ideal becomes more and more realized and followed, not from force but from conviction, increasing freedom in the form of marriage must — paradox as it sounds — be looked for among a developing people. Greater respect for the liberties of the individual would alone dictate a system less barbaric, and would secure it from danger of abuse. . . .

There is, perhaps, no more difficult relation in the world than that of husband and wife. Peace is not so very hard to achieve, nor an apparent smoothness that passes for harmony. The really rare thing is a unity which is not purchased at the expense of one or other of the partners. The old notion that the man ought to be the commander, because one must have a head in every commonwealth, is a truly comic solution of the difficulty. To preserve peace by disabling one of the combatants is a method that is naïve in its injustice. Where, one feels inclined to ask, again and again, in considering this whole question, is man's sense of humor? It is this sort of "peace" in the home which brings with it the sad disenchantment that is so fatally common.

The husband's sense of power over his wife causes her to become less attractive to him, and it is this loss of attraction, *observed apart from its cause*, which creates so much fear of the effects of greater marital freedom. Ardent upholders of the present status point out that men would leave their wives without hesitation if they could, a curious admission that most marriages hold together by law rather than by affection.

What could possibly be more fatal to the wife's continued influence over her husband than the fact that she is his absolutely and forever, quite irrespective of her wishes or of his conduct? He marries expecting exorbitantly. If the wife does not give him all he expects, he is disappointed and angry; if she *does* give it — well, it is only her duty, and he ceases to value it. It becomes a matter of course, and the romance and interest die out. The same thing in a lesser degree happens to the wife. She, too, may make vast claims upon her husband, curtail his liberty of

action, and even of thought; she may drag him about with her, on the absurd assumption that it is not "united" in husbands and wives to have independent pursuits; she may even ruin a great talent, and fritter away an otherwise useful life, through her exactions.

Often, indeed, the claims on both sides are willingly recognized, but that saves neither of the pair from the narrow influences of such a walled-in existence. Marriages of this kind are making life, as a whole, airless and lacking in vitality; social intercourse is checked, the flow of thought is retarded; and these unions have also the very evil effect of cutting off, in a great measure, both the husband and wife from friendly relations with others. The complaint among friends is universal: when a man or woman marries a great curtain seems to fall. As human beings they have both lost their position; they are more or less shut away in their little circle, and all the rest of the world is emphatically outside. As society is made up, to a large extent, of married couples — all tending to this self-satisfied isolation amidst undisturbed family prejudice — it suffers from a sort of coagulating process, whose effects we are all feeling in a thousand unsuspected ways. Life is tied up into myriads of tight little knots, and the blood cannot flow through the body politic. Ordinary social intercourse does little or nothing to loosen this stricture. The marital relationship of claims and restraints is, perhaps, in its vaunted "success," more melancholy than in its admitted failure.

61. MARRIAGE NOT A CONTRACT[1]

We have seen that when the Catholic development of the archaic conception of marriage as a sacrament, slowly elaborated and fossilized by the ingenuity of the Canonists, was at last nominally dethroned, though not destroyed, by the movement associated with the Reformation, it was replaced by the conception of marriage as a contract. This conception of marriage as a contract still enjoys a considerable amount of credit amongst us.

[1] By Havelock Ellis. Adapted from Sex in Relation to Society, pp. 470–486, 503–505. F. A. Davis Co., Philadelphia, 1913.

There must always be contractive elements, implicit or explicit, in a marriage; that was well recognized even by the Canonists. But when we treat marriage as all contract, and nothing but contract, we have to realize that we have set up a very peculiar form of contract, not voidable, like other contracts, by the agreement of the parties to it, but dissoluble as a sort of punishment of delinquency rather than by the voluntary annulment of a bond.[1] When the Protestant Reformers seized on the idea of marriage as a contract they were not influenced by any reasoned analysis of the special characteristics of a contract; they were merely anxious to secure a plausible ground, already admitted even by the Canonists to cover certain aspects of the matrimonial union, on which they could declare that marriage is a secular and not an ecclesiastical matter, a civil bond and not a sacramental process.[2]

Like so much else in the Protestant revolt, the strength of this attitude lay in the fact that it was a protest, based on its negative side on reasonable and natural grounds. But while Protestantism was right in its attempt — for it was only an attempt — to deny the authority of Canon law, that attempt was altogether unsatisfactory on the positive side. As a matter of fact marriage is not a true contract and no attempt has ever been made to convert it into a true contract.

If marriage were really placed on the basis of a contract, not only would that contract be voidable at the will of the two parties concerned, without any question of delinquency coming into the question, but those parties would at the outset themselves determine the conditions regulating the contract. But nothing could be more unlike our actual marriage. The two parties are bidden to accept each other as husband and wife; they are not invited to make a contract; they are not even told that, little as they may

[1] Hobhouse, Morals in Evolution, Vol. I, p. 237.

[2] The same conception of marriage as a contract still persists to some extent also in the United States, whither it was carried by the early Protestants and Puritans. No definition of marriage is indeed usually laid down by the States, but, Howard says (History of Matrimonial Institutions, Vol. II, p. 395), "in effect matrimony is treated as a relation partaking of the nature of both status and contract."

know it, they have in fact made a very complicated and elaborate contract that was framed on lines laid down, for a large part, thousands of years before they were born. Unless they have studied law they are totally ignorant, also, that this contract contains clauses which under some circumstances may be fatal to either of them. All that happens is that a young couple, perhaps little more than children, momentarily dazed by emotion, are hurried before the clergyman or the civil registrar of marriages, to bind themselves together for life, knowing nothing of the world and scarcely more of each other, knowing nothing also of the marriage laws, not even perhaps so much as that there are any marriage laws, never realizing that — as has been truly said — from the place they are entering beneath a garland of flowers there is, on this side of death, no exit except through the trap-door of a sewer.[1]

Marriage is, therefore, not only not a contract in the true sense,[2] but in the only sense in which it is a contract it is a contract of an exceedingly bad kind. When the Canonists superseded the old conception of marriage as a contract of purchase by their sacramental marriage, they were in many respects effecting a real progress, and the return to the idea of a contract, as soon as its temporary value as a protest has ceased, proves altogether out of harmony with any advanced stage of civilization. It was revived in days before the revolt against slavery had been inaugurated. Personal contracts are out of harmony with our modern civilization and our ideas of individual liberty. A man can no longer contract himself as a slave nor sell his wife. Yet marriage, regarded as a contract, is of precisely the same class as those transactions.[3] In every high state of civilization

[1] This point of view has been vigorously set forth by Paul and Victor Margueritte, Quelques Idées.

[2] I may remark that this was pointed out, and its consequences vigorously argued, many years ago by C. G. Garrison, "Limits of Divorce," *Contemporary Review*, February, 1894. "It may safely be asserted," he concludes, "that marriage presents not one attribute or incident of anything remotely resembling a contract, either in form, remedy, procedure, or result; but that in all these aspects, on the contrary, it is fatally hostile to the principles and practices of that division of the rights of persons." Marriage is not contract, but conduct.

[3] See, *e.g.*, P. and V. Margueritte, *op. cit.*

this fact is clearly recognized, and young couples are not even allowed to contract themselves out in marriage unconditionally. We see this, for instance, in the wise legislation of the Romans. Even under the Christian Emperors that sound principle was maintained and the lawyer Paulus wrote:[1] "Marriage was so free, according to ancient opinion, that even agreements between the parties not to separate from one another could have no validity." In so far as the essence and not any accidental circumstance of the marital relationships is made a contract, it is a contract of a nature which the two parties concerned are not competent to make. Biologically and psychologically it cannot be valid, and with the growth of a humane civilization it is explicitly declared to be legally invalid.

For, there can be no doubt about it, the intimate and essential fact of marriage — the relationship of sexual intercourse — is not and cannot be a contract. It is not a contract but a fact; it cannot be effected by any mere act of will on the part of the parties concerned; it cannot be maintained by any mere act of will. To will such a contract is merely to perform a worse than indecorous farce. Certainly many of the circumstances of marriage are properly the subject of contract, to be voluntarily and deliberately made by the parties to the contract. But the essential fact of marriage — a love strong enough to render the most intimate of relationships possible and desirable through an indefinite number of years — cannot be made a matter for contract. Alike from the physical point of view, and the psychical point of view, no binding contract — and a contract is worthless if it is not binding — can possibly be made. And the making of such pseudo-contracts concerning the future of a marriage, before it has even been ascertained that the marriage can ever become a fact at all, is not only impossible but absurd.

It is of course true that this impossibility, this absurdity, is never visible to the contracting parties. They have applied to the question all the very restricted tests that are conventionally permitted to them, and the satisfactory results of these tests, together with the consciousness of possessing an immense and

[1] As quoted by Howard, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 29.

apparently inexhaustible fund of loving emotion, seem to them adequate to the fulfillment of the contract throughout life, if not indeed eternity.

As a child of seven I chanced to be in a semitropical island of the Pacific supplied with fruit, especially grapes, from the mainland, and a dusky market woman always presented a large bunch of grapes to the little English stranger. But a day came when the proffered bunch was firmly refused; the superabundance of grapes had produced a reaction of disgust. A space of nearly forty years was needed to overcome the repugnance to grapes thus acquired. Yet there can be no doubt that if at the age of six that little boy had been asked to sign a contract binding him to accept grapes every day, to keep them always near him, to eat them and to enjoy them every day, he would have signed that contract as joyously as any radiant bridegroom or demure bride signs the register in the vestry. But is a complex man or woman, with unknown capacities for changing or deteriorating, and with incalculable aptitudes for inflicting torture and arousing loathing, is such a creature more easy to be bound to than an exquisite fruit? All the countries of the world in which the subtle influence of the Canon law of Christendom still makes itself felt, have not yet grasped a general truth which is well within the practical experience of a child of seven.[1]

It thus tends to come about that with the growth of civilization the conception of marriage as a contract falls more and more into discredit. It is realized, on the one hand, that personal contracts are out of harmony with our general and social attitude, for if we reject the idea of a human being contracting himself as a slave, how much more we should reject the idea of entering by contract into the still more intimate relationship of a husband or a wife; on the other hand it is felt that the idea of predained contracts on a matter over which the individual himself has no control is quite unreal and when any strict rules of equity

[1] Ellen Key similarly (Ueber Liebe und Ehe, p. 343) remarks that to talk of "the duty of life-long fidelity" is much the same as to talk of "the duty of life-long health." A man may promise, she adds, to do his best to preserve his life, or his love; he cannot unconditionally undertake to preserve them.

prevail, necessarily invalid. It is true that we still constantly find writers sententiously asserting their notions of the duties or the privileges involved by the "contract" of marriage, with no more attempt to analyze the meaning of the term "contract" in this connection than the Protestant Reformers made, but it can scarcely be said that these writers have yet reached the alphabet of the subject they dogmatize about.

The transference of marriage from the Church to the State which, in the lands where it first occurred, we owe to Protestantism and, in the English-speaking lands, especially to Puritanism, while a necessary stage, had the unfortunate result of secularizing the sexual relationships. That is to say, it ignored the transcendent element in love, which is really the essential part of such relationships, and it concentrated attention on those formal and accidental parts of marriage which can alone be dealt with in a rigid and precise manner, and can alone properly form the subject of contracts. The Canon law, fantastic and impossible as it became in many of its developments, at least insisted on the natural and actual fact of marriage as, above all, a bodily union, while, at the same time, it regarded that union as no mere secular business contract but a sacred and exalted function, a divine fact, and the symbol of the most divine fact in the world. We are returning to-day to the Canonist's conception of marriage on a higher and freer plane, bringing back the exalted conception of the Canon law, yet retaining the individualism which the Puritan wrongly thought he could secure on the basis of mere secularization, while, further, we recognize that the whole process belongs to the private sphere of moral responsibility. As Hobhouse has well said, in tracing the evolutionary history of the modern conception of marriage, the sacramental idea of marriage has again emerged but on a higher plane; "from being a sacrament in the magical, it has become one in the ethical, sense." We are thus tending towards, though we have not yet legally achieved, marriage made and maintained by consent, "a union between two free and responsible persons in which the equal rights of both are maintained."[1]

[1] Hobhouse, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 159, 237–239; cf. P. and V. Margueritte, Quelques Idées.

If from the point we have now reached we look back at the question of divorce we see that, as the modern aspects of the marriage relationship become more clearly realized by the community, that question will be immensely simplified. Since marriage is not a mere contract but a fact of conduct, and even a sacred fact, the free participation of both parties is needed to maintain it. To introduce the idea of delinquency and punishment into divorce, to foster mutual recrimination, to publish to the world the secrets of the heart or the senses, is not only immoral, it is altogether out of place. In the question as to when a marriage has ceased to be a marriage the two parties concerned can alone be the supreme judges; the State, if the State is called in, can but register the sentence they pronounce, merely seeing to it that no injustice is involved in the carrying out of that sentence.[1]

In discussing in the previous chapter[2] the direction in which sexual morality tends to develop with the development of civilization we came to the conclusion that in its main lines it involved, above all, personal responsibility. A relationship fixed among savage peoples by social custom which none dare break, and in a higher stage of culture by formal laws which must be observed in the letter even if broken in the spirit, becomes gradually transferred to the sphere of individual moral responsibility. Such a transference is necessarily meaningless, and indeed impossible, unless the increasing stringency of the moral bond is accompanied by the decreasing stringency of the formal bond. It is only by the process of loosening the artificial restraints that the natural restraints can exert their full control. That process takes place in two ways, in part on the basis of the indifference to formal marriage which has marked the masses of the population everywhere and doubtless stretches back to the tenth century before the domination of ecclesiastical matrimony began, and partly by the progressive modification of marriage laws which were made necessary by the needs of the propertied classes anxious to secure

[1] "Divorce," as Garrison puts it ("Limits of Divorce," *Contemporary Review*, February, 1894), "is the judicial announcement that conduct once connubial in character and purpose, has lost these qualities. . . . . Divorce is a question of fact, and not a license to break a promise."

[2] See Sex in Relation to Society, chap. ix.

the State recognition of their unions. The whole process is necessarily a gradual and indeed imperceptible process. It is impossible to fix definitely the dates of the stages by which the Church effected the immense revolution by which it grasped, and eventually transferred to the State, the complete control of marriage, for that revolution was effected without the intervention of any law. It will be equally difficult to perceive the transference of the control of marriage from the State to the individuals concerned, and the more difficult because, as we shall see, although the essential and intimately personal fact of marriage is not a proper matter for State control, there are certain aspects of marriage which touch the interests of the community so closely that the State is bound to insist on their registration and to take an interest in their settlement.

The result of dissolving the formal stringency of the marriage relationship, it is sometimes said, would be a tendency to an immoral laxity. Those who make this statement overlook the fact that laxity tends to reach a maximum as a result of stringency, and that where the merely external authority of a rigid marriage law prevails, there the extreme excesses of license most flourish. It is also undoubtedly true, and for the same reason, that any sudden removal of restraints necessarily involves a reaction to the opposite extreme of license; a slave is not changed at a stroke into an autonomous freeman. Yet we have to remember that the marriage order existed for millenniums before any attempt was made to mold it into arbitrary shapes by human legislation. Such legislation, we have seen, was indeed the effort of the human spirit to affirm more emphatically the demands of its own instincts. But its final result is to choke and impede rather than to further the instincts which inspired it. Its gradual disappearance allows the natural order free and proper scope.

When the loss of autonomous freedom fails to lead to licentious rebellion it incurs the opposite risk and tends to become a flabby reliance on an external support. The artificial support of marriage by State regulation then resembles the artificial support of the body furnished by corset-wearing. The reasons for and against adopting artificial support are the same in one case as

the other. Corsets really give a feeling of support; they really furnish without trouble a fairly satisfactory appearance of decorum; they are a real protection against various accidents. But the price at which they furnish these advantages is serious, and the advantages themselves only exist under unnatural conditions. The corset cramps the form and the healthy development of the organs; it enfeebles the voluntary muscular system; it is incompatible with perfect grace and beauty; it diminishes the sum of active energy. It exerts, in short, the same kind of influence on physical responsibility as formal marriage on moral responsibility.

It is certainly inevitable that during a period of transition the natural order is to some extent disturbed by the persistence, even though in a weakened form, of external bonds which are beginning to be consciously realized as inimical to the authoritative control of individual moral responsibility. We can clearly trace this at the present time. A sensitive anxiety to escape from external constraint induces an undervaluation of the significance of personal constraint in the relationship of marriage. Everyone is probably familiar with cases in which a couple will live together through long years without entering the legal bond of marriage, notwithstanding difficulties in their mutual relationship which would have long since caused a separation or a divorce had they been legally married. When the inherent difficulties of the marital relationship are complicated by the difficulties due to external constraint, the development of individual moral responsibility cuts two ways, and leads to results that are not entirely satisfactory. This has been seen in the United States of America and attention has often been called to it by thoughtful American observers. It is, naturally, noted especially in women because it is in women that the new growth of personal freedom and moral responsibility has chiefly made itself felt. The first stirring of these new impulses, especially when associated, as it often is, with inexperience and ignorance, leads to impatience with the natural order, to a demand for impossible conditions of existence, and to an inaptitude not only for the arbitrary bondage of law but even for the wholesome and necessary bonds of human social life. It is always

a hard lesson for the young and idealistic that in order to command Nature we must obey her; it can only be learned through contact with life and by the attainment of full human growth.

We have seen that the modern tendency as regards marriage is towards its recognition as a voluntary union entered into by two free, equal, and morally responsible persons, and that that union is rather of the nature of an ethical sacrament than of a contract, so that in its essence as a physical and spiritual bond it is outside the sphere of the State's action. It has been necessary to labor that point before we approach what may seem to many not only a different but even a totally opposed aspect of marriage. If the marriage union itself cannot be a matter for contract, it naturally leads to a fact which must necessarily be a matter for implicit or explicit contract, a matter, moreover, in which the community at large has a real and proper interest: that is the fact of procreation. . . .

If — to sum up — we consider the course which the regulation of marriage has run during the Christian era, the only period which immediately concerns us, it is not difficult to trace the main outlines. Marriage began as a private arrangement, which the Church, without being able to control, was willing to bless, as it also blessed many other secular affairs of men, making no undue attempt to limit its natural flexibility to human needs. Gradually and imperceptibly, however, without the medium of any law, Christianity gained the complete control of marriage, coördinated it with its already evolved conceptions of the evil of lust, of the virtue of chastity, of the mortal sin of fornication, and, having through the influence of these dominating conceptions limited the flexibility of marriage in every possible direction, it placed it on a lofty but narrow pedestal as the sacrament of matrimony. For reasons which by no means lay in the nature of the sexual relationships, but which probably seemed cogent to sacerdotal legislators who assimilated it to ordination, matrimony was declared indissoluble. Nothing was so easy to enter as the gate of matrimony, but, after the manner of a mousetrap, it opened inwards and not outwards; once in there was no way out alive. The Church's regulation of marriage while, like the

celibacy of the clergy, it was a success from the point of view of ecclesiastical politics, and even at first from the point of view of civilization, for it at least introduced order into a chaotic society, was in the long run a failure from the point of view of society and morals. On the one hand it drifted into absurd subtleties and quibbles; on the other, not being based on either reason or humanity, it had none of that vital adaptability to the needs of life, which early Christianity, while holding aloft austere ideals, still largely retained. On the side of tradition this code of marriage law became awkward and impracticable; on the biological side it was hopelessly false. The way was thus prepared for the Protestant reintroduction of the conception of marriage as a contract, that conception being, however, brought forward less on its merits than as a protest against the difficulties and absurdities of the Catholic Canon law. The contractive view, which still largely persists even to-day, speedily took over much of the Canon law doctrines of marriage, becoming in practice a kind of reformed and secularized Canon law. It was somewhat more adapted to modern needs, but it retained much of the rigidity of the Catholic marriage without its sacramental character, and it never made any attempt to become more than nominally contractive. It has been of the nature of an incongruous compromise and has represented a transitional phase towards free private marriage. We can recognize that phase in the tendency, well marked in all civilized lands, to an ever-increasing flexibility of marriage. The idea, and even the fact, of marriage by consent and divorce by failure of that consent, which we are now approaching, has never indeed been quite extinct. In the Latin countries it has survived with the tradition of Roman law; in the English-speaking countries it is bound up with the spirit of Puritanism which insists that in the things that concern the individual alone the individual himself shall be the supreme judge. That doctrine as applied to marriage was in England magnificently asserted by the genius of Milton, and in America it has been a leaven which is still working in marriage legislation towards an inevitable goal which is scarcely yet in sight. The marriage system of the future, as it moves along its present course,

will resemble the old Christian system in that it will recognize the sacred and sacramental character of the sexual relationship, and it will resemble the civil conception in that it will insist that marriage, so far as it involves procreation, shall be publicly registered by the State. But in opposition to the Church it will recognize that marriage, in so far as it is purely a sexual relationship, is a private matter the conditions of which must be left to the persons who alone are concerned in it; and in opposition to the civil theory it will recognize that marriage is in its essence a fact and not a contract, though it may give rise to contracts, so long as such contracts do not touch that essential fact. And in one respect it will go beyond either the ecclesiastical conception or the civil conception. Man has in recent times gained control of his own procreative powers, and that control involves a shifting of the center of gravity of marriage, in so far as marriage is an affair of the State, from the vagina to the child which is the fruit of the womb. Marriage as a state institution will center, not around the sexual relationship, but around the child which is the outcome of that relationship. In so far as marriage is an inviolable public contract it will be of such a nature that it will be capable of automatically covering with its protection every child that is born into the world, so that every child may possess a legal mother and a legal father. On the one side, therefore, marriage is tending to become less stringent; on the other side it is tending to become more stringent. On the personal side it is a sacred and intimate relationship with which the State has no concern; on the social side it is the assumption of the responsible public sponsorship of a new member of the State. Some among us are working to further one of these aspects of marriage, some to further the other aspect. Both are indispensable to establish a perfect harmony. It is necessary to hold the two aspects of marriage apart, in order to do equal justice to the individual and to society, but in so far as marriage approaches its ideal state those two aspects become one.

CHAPTER XV

THE DIVORCE REFORM MOVEMENT

The fundamental causes of divorce, 621. — Economic development, 628. — Standards of living, 628. — Pressure of economic life upon the home, 629. — Passing of the economic function of the family, 631. — Economic emancipation of women, 633. — Social progress, 636. — Liberalism, 637. — Popularization of law, 639. — Education, 640. — Ethical and religious readjustment, 643. — Single moral standard, 647. — Higher ideals of domestic happiness, 647. — Minority Report of the Royal Commission on Divorce — need of principles in divorce reform, 649. — National Congress on Uniform Divorce Laws — proposed uniform divorce law for the United States, 657.

62. THE REAL CAUSES OF DIVORCE[1]

Causes of Increase

Persistence of the Increase

The forces tending to counteract divorce are among the most efficient elements of social control. Laws have been enacted in every State in the Union for the purpose of regulating divorces, ranging in strictness from the recognition of fourteen valid grounds in New Hampshire, to absolute prohibition in South Carolina. While the laws in the several states differ in respect to the causes for divorce, they agree in their restrictive purpose. Juristic interpretation has required a more strict conformity to the law. Ecclesiastical divorce legislation in the great Protestant bodies, a product of the period we are studying, has increased in stringency with the rise of the divorce rate. The persistent protest of the Protestant clergy, even where no ecclesiastical enactment requires it, is expressed in their refusal, in most

[1] By James P. Lichtenberger. Adapted from "Divorce, a Study in Social Causation." *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, Vol. XXXV, No. 3 (1909), pp. 142–150, 157–171, 176–189, 192–199.

instances to marry divorced persons unless it should be the innocent party to a decree obtained on "scriptural grounds." The doctrine of indissolubility still holds in the Roman Catholic Church. Public opinion expresses its disapproval chiefly through the press and by means of voluntary associations for the suppression of the "divorce evil."

A situation of a most interesting nature now confronts us. Despite all these counter influences the rise of the divorce rate is persistent and rapid. This fact, it would seem, is equivalent to a demonstration that the family, like every other social institution, is subject to forces resident within society which do not depend for their operation upon human laws and are not subject to control by artificial means or external authority, but which operate by a law of their own nature and compel the readjustment of ideals in harmony with their own development.

This is apparent in the fact that divorce is the result and not the cause of the break-up of the family. In an increasing number of instances marital relations have ceased to exist between persons legally united. Mutual affection and free choice, essential elements of valid marriage, are absent. Every tie upon which the law, ecclesiastical and civil, placed its sanction is severed. The husband and wife are estranged. This often leads to separation. If there are children they go to live, as a rule, either with one of the parents or with some other relative. Only occasionally do they become wards of the state. The family in these cases has no longer any actual, but only a legal, existence.

Wherever this condition has prevailed the parties have sought release from the only remaining bond, the legal one, and they employ whatever means the law itself has made necessary to that end. Divorce is therefore the legal act by which the legal bond is dissolved, when every other reason for the continuance of the marriage relation has disappeared.

From this point of view it is clear that the study of divorce statistics can only be of service in indicating imperfectly the degree of disaffection in the family life. Legal divorce can never be more than an approximate index to the actual divorce in a population. The more stringent the law the less likely are the

figures to conform to the actual number of estrangements and separations, or to indicate the degree of unfaithfulness to the marriage bond.

The Nature of the Causes

For obvious reasons the analysis of the legal causes of divorce is of little value in the effort to explain the rising rate. In the first place, the legal causes have undergone relatively slight modifications during the last forty years. There is little perceptible correlation between statute enactments and the increase of divorces. As a matter of fact, few new causes have been added, and these in only a few states, while there has been a decided tendency toward stringency in respect to residence requirements in the states in which divorce is sought and in the prohibition of remarriage until after a certain period has elapsed from the granting of the decree. In the second place, it is clear that the legal causes are frequently not the real reasons for securing divorce. Regardless of what the statutes are, persons whose marital relations have become intolerable have ultimately found a way of release from them.

Where statutory provision is made for divorce either the necessary or the most feasible cause is utilized. Ample illustration of this truth is to be found in the fact that, while almost 60 per cent of all divorces in the United States in forty years were granted on the grounds of cruelty and desertion, in New York State all are granted for adultery. The citizens of New York are not necessarily more immoral than those of other states, unless compelled to be, either actually or confessedly, in order to secure legal separation from the marriage contract. The explanation of the fact is, that adultery is the only legal cause for divorce in New York. Chancellor Kent, after a long career on the bench of New York, stated that he believed that sometimes adultery was committed for the very purpose of obtaining a divorce, because it could be secured on no other ground.[1] The same philosophy applies to the case of South Carolina. It would be absurd to suppose that the State is free from domestic discord and all sexual

[1] Judge Stevens, *The Outlook*, June 8, 1907, p. 288.

immorality simply because no divorces are granted. Divorces are prohibited in South Carolina. But we are not left to our theory as to the facts.

South Carolina has found it necessary to regulate by law the proportion of his property which a married man may give to the woman with whom he has been living in violation of the law. As late as 1899, the courts were called upon to apply this law in order to protect the rights of the wedded wife and her children, in a case in which it appeared that both the husband and the wife had been living in adultery since the separation.[1]

It is clear that the reason for the increased resort to statutory grounds for divorce is to be found in the fact that an increasing number of married persons are becoming dissatisfied with their married life, and are seeking release from the marriage contract. What are the causes producing this condition? What are the disturbing elements that are increasing the number of persons subject to domestic infelicity and incompatibility which, in turn, increase the probability of adultery, bigamy, crime, cruelty, desertion, and drunkenness? Divorce is but the product of the underlying social conditions which are inherent in our modern society. These causes are not necessarily "social evils" as many writers suppose. Many of them are due to changes in the social environment, and in the end will prove beneficial, although the effects arising in the period of readjustment may seem for the time disastrous.

It is on this most important phase of the subject that the least study has thus far been expended. For the most part, thinkers and writers have started with the assumption that the family, as we know it, is the final form, that it is ideal, and that any forces which tend to modify it, or conform it to different ideals, are destructive and evil. Mistaking the effect for the cause, and without adequate apprehension of the nature of the social forces which are producing changed conditions throughout our whole social fabric, many have looked upon the spread of divorce as an unmitigated evil and have sought to regulate the divorce movement by more stringent and uniform divorce laws. This is to treat the symptoms rather than the disease. This method of procedure

[1] Judge Stevens, *The Outlook*, June 8, 1907, pp. 288–289.

will produce many good results, but its futility in respect to its influence upon the divorce rate needs no further demonstration than a clear apprehension of the causes involved.

Professor Willcox, in his able treatise on *The Divorce Problem, a Study in Statistics,* has made a most valuable contribution to the literature of the subject, although he betrays, both in his title and in his treatment, the influence of the current method of viewing the subject. He shows conclusively the inefficiency of the legal method of regulating divorce; that there is no necessary correlation between legal causes and the rate; that changes in the law are not followed by corresponding changes in the rate; "that the influence of the law, if not nil, is at least much less than commonly supposed." He closes his argument with the following paragraph:

> The conclusion of the whole matter is that law can do little. Agitation for change of law may educate public opinion. It may even be the most efficient means of education. Such effects no statistics can measure, and, therefore, in a paper like this, the educative influence of law must be neglected, but the immediate, direct and measurable influence of legislation is subsidiary, unimportant, almost imperceptible.[1]

The logical result of this view is the clear perception that the real causes of divorce are to be sought, not in statute enactments, but in the nature of social conditions. From the point of view of our investigation, this is Professor Willcox's most original and valuable contribution. He presents nine causes for divorce, all of which lie within the scope of the social environment. These causes are "appended as statistical inductions." "Some are hardly more than hypotheses to be verified, modified or retracted on further investigation; others, perhaps, may rank as probabilities; but all alike are offered merely as suggestions."[2] The modesty with which these causes are presented is probably due somewhat to the consciousness of the fact that they are not an essential part of "A Study in Statistics," but are submitted as necessary in the search for the "remedy" of divorce viewed as a "problem." This modesty, and the absence of any attempt

[1] Pp. 41 *et seq.*

[2] The Divorce Problem, a Study in Statistics, p. 62.

at classification or critical analysis of the causes, must not be permitted to obscure the value of the "suggestion." He has not only indicated the direction in which we must look in order to find the causes of divorce, but has laid, as well, the foundation for the explanation of the rising rate.

A brief analysis of the causes treated with reference to their bearing on our problem will be suggestive.[1] Four causes, (2) "The Popularization of Law," (5), "The Emancipation of Women," (7), "The Increase of Industrialism," (8), "The Spread of Discontent," are chiefly identified with the expanding divorce rate. All these with the exception of the first are chiefly aspects of the economic phase of the subject. (1) "Two Conceptions of Marriage Law," and (9) "Two Conceptions of the Family," are evidently causes of divorce, but since they have been in vogue since the beginning of the Protestant Reformation, some reason outside the ideas themselves must be given for the sudden increase of their activity contributing to a rapidly rising rate. It is possible that social and economic changes provide this explanation. It would be difficult to show that (3) "Laxity in Changing and Administering the Law" at the present time is greater than formerly. Prompt legislative action in response to urgent needs is characteristic of modern legislatures, and a reactionary public sentiment has tended rather to influence a strict interpretation and enforcement of the law. It is by no means established that early marriages are freest from divorce. On the contrary, many conclude that later marriages are more lasting, in which case our increased (4) "Age of Marriage" would tend to decrease the rate of divorce. (6) "The Growth of Cities" is not a factor of great importance, since the last report shows a rate of increase in rural districts, if not equaling at least approximating that of the urban.

From this hasty review it will be seen that while the causes here assigned are for the most part valid, as far as they go, they fall short of an adequate explanation of the phenomena of the modern divorce movement.

[1] The Divorce Problem, A Study in Statistics, pp. 62 *et seq.*

Professor Howard, seeking for the causes of the divorce movement, inquires:

> But do not "bad marriages" really go to the heart of the problem? Marriages, not legally, but sociologically bad, are meant. They include frivolous, mercenary, ignorant, and physiologically vicious unions. They embrace all that would be forbidden by Francis Galton's science of Eugenics; all that might in part be prevented by a right system of education. Indeed, bad marriages are the cause of the clash of ideals referred to. At present men and more frequently women enter into wedlock ignorantly, or with a vague or low ideal of its true meaning. The higher ideal of right connubial life, of spiritual connubial life, often comes after the ceremony. It is *ex post facto;* and it is forced upon the aggrieved by suffering, cruelty, lack of compatibility, "prostitution within the marriage bond." An adequate system of social and sex education would tend to establish such ideals before the ceremony. "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure."[1]

We are not disposed in the least degree to question the validity of "bad marriages" as a cause of divorce. Professor Howard has laid rightly great emphasis here. We should be willing to include legally as well as sociologically bad marriages as a cause of many divorces. It is only as an interpretation of the rapid increase of the divorce movement that we think Professor Howard's explanation does not "go to the heart of the problem." Is it here, in fact, not putting effect for cause? It is difficult to believe that sociologically vicious unions are more numerous than formerly, and if they are, there must be some cause for the phenomenon. Is it not a fact, rather, that the "mighty forces of spiritual liberation" are simply revealing more and more the presence of such unions? Is it not true that the pressure due to changes in the social environment is operating to render sociologically bad marriages unendurable, whereas under former conditions they were not discovered to be bad, and even to make it more difficult for sociologically good marriages to survive?

If our study, therefore, is to possess any scientific value it must go deeper into the problem of social causation. We must inquire into the great economic, social, and religious movements which,

[1] Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. III, p. 179.

since the Civil War, have wrought such profound changes throughout the whole structure of our American life, in order to ascertain their influence upon the divorce rate. It is in such a study, and there alone, that we shall find the causes that lie back of our divorce movement; that render the increasing resort to the divorce courts one of the most interesting and important facts of our social situation.

Economic Development

Modern Standards of Living

Increased cost of living has subjected domestic institutions to another strain that is ever more burdensome. This is due, in part, to the greater cost of the necessary articles of consumption and the necessity of purchasing many things formerly produced within the family itself, but much more in the number and nature of the increasing wants of the modern family. The multiplication of wants has far exceeded the growth of incomes. Luxuries in the way of food, clothing, dwelling, and home comforts of a generation ago have become necessities of the present. This is quite as true in the country as in the city, and applies in the main to the middle classes. The pressure of modern competition is felt not only within the circle of industry and commerce, but also in the realm of household economy, and it is a question where its results are more disastrous when it exceeds wholesome limits. The struggle to maintain a certain standard of living is not due only nor chiefly to the comfort and convenience secured. The chief incentive is to be found in that pride of self-aggrandizement which seeks to outclass others in the same social scale. Appearances outweigh comforts. The desire to excel becomes the ruling passion in countless homes among the middle and well-to-do classes and expenditures are indulged in for the sake of gratifications that do not minister to the peace and happiness of home life. These are often quite beyond the legitimate and available means of the family and entail anxiety and often hardship. Thus ostentation is esteemed of greater consequence than domestic happiness and the price paid for the former is often the sacrifice of the latter.

All these things increase the burden of the family maintenance without adequate compensation. If they do not actually create friction, which they frequently do, they create conditions, through overwrought nerves and irritable dispositions, favorable to the growth of infelicity and estrangement within the marriage bond.

Pressure of Modern Economic Life upon the Home

A condition of serious importance is the crowding of modern business upon the precincts of the home. This applies chiefly to the homes of the laboring classes. The centralization of industry in factory production has produced a congestion of population in manufacturing centers. People are forced to live in tenements and flats in crowded conditions without sufficient fresh air and sunshine, under circumstances not conducive to health, happiness or good morals. Home life under such conditions cannot be ideal. The feeling of permanence is absent in the rented flat. Where the wife and the children, as soon as they are old enough, must seek employment in order to supplement the family income to the point of subsistence, the competence is secured at the sacrifice of home comforts. The "family residence" becomes little more than a place for eating and sleeping, and its unity and its value as a social institution are greatly impaired. The situation is not improved if the work is brought into the homes and the family abodes turned into a sweatshop. In countless instances the family endures this test, but it renders the probabilities less and less.

Where married women, through hard necessity, have been compelled to follow their work to the school, the shop, and the factory, their removal from the home during working hours is a serious menace. Nervous and physical exhaustion renders them unfit for the duties of wife and mother. August Bebel draws a picture of such a home:

> Both husband and wife go to work. The children are left to themselves or to the care of older brothers and sisters, who themselves need care and education. At the noon hour the luncheon is eaten in a great hurry, provided that the parents have at all time to hasten home, which in thousands of cases is not possible on account of the shortness of the recess and the distance of the place of work from home. Weary and exhausted they return home at night. Instead of a friendly and agreeable habitation, they find a small, unhealthful

dwelling, often devoid of light and air and most of the necessary comforts. The increasing tenement-house problem with the revolting improprieties that grow therefrom, constitutes one of the darkest sides of our social order, which leads to countless evils, to vices and crimes. And the tenement-house problem in all the cities and industrial regions becomes greater each year, and embraces in its evils ever larger circles — small producers, public officers, teachers, small shop-keepers, etc. The laborer's wife, who comes home in the evening tired and worried, has now new duties to perform. She must work desperately to set in order merely the necessities of her household. The crying and noisy children having been put to bed, the wife sits and sews and patches till late in the night. The so much needed intellectual intercourse and good cheer are denied her. The husband is quite often uneducated and knows little, the wife still less. The little they have to say to each other is soon said. The husband goes to the saloon and seeks there the entertainment which his home fails to supply. He drinks, and however little it is that he consumes, it is too much for his circumstances. Under these conditions he falls a prey to the temptation of gambling, which claims its victims also in the higher circles of society, and he loses more than he spends for drink. Meanwhile the wife sits at home and complains; she must work like a beast of burden. For her there is no rest, no recreation. Thus there arises disharmony. If, however, the wife is less true to her duties and seeks, in the evening after she returns home weary from her work, the recreation she is entitled to, then the home is left in disorder and the misery is doubled.[1]

Thus the neglected house loses much of home charm. The hard struggle for bread takes the romance out of life; and human weaknesses, which otherwise might not affect the peace and harmony of the home, are apt to be intensified until they become too great for overwrought nerves to endure.

Among the more fortunate an equally grave situation confronts us. With the passing of their occupation in the home many women come to regard economic dependence upon men as a necessary consequence, and "look upon wedlock as an economic vocation. With them marriage tends to become a species of purchase-contract in which the woman barters her sex-capital to the man in exchange for life support."[2]

There are thousands of women of the miscalled "better" classes who live in boarding houses and hotels in idle ease, or in homes where they are figureheads, posing as their husbands' exalted head servants, but whose only ambition in life is to be accredited with respectability, and whose only

[1] Die Frau und der Sozalismus, p. 124.

[2] Howard, History of Matrimonial Institutions, Vol. III, p. 249.

occupation is to render sex service, mostly barren, to the husbands who furnish support as compensation.

Such wives are not chattel slaves, but willing dependents. They are not the drudging house servants of old, nor the colaborers of their husbands, as in our rural population. They differ in no essential from the kept woman, unless we have so low an estimate of the marriage state that we call the ceremony the essence, and a carelessly misplaced "respectability" the final test of marriage morals.[1]

As a result marriage becomes frequently little more than "legalized prostitution" and is, on the whole, thoroughly incapable of affording the happiness which the marriage relation is designed to impart. "Cupid yields to cupidity," and the probability of permanency under such conditions becomes slight. It is notably this class which furnishes the "divorce scandals in high life" and renders the subject revolting to all right-thinking people. It is failure here rightly to discriminate, that causes the reproach to be cast upon the worthy woman who seeks release from conditions that destroy her happiness and compromise her womanhood.

Passing of the Economic Function of the Family

Here is an element in the economic situation of prime importance. At the beginning of the modern economic era the family was the economic unit of society. It was an institution of expediency. It was usually large and lived close to the soil. It was an economic necessity. Its function involved not only the essential elements of race maintenance and individual well-being, but of economic life as well. Women were of economic necessity home-keepers. Their time and skill were required to the utmost. If there existed incompatibility between husband and wife, the care of children and the economic necessities of the family afforded the strongest possible incentive for adjusting or suffering the difficulties.

Within two generations changed economic conditions have wrought the most profound transformations ever experienced by the race. Within the modern economic area population is rapidly

[1] Schroeder, *The Arena*, December, 1905, pp. 586–587.

becoming urban, and with the growth of modern industry the economic function of the family is passing away. Children are no longer "brought up" in the home as formerly. Their education has been taken in hand by the state, for which they are removed from the home for several hours each day. Kindergarten, public school and college accomplish this far more skillfully than former methods. The religious training is almost wholly provided by the Sunday school and the church. Occupations are taught in the professional and technical schools without the long and unprofitable period of apprenticeship formerly required. The function of production, except of raw materials, has passed over to the shop and factory. The farmer produces less of the articles of his more elaborate table than formerly, and depends quite as much for clothing and household necessities upon factory production as the dweller in the city. Much of the cooking, sewing, washing, and ironing for the family is done better and more cheaply in the bakery, factory, and laundry than in the home.

Thus the lightening of household cares has become one of the interesting features of the influence of modern methods of industry upon the institution of the family, and herein lies the hope of the improved family of the future.

But with the passing of the economic function the family ceases to be an economic unit. The members of the household are not interdependent as formerly. The home is maintained more as a comfort and a luxury than as a necessity, the cost becomes more burdensome in proportion to the service rendered, and the temptation to "break up housekeeping" increases. It is cheaper to board.

In this manner is being removed, to a large extent, what Professor Sumner regards as one of the most fundamental motives for the origin of the family,[1] and what has continued to be one of the strongest reasons for its perpetuation. The new industry of the boarding house and the bachelor apartment, and the opportunities of individual employment offered in modern economic production without regard to sex, have shown their influence in the later age at which marriage is contracted and probably also

[1] *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. III, p. 1.

in an increasing number of persons who do not marry at all. The same opportunities are open to the members of the broken family. If, therefore, other reasons do not exist for its continuance, economic ones will scarcely prove sufficient to hold the family together, and the divorce rate will register the result.

Economic Emancipation of Women

Economic evolution, so far as it bears upon the subject of divorce, is producing no more significant result than the emancipation of women. Human beings "are the only animal species in which the female depends upon the male for food, the only animal species in which the sex relation is also an economic relation. With us an entire sex lives in a relation of economic dependence upon the other sex."[1] Whether this relation is due to the "peculiarities of women as sexual beings," or to causes inherent in our economic system, or to both, to the fact itself may be ascribed the oppression and subjugation of women in all the various phases through which the institution of marriage has thus far passed. On this basis property rights are established and maintained. In general, through the whole historic period, among civilized peoples, as well as among savages and barbarians, woman has sustained to man the relation of personal property. Whether stolen, purchased, or "given in marriage," the wife has "belonged" to her husband. Formerly he might sell her, lend her, or destroy her according to his pleasure or advantage. Not only her person but her children and the products of her toil, like that of the slave, were his. Marriage was coercive. Rarely did the woman enjoy the privilege of choosing motherhood or even of deciding who the father of her children should be. She may have been, often was, well fed, cared for and protected, and her position was not consciously oppressive, but her dependence dwarfed her personality, retarded her physical and intellectual development, and modified her to sex to the detriment of the race.

It is to be anticipated that the emancipation of one half of the human race from bondage to the other half will be followed by

[1] Gilman, Women and Economics, p. 5.

fundamental changes in social relations. This is exactly what is taking place within domestic circles at the present time. In so far as the family is held together by coercive marital authority, it is destined to disintegrate. The economic patriarchal family has fulfilled its function and, as such, will cease to exist.

Education and a developing personality as a result of her improved social status has qualified woman for larger service to society, and economic conditions have furnished the opportunity. Thus the field for individual effort and the free investment of her labor-capital in the world's market has become open to her on more nearly equal terms with men. We may safely predict that with the further development of industry the opportunity for female employment will continue to enlarge.

Nor is the economic motive lacking. Woman may have worked as hard and produced as much under the old régime of domestic economy, but she received no pay. Her service was in a measure gratuitous. It was a part of her household duties which she owed to husband and family. She was not free. In the new forms of service open to her she enters as a free competitor. Wages are reckoned on the basis of capacity and are paid to her. Regardless of conjugal condition she is treated as an individual.[1] She is independent.

Another great obstacle to her freedom is rapidly passing away. At the opening of the industrial period popular sentiment was decidedly opposed to female employment. She was going out of her "sphere." She might drudge and slave within her own home until her physical strength was exhausted. That was her duty. But to invade the ranks of public labor was "unbecoming." It was dangerous to her health and morals. Gradually, however, economic pressure and growing sanity are removing this prejudice. The recognition of her right as a human being to self-direction is overcoming the distinction of sex. The field is open, the motive is supplied and traditions concerning propriety must adjust themselves to the new conditions. If present tendencies are not interrupted we may safely predict the coming of a time, in the not

[1] Not strictly true, as the policy, in some cities, of discharging a public-school teacher who marries while in office shows. — Ed.

distant future, when reproach will not rest upon "the women who work," as it does not now upon the professional woman, but will rest upon those who accept idle dependence upon husband or father as their natural right.

The influence of the new economic status of woman upon the divorce rate is readily perceived. Marriage is no longer the only vocation open to her and for which she is qualified. She is not forced into marriage as her only means of support, and later marriages and lower birth rates reveal the influence of this fact. If marriage is a failure, she does not face the alternative of endurance or starvation. The way is open to independent support and under diminishing opprobrium. Conscious of her legal rights, and protected in the use of property or income, she is no longer compelled to accept support or yield to the tyranny of a husband whose conduct is a menace to her health and happiness.

Thus the removal of restraints, due to economic opportunities and the new social consciousness of women, is ample reason for increased resort of women to statutory grounds for the dissolution of the marriage tie. This conclusion is amply justified in the fact that 66.6 per cent of all divorces in the United States are now granted on the petition of the wife.

Another phase of the subject growing out of woman's improved economic and social status, coupled with changed ideals of the family, is to be found in the voluntary limitation of the birth rate. While the automatic limitation, due to later marriages, cannot seriously affect the question of domestic tranquillity, the deliberate effort, and its results, become a serious menace. Children are an impediment to those striving after a higher standard of living or social preferment. So that, where the economic burden of support on the part of the husband and the physical inconvenience and suffering of the wife, are viewed in the light of limitation of individual opportunity and personal advancement, the motive for restricting the number of children becomes dominant. "The growing desire to escape the natural consequences of matrimonial life has created a new mental disease, the fear of conception, which makes a mental wreck of many a normal and healthy woman." [1]

[1] Rubinow, *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1907, p. 629.

The result is likely to be either the restriction of conjugal privileges between husband and wife, with consequent irregularities outside the home, which increase the probabilities of divorce on the ground of adultery, or to continued relations, sterile as far as the increase of the family is concerned, which breed all manner of dissatisfaction and discontent and become a prolific cause for divorce upon the grounds of adultery, incompatibility, and desertion.

Economic development, therefore, bears a causal relation to the rise of the divorce rate. The pressure of modern economic conditions upon the home life of the people, the rising standard of living, the pressure of modern business upon the home, the change which the function of the home is undergoing because of its changed economic environment, and the greater freedom and opportunity of women to participate in the world's work, constitute the chief reasons, so far as economic conditions are concerned, why we may expect, during adjustments consequent upon these fundamental changes, to see the number of divorces increase. It will be conceded freely that these changes and new conditions give rise to many new causes of friction and irritation between married people which did not hitherto exist, but aside from these considerations, we believe that the chief factor in the problem is the circumstances which have made effective dormant causes which but for the changed condition would never have come to expression in the resort to divorce on the statutory grounds recognized by the courts.

Social Progress

The Struggle for Social Liberation

The struggle for social liberation, and the reconstruction of the social order in the interest of the greater freedom of the individual, the greater security guaranteed by the law, the increased enlightenment of the masses, the larger liberty of free speech, free press, and free assembly — in short, the whole democratic movement of modern times, aside from its purely political aspects — is most significant as to its effect upon the rising divorce rate.

The marriage relation, through the changes wrought by the Reformation, ceased to be regarded as a sacrament and became a social contract. We have noted the effects of the economic revolution upon the domestic institution. We have now to observe that under the sway of liberalistic tendencies the old authority of the family has been weakened and a new basis has to be sought for its justification which will have greater respect for the growing demands of personality.

That the movement in the direction of social progress has been increasingly rapid in America since the Civil War scarcely requires demonstration. Beginning with the emancipation of the negro through the incident of the war itself, the process has gone on, affecting whole classes and groups, in a social amelioration which has been none the less real because its methods have been less spectacular. Increased complexity of ethnic elements has increased our plasticity and progressiveness without endangering our political and social cohesion. General enlightenment and culture have maintained an even pace with our material prosperity, thus strengthening the foundations of our national life, while the growth of science in its application to the social realm has exceeded its triumphs in any other field.

It is foreign to our purpose to treat the history of this progress. It is sufficient to point out that its results have been inevitable and that the end is not yet. A few of the achievements of this movement, significant for our study, may briefly be cited.

Liberalism and the American Spirit

The United States beyond any other nation, with the possible exception of Great Britain, has achieved distinction through the high degree of civil liberty and personal freedom guaranteed by the constitution. A typical example of modern progress is here afforded. The intensification of the feeling of nationality and the social self-consciousness of the nation as a whole has been accompanied by an increasing realization of personality on the part of the citizen. Within the large latitude thus enjoyed a great flexibility of the social organism has been developed. Voluntary associations for the promotion of the political, social, and economic

welfare constitute relatively a larger part of our collective activities than of that of any other people. Based upon a frank utilitarianism, social forms and institutions, of whatever sort, do not exist for themselves, but for the benefit of those that create them. A critical and scientific attitude is therefore maintained toward them and they are held to a strict accountability as to the performance of their proper function. Free from many of the traditions concerning the inherent sacredness of institutions which appertain to a monarchial or despotic form of government, Americans are not fearful of social disaster in making whatever changes are demanded by an expanding social life. Change for us does not mean social disintegration, but is rather viewed as the condition of a sustained progress.

This spirit of liberalism has had far-reaching results. Objectively, it has made for efficiency through our whole social organization and has prevented fixity of type. Subjectively, it has been productive of the open mind. As a total result we have arrived at a state of complacency in regard to the perpetuity of our free institutions which no alarmist propaganda is able to disturb. Prophecies of dire political and social disintegration are not able to stampede any considerable number of the people at any time. Since sufficient time has not elapsed to afford an adequate test of many of our institutions, confidence in their stability is less a product of experience than of conviction. It is the result of our faith in the principles of social evolution ultimately to accomplish our highest social good.

In this general attitude of mind we discover a basic reason for the phenomenon we are seeking to explain. We observe the family from the same point of view from which all other social institutions are regarded. It enjoys no special protection or taboo which shields it from the test of utilitarianism. It, with all others, must serve the end of its existence or undergo transformation. As other higher ethical considerations are added to the function of race maintenance the test of efficiency becomes of greater importance. Failure becomes an increasing calamity. Since it is not compatible with American ideals of justice and freedom that the institution should be held more sacred than the individual,

the remedy is to be found in the transformation of the former rather than in the sacrifice of the latter.

When, therefore, changed economic conditions and other influences incident to the industrial revolution began to exert an increasing pressure upon the family and to compel a new adjustment because of the inadequacy of the older forms, there was not encountered the stolid opposition based upon tradition to be found among older and more staid commonwealths. The process of social evolution had fewer obstacles to encounter and hence the rapidity of its advance.

We have here, then, one of the influential psychological elements which helps to explain why the rate of divorce, which is rising all over the civilized world, is more rapid in the United States than in any other country.

As touching the rate of divorce, the influence of individualism results in a strong tendency to resort to family relations that promote individual welfare. When the union results unfavorably to this end, there is destined to be speedy and free recourse to the statutory grounds for legal separation. Divorce laws may remain the same; they may even become more stringent; legal sanctions may be backed up by popular prejudices, but the divorce rate will tend to rise wherever this tendency operates until improved conditions in the family are secured. That this cause has become increasingly operative in the period of our study is due to the fact that it could produce its results only under the changed economic, social, and religious conditions which have removed the hindrances formerly obstructing its operation.

Popularization of Law

One of the interesting outgrowths of our social development has been the popularization of law. Professor Willcox has not only presented this point in an able and graphic manner, but he has connected it definitely with the "rate of increase." We cannot do better than to quote his paragraphs:

During the Middle Ages law was a personal privilege. For centuries legal forms of procedure continued so intricate and expensive that the benefits of

the law accrued only to the wise or wealthy. Along with extension of the suffrage in modern times has come an almost equal extension of legal privileges. Whole classes have been admitted to court that were formerly excluded by the efficient practical prohibitions of ignorance and poverty. The change in the position of the negro, effected by his emancipation, is but a single striking illustration of what has been going on constantly as the result, on the one hand, of laws simplifying procedure and diminishing the expense of legislation, and, on the other, of the better education of the community in matters of law. This education is conducted largely by the newspaper press of the country. Many a man would live in ignorance that such a thing as divorce existed were it not for the conspicuous mention of trials in his morning paper. Thus the law has become a weapon of offense or defense for a very much larger part of the population than could use it even so recently as fifty years ago. In considering the rate of increase estimated from the figures this must be borne carefully in mind.[1]

Increase of Popular Learning

The function of popular education both in the production and in the defense of individual and social liberty cannot be overestimated. Knowledge, here as elsewhere, is power. The rise of culture is accompanied by increased self-confidence and efficiency both in the individual and in the group. It results in emancipation from superstition and tradition. The growth of scientific knowledge, with its respect for orderly sequence in nature and events, is not only productive of economic prudence and providence, but develops the power of foresight and self-direction in every aspect of social conduct. In a population thus intellectually equipped, all manner of obstructions that hinder freedom and progress, whether due to the tyranny of men or the domination of traditions, become increasingly obnoxious. This results, not because conditions are worse, but because under higher degrees of enlightenment they are more clearly perceived. Much of the social unrest of our time is due, not to more unwholesome social conditions, for social conditions in general have been greatly improved, but to the higher degree of intelligence enjoyed by the masses which makes injustice and inequality of opportunity harder to bear with resignation. Wrongs are more keenly felt and as a result rights are more persistently demanded.

[1] The Divorce Problem, pp. 63–64.

Imagine now that we have a situation in which every other condition of marriage remains unchanged. Given a rapid increase in education and culture and the influence of this factor will at once appear. Here, as in every other relation, wrongs and inequalities exist. Previously, they have not been sufficient to disrupt the family tie; they have simply been endured. With the keener recognition of the difficulties they become a greater burden, and if too deeply rooted to be righted, they become in time insufferable. This is not at all an unwholesome condition, though its immediate results may seem disastrous. The ultimate result will be a higher standard of happiness and improved home conditions.

Improved Social Status of Women

The inferior position of woman, due to her economic dependence, to ascetic ideals of marriage, and to her lack of intellectual training, could not remain unaffected in the general movement for social liberation. The increase of civil and individual liberty, the growing recognition of equal rights afforded by the accessibility of the law, and the general movement of popular enlightenment have all contributed in the case of woman to afford her occasion for demanding her just share of human rights and privileges. Oppression and dependence were destined to give way before the force of principles which have been working for centuries but are only now finding adequate expression. Under the new conditions woman is ceasing to be the chattel of fathers and husbands. More and more are legal recognition and protection afforded her by the law on an equality with men. Ascetic ideals have been so far abrogated that marriage and motherhood are becoming matters of choice and consent. Improved social and economic conditions have lightened the burden of domestic responsibility and opened to her possibilities of a career for which she may be endowed by nature, or prepared by culture, either within or without the confines of her home. It is not surprising, therefore, that she should have arrived at a somewhat greater consciousness of her own personality; that she should be wide awake to the existence of injustice that before had not been realized.

The significance of the effects thus produced upon the divorce rate is as perspicuous as it is important. The freedom of women is the deathblow to survivals of the patriarchal and purchase systems of marriage. Although many wives still regard it as a sacred obligation to endure a species of martyrdom in marriage out of reverence for the institution or in the supposed interest of children, an increasing number are coming instinctively to feel, if not clearly to see, that a course of conduct cannot be destructive of life and personality and at the same time in accordance with the highest morality. Hence the growing tendency to revolt.

Under the old régime, however, the privilege of divorce was chiefly the prerogative of the husband. The wife had little redress for her wrongs. Under modern conditions the disabilities of sex have been so far removed that women have as free access as men to the divorce courts. Neither the right nor the opportunity is, then, denied to those women whose marriage relations are unhappy to free themselves from tyranny or abuse, and with the motive intensified by a clearer perception of the wrongs involved we might reasonably expect that an increase of divorces on the application of women would result. That this logic is borne out by the facts, a mere reference to the statistics of the application for divorce will reveal.

In this hasty review of some of the chief products of the social transformations due to progress, our one purpose has been clearly to point out some inevitable results. The conditions thus revealed do not necessarily force us to the conviction that our marital conditions are increasingly immoral. They do not prove that they are not. We have simply tried to establish the fact, that the conditions generally surrounding marriage being the same, there is ample ground, partly at least, to account for the continuous rise of the divorce rate during the continuance of the active operation of the principles of social progress in the sphere of individual and social freedom. This can be alarming only to the reactionary who holds that any remedy for the evil of unhappy marriage is worse than the disease.

Ethical and Religious Readjustment

Religious Conservatism

A careful scrutiny of the present religious situation, we believe, will show that the real forces which are actually producing present results are not those which manifest themselves in ecclesiastical legislation, or in reactionary clerical resolutions which represent the conservative influences in the church, but are those which reside in the nature of our modern social and intellectual life, and which, although not so spectacular, are nevertheless producing the changed religious and moral ideals of the present. This radical and fundamental change in the typical religious thinking of the ages is due to causes both mental and material.

The modern intellectual era may be said to date from 1859, when Darwin published his *Origin of Species*. Since then the whole intellectual process has been transformed. The theory of evolution has given to us not only a new geology, but also a new theology. It has caused the shifting from the deductive to the inductive method in the search for truth and has transformed the whole range of literary and scientific studies. It has demonstrated the futility of dogmatizing in philosophy, politics, or religion. In describing the cosmos as a unity of which the various sciences are but so many aspects, Herbert Spencer made a contribution to theology which should rank him among the great theologians of his day.

It is impossible that an age so materialistic and practical as ours should be without influence upon the concepts of religious thought and modes of expression. Morality is no longer transcendental. It is "that unconscious bias which is growing up in human minds in favor of those among our emotions that are conducive to social happiness." [1] Its content changes with the nature of civilization and the character of its social ideals. A utilitarian age expresses itself in practical ethics. The civilization of the present is coming more and more to concern itself with the church only so far as it ministers to this practical end.

[1] Sutherland, The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct, Vol. II, p. 306.

What are the results? Two generations have witnessed the passing of the dogmatic age in Protestant theology. The heresy trials of the past few decades mark definite progress in the emancipation of the church from the sway of medieval dogmatism. The whole structure of traditional religious conceptions has been completely transformed. Doctrinal names and formulas are no longer adequate to express the deeper content of the religious consciousness. The old static, dualistic view of the world with its creationist theories and their counterpart, institutional and theoretic morals, have been replaced by the new scientific outlook with its evolution concept, its universality of law, and its stringent genetic method. The church of to-day is coming rapidly to realize that neither ritual nor dogma constitutes the end of its existence and that they do not give any guarantee of its permanency. Character, not creed; service, not orthodoxy, are the present tests of religious validity. The time-honored landmarks of religious authority have been obliterated and thoughtful men everywhere are seeking for a new definition of authority which will not violate the conscience of the new age. In this pursuit external sources are not likely to yield more satisfactory results in the future than in the past. The new authority arises from within. It is the product of human necessities and human needs.

Revised Ethical Concepts

Thus to a large extent a religion of thought has been replaced by a religion of action, and metaphysical concepts have come to be less esteemed than spirit and conduct. With this change in view have come new ethical valuations. The stern morality of Puritanism, based upon theoretical standards, is giving place to a practical morality arising out of our changed social conditions. Virtue no longer consists in literal obedience to arbitrary standards set by community or church, but in conduct consistent with the highest good of the individual and society. Whereas piety in marriage once consisted in loyalty to the institution of marriage, and any suffering which might arise was to be endured rather than bring reproach upon an institution vested with peculiar divine sanction,

to-day our changed ethical ideas cause us to feel that marriage was made for man and not man for marriage, and that the moral value of marriage consists in the mutual happiness secured to those who enter into it. Where this condition does not and cannot exist, then the highest interests of the individual and the state are conserved only by the sacrifice of the fruitless marriage and the placing of the individuals in a position where relations such as will result in happiness may be entered into.

Thus a new humanitarianism in religion and ethics has arisen to take the place of the theoretical standards of orthodoxy of a generation ago. It rests upon practical morality, and values institutions in proportion to the service they render in the formation of human character and the production of human welfare.

The present tendencies, we are persuaded, exhibit a rising and not a falling standard of morals. Because the point of emphasis has shifted many have been misled. The social unrest of our time is due, not to worse conditions, but to better. Agitations in the industrial world are due, not to lower wages or greater oppression, but to the development of an industrial conscience. Municipal reforms are the product of an ethical awakening in the realm of civic righteousness. Political strife reveals the presence of purer political ideals. Religious reformations arise out of higher conceptions of divine truth. Precisely in the same manner our modern social life manifests the signs, not of moral decadence, but of moral progress, and in the end evil is not likely to result from a movement which has its origin in an ethical renaissance.

From this point of view there is no necessity for concluding that an increasing divorce rate is due to degeneracy and a decline in social morality. On the contrary, the divorce movement in certain of its aspects is the sign of a healthy discontent with present moral conditions and marks the struggle toward a higher ethical consciousness in regard to sexual relations.

Moral pressure often adds to the number of divorces in a community by compelling persons to secure legal separation where actual separation has already taken place, in order that the new ties which have been formed may be legalized. It is likewise true

that internal moral compulsion not infrequently leads men and women to break off false relations and to seek through divorce and remarriage to live decently with natural companions.

Thus the changes in religious and ethical concepts have been followed by results which sustain relations to our subject. A few may be noted briefly.

Intolerance of Evils formerly Endured

In the sphere of domestic relations this changed view results in making married people intolerant of evils which they formerly endured. The potency of an awakened individual consciousness, of a growing intellectual freedom, and of enlarged economic opportunity, is further increased by a quickened moral perception. This is especially effective where clear moral issues are involved. It is not necessary in order to produce a rise in the divorce rate that immorality should increase. Assume that the moral status in marriage conditions remains the same, and that moral perception is clarified. The result will be precisely the same as if the moral consciousness should remain undisturbed while immorality increased. Improved ethical standards or increased ethical culture may therefore become as efficient disturbing causes as increased immorality, but the final result will be vastly different.

This gives significance to the correlation which manifestly exists between the high ethical development of the American people and the increase of the divorce rate. Many practices which were formerly condoned within the marriage relation have lately become obstacles to domestic tranquillity. Treatment which married women as a rule regarded at one time as the husband's natural right is now vigorously resented. Few men or women to-day will brook infidelity to the marriage tie, and the amount of cruelty and brutality which American women will tolerate is rapidly diminishing. Until the time, therefore, that moral conduct shall more nearly conform to improved moral ideals, the high divorce rate will continue to be a most vigorous protest against the discrepancy. A few specific results may be noted.

An Equal Standard of Morals

Practical ethics knows no distinction of sex. Present ethical tendencies are making effective demand for an equal standard of morals for both sexes. The social inferiority of women in all ages, due chiefly to their economic dependence, is largely responsible for the rise and the persistence of a dual standard. Under penalty of starvation for one class, and fear of a less luxurious support in idleness for another, wives have often submitted to a double standard of morals repugnant to all their finer sensibilities and sense of justice. With the change in the social status of women the necessity for the toleration of such discrimination is passing away. Married women are compelled to-day, neither by economic necessity to obtain a living, nor by the force of public opinion out of deference to the institution, to submit to indignities that compromise their womanhood. According to our present standards it is neither religious nor moral to maintain a relation that involves injustice and inequality. The woman, therefore, who rebels at the tyranny which would impose upon her the necessity of tolerating, under the guise of marriage duty, conduct repulsive to her moral sensibilities, finds vindication and justification in the judgment of an enlightened public conscience.

So far as the second class is concerned, we are persuaded that the number who value self-respect above mere convenience, who prefer to sacrifice social position rather than condone moral duplicity, is on the increase.

Higher Ideals of Domestic Happiness

Ideals compatible with the nature of the economic family of necessity are inadequate under our changed conditions. As the family ministers less to the necessities of life it ministers more to its amenities. The home is more than a place in which to eat and sleep and work. It is a school of affection and of spiritual discipline. It is a society for mutual helpfulness. If it ceases to be that, its function has largely passed away and its form ought not and will not much longer endure. If agreeable and helpful companionship cannot be maintained within the home there are

few other reasons to-day for its existence. Comfortable bachelorhood is preferable to infelicitous wedlock. Hence a state of disharmony, a relation deficient in the higher ethical values, easily endured in the family whose coherence rested chiefly upon its economic advantage, may furnish the strongest motive for disintegration in the family based upon mutual happiness and helpfulness.

Nor do we think the argument for the maintenance of the unhappy family is strengthened by the claim often made in respect to the care of children. We are quite persuaded in our own mind, a conviction strengthened by observation and inquiry, that in the vast majority of cases the children fare much better and their chances for arriving at a career of happiness and usefulness are greatly enhanced if given into the custody of either parent than if compelled to be reared in the atmosphere of discord and contention.

The New Basis of Sexual Morality

Perhaps the chief effect of the causes we are considering is manifest in the development of the new basis of sexual morality. As the function of the family undergoes the transformation from that of practical expediency to the higher conception of mutual interest and affection, uncongeniality and incompatibility become much more serious matters. They are quite as capable of destroying the purpose of marriage as were much graver difficulties under the old régime. Ethical values come to reside in those qualities of mutual attraction and preference which are coming to constitute the basis of marriage. Aside from certain modifying limitations of social utility "the acceptance of a sincere love between a man and a woman who would live together and be parents, as the only workable and decent foundation of the marriage relation," [1] is coming to be regarded by society as the ideal. It is from this point of view that we begin to regard all marriage based upon economic or social advantage as a bargain in sex and a form of legalized prostitution. And furthermore, that coercion, whether on the part of church or state, which compels one person to live with another person of the opposite sex in repugnant conjugal

[1] Giddings, *The Twentieth Century*, March, 1906, p. 18.

relations, does violence to all the higher ethical instincts of the soul and thus comes to be regarded as a species of despotism incompatible with free institutions.

Thus it has come about, not by conscious planning, but by the transformations wrought by social forces, that the restraint formerly imposed by institutional religion is giving place to the favorable impetus afforded by practical ethics. Popular moral sentiment which more than ever regards the ideal marriage as the supreme method of realizing the perpetuity and education of the race, nevertheless recognizes worse evils than divorce, and has come not only to approve, but to encourage, the breaking of the conventional marriage tie in preference to the crushing of the human spirit.

63. THE NEED OF PRINCIPLES IN DIVORCE LEGISLATION[1]

We have now dealt with the five new grounds for divorce which our colleagues recommend should be established.[2] There is one distinctive mark on them all. They are purely empirical in the sense that they are tentative, experimental, dependent upon qualification and degree. Desertion for three years is chosen, but we are told that if the well-to-do only were concerned four years would have been recommended. Under pressure of sufficient hard cases it might equally easily become two. Insanity is to be a cause, not only under conditions of time, but also of the age of the parties. Imprisonment under a commuted death sentence for, say, 20 years is to suffice, but not penal servitude for 10 or 15 years. Cruelty is to be a cause, but it needs to be defined, and is defined in a set of words which may mean anything from gross personal violence to the continuous exercise of a sharp

[1] From the Minority Report of the Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes, by Cosmo Ebor, William Anson, and Lewis T. Dibdin. Report of the Commission, pp. 184–188, London, 1912.

[2] The Majority Report recommended that the following causes be made legal grounds for divorce: adultery, willful desertion for three years or more, cruelty, incurable insanity after five years' confinement, habitual drunkenness found incurable after three years from first order, imprisonment under commuted death sentence. — Ed.

tongue or the habitual indulgence in a surly temper. Inebriety is to be a cause, but the proposed definition of it leaves much to the discretion of the court and is admitted to be open to criticism. Some witnesses are in favor of drunkenness being a ground of divorce, but against penal servitude being so, and *vice versa*. It is obvious that proposals like these have not even the semblance of finality. They are frankly opportunist, designed to meet what are supposed to be the practical needs of the moment, and capable of expansion in any direction under the pressure for further facilities, which concession is almost certain to produce. They must be judged, not only by their immediate and intended results, but by their inevitable sequel. If the State is to maintain any clear attitude as to divorce, it must take its stand upon some guiding principle. There is one principle, and, so far as witnesses, many of whom seek to deal with the question, have been able to help us, only one, which seems to include the various proposed extensions of the grounds of divorce. Each one of these is said to predicate a state of circumstances which proves that the purposes for which the marriage contract was entered into have been defeated, with the consequence that the combined life which it was the purpose of that contract to establish is in fact, and finally, determined. We suppose that this is what is meant by our colleagues when they recommend that divorce should be permitted for causes which "are generally and properly recognized as leading to the break-up of married life," or, as they elsewhere describe it, the "*de facto* termination of married life." What is to be regarded as "breaking up" married life? Is it separation? The separated parties may come together. Is it drunkenness? The drunkard may reform. Is it penal servitude? The prisoner may return better and chastened by punishment. Is it physical disability? Then permanent paralysis of the body may frustrate the objects of marriage as fully as paralysis of the brain. Moreover, if we accept this principle it must carry us much further than is now proposed. The conditions of the marriage contract are not only that the parties will live together and cohabit without exposing each other to bodily suffering. They promise to love one another, to take one another "for better for worse, for

richer for poorer, in sickness and in health" during their joint lives; and these promises are as much of the essence of the matter as any of the other obligations of the marriage state. The united life described in these familiar words may be fatally wounded and swept away without desertion, or cruelty, or insanity, or inebriety, or imprisonment. Who can judge, for example, the effect of unkind words, or studied neglect and indifference, offenses which no court can grapple with, but which, nevertheless, may be destructive of real union? That union is determined when husband and wife have ceased to love one another. If, therefore, we are to adopt the principle we have stated, it follows that divorce ought to be permitted when it is clear that the parties have irreparably lost affection for each other, or, indeed, when either party has become permanently alienated from the other.

The dilemma that presents itself is this. On the one hand, it is in the highest degree dangerous and unstatesmanlike to deal with so momentous a matter as marriage and divorce on notions of present expediency, without any governing principle to guide us; on the other hand, the only principle suggested is one which requires that divorce should be granted on the mutual consent of both parties, and on proof of the invincible aversion of either of them for the other. The Majority Report, it is true, does "not recommend these two causes as grounds of divorce." The reason assigned is significant. It is stated thus: "These suggestions have met with little support from any of the numerous witnesses who have been called before us and are not likely to meet with any substantial support at the present day in England." In other words, divorce for incompatibility and divorce by mutual consent are laid aside, not because they violate any principle on which the Majority Report is based, but merely because, for the moment, no effective demand for them can be discerned. But the inevitable conclusion of the premises adopted by our colleagues cannot be evaded. The evidence of several witnesses of distinction in different ways shows that they, at any rate, accept the position. Thus, Sir John Macdonell, at the very outset of the inquiry, advocated divorce by mutual consent, provided it be suitably safeguarded. Mr. Plowden, the police magistrate, thought that marriage

is a "purely civil contract" and that it would be "an admirable thing" if it "could be put an end to by the consent of the parties." Mr. Maurice Hewlett, the well-known novelist, stated that in his view "bodily desire and spiritual intention to unite" are the essence of marriage, and that "if a man cease to desire his wife, or if he desire another woman," he ought to be entitled to apply for a divorce. Miss Llewelyn Davies, the general secretary of the Women's Co-operative Guild, stated the views of some members of her guild thus: "When man and wife agree to part, I feel it would be much better for the morals of both to grant a divorce. All our members are most emphatic that where husband and wife could not live happily together it was no real marriage, it was a life of fraud without love. Nothing but love should hold two together in this most sacred of all bonds." The suggested remedy is divorce. Miss Llewelyn Davies herself was of opinion that divorce should be granted whenever there was "a serious desire on the part of either of the parties not to live with the other," and she explained that this would apply to the case of a man who wanted to be freed from his wife in order that he might live with another woman. Miss Llewelyn Davies added that in saying this she was expressing the opinions of the members of the guild generally, though some might not be so advanced. The guild, as already stated, numbers 25,897 members, respectable married women of the well-to-do working class. Of the 124 selected members to whom Miss Llewelyn Davies specially addressed inquires, 82 were in favor of divorce by mutual consent.

It is significant that a considerable number of the letters addressed to the Commission by persons who wished to plead for relief in their own cases deal not with any matrimonial offense, but are simply records of incompatibility, that is to say, from husbands or wives who have made a mistake, or find that they are not suited to one another, and claim on that ground that they ought to be liberated by law, and ought to be allowed to make a fresh marriage. The following is a typical instance: "I married when very young and more than a quarter of a century ago. I separated by mutual consent (foolishly perhaps). As the law at present stands neither my wife nor myself can obtain a divorce

though I should much like to be free. There are many cases of this sort, and if the law was only altered as proposed by many that after a certain number of years' separation either party could obtain a divorce it could injure no one and would give many much more happiness."

Whether divorce by mutual consent is likely to be adopted *eo nomine* is not the point, and is not practically very important. One of the strongest reasons for not allowing desertion and cruelty as good causes of divorce is the ease with which they may be utilized for the dissolution of marriages of which the parties have simply grown tired, and mutually desire to make an end. It will be remembered that experience in the United States emphatically confirms the reality of this danger, the recognition of which has been a main factor in producing the recent demand for reform to which we have already referred. The danger lies not merely in the risk of a misuse of law in individual cases, but in the creation of a habit of mind in the people; for there is evidently a tendency in the United States for husbands and wives and their friends in certain classes of society to see no discredit in divorce based on allegations of cruelty or desertion, while judges make no effort to detect collusion, but consider it to be their duty to facilitate divorce whenever the parties are obviously tired of one another's society. Divorce as the result of mutual arrangement is "looked upon by people of respectability in certain walks of life as a popular and firmly established institution." We submit that the proposals of the Majority Report cannot be viewed apart from the principle upon which they are founded, and the consequences which logically follow, and have in fact followed, upon its adoption. Those proposals, if carried out by legislation, would lead the nation to a downward incline on which it would be vain to expect to be able to stop halfway. It is idle to imagine that in a matter where great forces of human passion must always be pressing with all their might against whatever barriers are set up, those barriers can be permanently maintained in a position arbitrarily chosen, with no better reason to support them than the supposed condition of public opinion at the moment of their erection. But if the principle which lies

behind the proposals of the Majority Report be once admitted, with all that it necessarily implies, the result would be practically to abrogate the principle of monogamous life-long union.

Would the adoption of our colleagues' proposals, with the consequences which, however undesired, must follow, be for the general welfare of the people of this country? That is the question we have to answer. We believe the preponderating voice of history and experience would answer in the negative, and that in giving that answer it would be supported by the verdict of the best and wisest of those in every age who have striven to promote the moral advancement and the happiness of the human race. . . .

There are reasons at the present time which lead us to think that the State is called rather to strengthen than to relax the strictness of its marriage laws. It cannot be said that the natural tendencies of human society at the present time are moving in favor of an ideal of family life based upon a union life-long in its character. One might almost say that the family is the fundamental and permanent problem of human society, but the strength, coherence, and continuity of the family are threatened by two counter forces, (*a*) the assertion of individual liberty; (*b*) the claims of logical Socialism. As to the former there is a very widespread claim on the part of individuals for liberty from the restraints of marriage whenever they become difficult and irksome. As to the latter, logical Socialism is contending that the family stands in the way of the solidarity of the state, and this tendency is operative in many Continental countries and in some of our own colonies. Much of the evidence brought before us in the interests of what is called eugenics follows the same line. It may be added that within the family itself, even in our own country, the same spirit of reluctance to accept the discipline of marriage is shown in the growing reluctance to accept its natural consequences, the production and rearing of children. The evidence in this respect of the increasing decline of the birth rate in England and in Australia cannot be ignored. To these influences tending to disintegrate the family and the home must be added the increasing restlessness of modern life in all classes and the social effects of modern industry and of the massing of people in

great towns. There are strong tendencies at work breaking up the family life and the continuous union of man and wife, which is its basis. "The problem of the family is not merely a contemporary issue between expediency and idealism, but is one element in the vastly larger problem of human progress and destiny. This is the full scope and social importance of the problem with which the Divorce Court and the Ecclesiastical Courts are trying to deal."[1] The real question at issue is the alternative between the narrow expediency of trying to make the lot of certain parties concerned easier and happier, and the wider expediency of strengthening the family life against influences which are threatening its strength and stability. Moreover, the effort to promote that narrower expediency tends to defeat the effort to promote the wider expediency. Experience shows that on the whole increase of facilities and grounds of divorce leads to domestic instability. There is abundant evidence that the classes mainly affected by the Divorce Court are becoming less careful of the restraint and the obligations of family life. This certainly seems to be the effect of divorce legislation in the United States, and as we have already stated, it has led there to a strong and increasing reaction. . . .

There can be no question that hitherto the strength of English social life has been the family — the home. The evidence is reassuring that among the great bulk of the people, especially among the middle class and artisans, the obligations of marriage are respected, and home life is pure and consistent. There can be little question that the reason for this state of things is the general social conviction that marriage binds those who enter it for better or for worse. It is a life-long obligation with all the sacrifice which such an obligation involves. Our contention, therefore, is that the State, in its own interest, should maintain and not relax the standard of its present marriage law. It is in the interest of the State to strengthen the sense of responsibility in entering the married state, and the willingness of mutual sacrifice in continuing it. The provision of exceptions to the life-long tie of marriage must tend to weaken the very things that the State desires to strengthen. Will people be more careful about marrying

[1] F. G. Peabody, Jesus Christ and the Social Question, p. 134. Macmillan, 1904.

where there is a suspicion of drinking habits, or lunacy, if it is known that when drunkenness or lunacy develops divorce with permission to remarry may be easily obtained? Again, will people be more willing to make mutual sacrifices and allowances if they know that a careful absence of moderate duration may set them free?

It must not be supposed that in pressing these considerations we are either ignoring or seeking to minimize the great amount of suffering which now exists, and has always existed, in relation to ill-regulated marriages. Weakness and wickedness, selfishness and ignorance produce their inevitable results in this as in other departments of human life. The tragedy of an unhappy marriage is deepened a hundredfold by the pitiful misery it almost always brings on the children who suffer for the sins of their parents. But the fallacy we desire to deprecate is the tacit assumption that these ills are in any measure due to the lack of opportunity for divorce. Even as a remedy its practical limitations are obvious. If, for example, a wife with young children is to benefit by divorce, it is necessary (1) that a fresh husband should be found willing to undertake the burden of his predecessor's offspring, and (2) that when found he will be a better husband than the first. But, be that as it may, it is plain that we must seek the cause of matrimonial trouble at a much earlier stage than that which has been reached when the possibility of divorce becomes a practical question. The causes of marriage failure are, speaking generally, the lack of the sense of responsibility in entering the married state, and the lack of self-control, self-sacrifice, and sense of duty in continuing it. To attempt to deal with these matters by multiplying grounds of divorce is surely to attack the problem at the wrong end. That the problem is one as important as it is difficult no one will deny. Legislation improving the social environment of the working classes may do something. A more permanently effective system of elementary education would make young men and women far better equipped for family life. Possibly some restraint on the present freedom of adults to contract marriage without regard to conditions of health, or ability to maintain a family, may be practicable, and, if practicable, would certainly do something to diminish the number of unsuitable and

unhappy marriages. But the only real remedy we believe will be found not so much in Acts of Parliament as in such influences as can be exerted to rouse the conscience and stimulate the moral sense of the nation.

64. UNIFORM DIVORCE LAW PROPOSED BY THE NATIONAL CONGRESS ON UNIFORM DIVORCE LAWS[1]

For more than a quarter of a century the advisability of securing uniform divorce laws throughout the country has attracted a great deal of attention. According to the opinion of all writers, and of national legislators, the Federal Congress cannot deal with this matter without an amendment to the Constitution, and efforts have therefore been concentrated upon securing uniform divorce laws under state legislation.

The American Bar Association, commissioners appointed by governors of states, and the National Congress on Uniform Divorce Laws have all dealt with this subject very fully and have devoted much time and ingenuity in drafting proposed laws. The latest, and perhaps most complete suggested legislation, is that recommended by the National Congress on Uniform Divorce Laws, which follows.

At the meeting of the National Congress on Uniform Divorce Laws, held at Philadelphia, Pa., November 13 and 14, 1906, in compliance with instructions given to the committee on resolutions at the preceding session, held in Washington, D. C., February 22, 1906, the committee on resolutions presented a form of statute embodying the principles formulated by the congress on the subject of annulment of marriage and divorce, which, after some slight amendment, was adopted by the congress. In submitting this form of statute the committee on resolutions made the following statement, among other things, in explanation of the same:

It will be observed that the act relating to annulment of marriage and divorce, while complete in its enumeration of causes for annulment, for divorce

[1] From proceedings of the Adjourned Meeting of the National Congress on Uniform Divorce Laws, Harrisburg, 1907, pp. 17–22. Also in the United States Census Bureau's Special Report on Marriage and Divorce, Part I, pp. 271–274.

from the bonds of matrimony, and for divorce from bed and board, and in its general provisions relating to the legitimacy of children and the effect of foreign decrees, deals only with such matters relating to practice and procedure as are necessary to embody the resolutions of the congress. In the first draft of the proposed statute submitted by the subcommittee to the general committee at a meeting held in St. Paul, Minn., on September 1, 1906, complete and elaborate provisions were inserted to cover all questions relating to these important subjects, but after careful consideration the committee decided that it would not be practicable to secure the passage of an uniform statute if these provisions were retained, by reason of the probable disinclination of many of the states to change the existing laws governing procedure. It was deemed unimportant that there should be uniformity on this subject if the general principles adopted by the congress were made effective in the different jurisdictions.

The congress, while expressing a desire that the causes for divorce enumerated in its resolutions should be decreased rather than increased, recognizes the varying opinions of the different communities represented in the state legislature as existing facts and leaves to each state to decide what these causes shall be; the causes enumerated in the resolutions and the statute are now the law in 40 states of the Union. While it is too much to hope in the present state of public opinion that causes will be materially decreased in many of the states, it is believed that the principle that no state should extend its jurisdiction beyond cases where one of its own residents is a party will be universally recognized. If this principle is carried out with the restrictions relating to service provided by the statute, a prolific cause of scandal and injustice will be removed. Probably the most difficult problem that the committee has attempted to solve is the effect to be given to foreign decrees. It found the recognition of the principle of comity too firmly imbedded in the jurisprudence of nearly all of the states to be ignored, and it was necessary to recognize the American principle of separate domicile of the wife for purposes of divorce as too firmly established to be disturbed. Under these circumstances it decided to draft the general provision covered by sections 7 to 10 of the act conferring jurisdiction, and then to require that full faith and credit be given to all foreign decrees where jurisdiction was obtained substantially in conformity with them. The adoption of this act will tend to abate the scandal of migratory divorces, it will fix the status of all divorced persons on the same plane in all of the states, and will introduce such changes in the administration of the divorce laws as will reduce to a minimum the opportunities for fraud and collusion.

Objection has been made to those provisions of the act requiring public hearings, on the ground of injury to public morals, but the committee are of opinion that the decision of the congress is based upon sound policy, and the advantages of a public and open hearing in the presence of the court outweigh any of the dangers that have been suggested.

It will be found that no extreme change will be made in any of the existing laws by the adoption of this statute, excepting by the extension to some of them of the principle of divorce from bed and board, the argument for which has been fully set forth in the debates and accepted by the congress.

Proposed uniform divorce law. — The form of bill as recommended by the congress on uniform divorce laws is as follows:

AN ACT REGULATING ANNULMENT OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

CHAPTER I. — JURISDICTIONAL PROVISIONS

Article I. — Annulment of Marriage

SECTION 1. Causes for annulment.

A marriage may be annulled for any of the following causes existing at the time of the marriage:

(*a*) Incurable physical impotency, or incapacity for copulation, at the suit of either party: *Provided*, That the party making the application was ignorant of such impotency or incapacity at the time of the marriage.

(*b*) Consanguinity or affinity according to the table of degrees established by law, at the suit of either party; but when any such marriage shall not have been annulled during the lifetime of the parties the validity thereof shall not be inquired into after the death of either party.

(*c*) When such marriage was contracted while either of the parties thereto had a husband or wife living, at the suit of either party.

(*d*) Fraud, force, or coercion, at the suit of the innocent and injured party, unless the marriage has been confirmed by the acts of the injured party.

(*e*) Insanity of either party, at the suit of the other, or at the suit of the committee of the lunatic, or of the lunatic on regaining reason, unless such lunatic, after regaining reason, has confirmed the marriage: *Provided*, That where the party compos mentis is the applicant, such party shall have been ignorant of the other's insanity at the time of the marriage, and shall not have confirmed it subsequent to the lunatic's regaining reason.

(*f*) At the suit of the wife when she was under the age of 16 years at the time of the marriage, unless such marriage be confirmed by her after arriving at such age.

(*g*) At the suit of the husband when he was under the age of 18 at the time of the marriage, unless such marriage be confirmed by him after arriving at such age.

Article II. — Divorce

SECTION 2. Kinds of.

Divorce shall be of two kinds:

(*a*) Divorce from the bonds of matrimony, or divorce *a vinculo matrimonii*.

(*b*) Divorce from bed and board, or divorce *a mensa et thoro*.

Article III. — Divorce a vinculo

SECTION 3. Causes for.

The causes for divorce from the bonds of matrimony shall be:

(*a*) Adultery.

(*b*) Bigamy, at the suit of the innocent and injured party to the first marriage.

(*c*) Conviction and sentence for crime by a competent court having jurisdiction, followed by a continuous imprisonment for at least two years, or in the case of indeterminate sentence, for at least one year: *Provided*, That such conviction has been the result of trial in some one of the states of the United States, or in a Federal court, or in some one of the territories, possessions, or courts subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, or in some foreign country granting a trial by jury, followed by an equally long term of imprisonment.

(*d*) Extreme cruelty, on the part of either husband or wife, such as to endanger the life or health of the other party or to render cohabitation unsafe.

(*e*) Willful desertion for two years.

(*f*) Habitual drunkenness for two years.

Article IV. — Divorce a mensa

SECTION 4. Causes for.

The causes for divorce from bed and board shall be:

(*a*) Adultery.

(*b*) Bigamy, at the suit of the innocent and injured party to the first marriage.

(*c*) Conviction and sentence for crime by a competent court having jurisdiction, followed by a continuous imprisonment for at least two years, or in the case of indeterminate sentence, for at least one year: *Provided*, That such conviction has been the result of trial in some one of the states of the United States, or in a Federal court, or in some one of the territories, possessions, or courts subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, or in some foreign country granting a trial by jury, followed by an equally long term of imprisonment.

(*d*) Extreme cruelty, on the part of either husband or wife, such as to endanger the life or health of the other party or to render cohabitation unsafe; or such indignities, threats, or acts of abuse, as to render the condition of the other party intolerable and life burdensome, and to force such party to separate from the other and to live apart.

(*e*) Willful desertion for two years.

(*f*) Habitual drunkenness for two years.

(*g*) Hopeless insanity of the husband.

Article V.—Bars to relief

SECTION 5. When decree shall be denied.

No decree for divorce shall be granted if it appears to the satisfaction of the court that the suit has been brought by collusion, or that the plaintiff has procured or connived at the offense charged, or has condoned it, or has been guilty of adultery not condoned.

Article VI.—Jurisdiction

SECTION 6. In what courts.

The * * * court of this state shall have and entertain jurisdiction of all actions for annulment of marriage, or for divorce.

SECTION 7. By personal service in actions for annulment.

For purposes of annulment of marriage, jurisdiction may be acquired by personal service upon the defendant within this state when either party is a bona fide resident of this state at the time of the commencement of the action.

SECTION 8. By personal service in actions for divorce.

For purposes of divorce, either absolute or from bed and board, jurisdiction may be acquired by personal service upon the defendant within this state, under the following conditions:

(*a*) When, at the time the cause of action arose, either party was a bona fide resident of this state, and has continued so to be down to the time of the commencement of the action; except that no action for absolute divorce shall be commenced for any cause other than adultery or bigamy, unless one of the parties has been for the two years next preceding the commencement of the action a bona fide resident of the state.

(*b*) When, since the cause of action arose, either party has become, and for at least two years next preceding the commencement of the action has continued to be, a bona fide resident of this state: *Provided*, The cause of action alleged was recognized in the jurisdiction in which such party resided at the time the cause of action arose, as a ground for the same relief asked for in the action in this state.

SECTION 9. By publication in actions for annulment.

When the defendant cannot be served personally within this state and when at the time of the commencement of the action the plaintiff is a bona fide resident of this state, jurisdiction for the purpose of annulment of marriage may be acquired by publication, to be followed, where practicable, by service upon or notice to the defendant without this state, or by additional substituted service upon the defendant within this state, as prescribed by law.

SECTION 10. By publication in actions for divorce.

When the defendant cannot be served personally within this state and when at the time of the commencement of the action the plaintiff is a bona fide

resident of this state, jurisdiction for the purpose of divorce, whether absolute or from bed and board, may be acquired by publication, to be followed, where practicable, by service upon or notice to the defendant without this state, or by additional substituted service upon the defendant within this state as prescribed by law, under the following conditions:

(*a*) When, at the time the cause of action arose, the plaintiff was a bona fide resident of this state, and has continued so to be down to the time of the commencement of the action; except that no action for absolute divorce shall be commenced for any cause other than adultery or bigamy, unless the plaintiff has been for the two years next preceding the commencement of the action a bona fide resident of this state.

(*b*) When, since the cause of action arose, the plaintiff has become, and for at least two years next preceding the commencement of the action has continued to be, a bona fide resident of this state: *Provided*, The cause of action alleged was recognized in the jurisdiction in which the plaintiff resided at the time the cause of action arose, as a ground for the same relief asked for in the action in this state.

SECTION 11. *Particeps criminis* may be made a party.

Any one charged as a *particeps criminis* shall be made a party, upon his or her application to the court, subject to such terms and conditions as the court may prescribe.

SECTION 12. Hearings.

All hearings and trials shall be had before the court, and not before a master, referee, or any other delegated representative; and shall in all cases be public.

SECTION 13. Attorney, appointment of by court.

In all uncontested cases, and in any other case where the court may deem it necessary or proper, a disinterested attorney may be assigned by the court actively to defend the case.

Article VIII.[1]*—Evidence*

SECTION 14. Proof required.

No decree for annulment of marriage, or for divorce, shall be granted unless the cause is shown by affirmative proof aside from any admission on the part of the defendant.

SECTION 15. Impounding of record and evidence.

No record or evidence in any case shall be impounded, or access thereto refused.

Article IX.—Decrees

SECTION 16. Rule for decree *nisi*.

If after hearing of any cause, or after a jury trial resulting in a verdict for the plaintiff, the court shall be of opinion that the plaintiff is entitled to a

[1] No Article VII appears in the original. — ED.

decree annulling the marriage, or to a decree for divorce from the bonds of matrimony, a decree *nisi* shall be entered.

SECTION 17. Final decrees, entry of.

A decree *nisi* shall become absolute after the expiration of one year from the entry thereof, unless appealed from or proceedings for review are pending, or the court before the expiration of said period for sufficient cause, upon its own motion, or upon the application of any party, whether interested or not, otherwise orders; and at the expiration of one year such final and absolute decree shall then be entered, upon application to the court by the plaintiff, unless prior to that time cause be shown to the contrary.

SECTION 18. Decree *a mensa*, terms of.

In all cases of divorce from bed and board for any of the causes specified in section 4 of this act, the court may decree a separation forever thereafter, or for a limited time, as shall seem just and reasonable, with a provision that in case of a reconciliation at any time thereafter, the parties may apply for a revocation or suspension of the decree; and upon such application the court shall make such order as may be just and reasonable.

SECTION 19. Former name of wife.

The court upon granting a divorce from the bonds of matrimony to a woman may allow her to resume her maiden name, or the name of a former deceased husband.

CHAPTER III.[1]—GENERAL PROVISION

Article XI.[2]*— Children*

SECTION 20. Legitimacy of.

(*a*) In an action brought by the wife, the legitimacy of any child born or begotten before the commencement of the action shall not be affected.

(*b*) In an action brought by the husband, the legitimacy of any child born or begotten before the commission of the offense charged shall not be affected; but the legitimacy of any other child of the wife may be determined as one of the issues of the action. All children begotten before the commencement of the action shall be presumed to be legitimate.

Article XII.—Foreign decrees

SECTION 21. Effect of.

Full faith and credit shall be given in all the courts of this state to a decree of annulment of marriage or divorce by a court of competent jurisdiction in another state, territory, or possession of the United States when the jurisdiction of such court was obtained in the manner and in substantial conformity

[1] No Chapter II appears in the original. — ED.

[2] Article X of the original draft of the proposed Act was not adopted by the Congress. — ED.

with the conditions prescribed in sections 7, 8, 9, and 10 of this act. Nothing herein contained shall be construed to limit the power of any court to give such effect to a decree of annulment or divorce by a court of a foreign country as may be justified by the rules of international comity: *Provided*, That if any inhabitant of this state shall go into another state, territory, or country in order to obtain a decree of divorce for a cause which occurred while the parties reside in this state, or for a cause which is not ground for divorce under the laws of this state, a decree so obtained shall be of no force or effect in this state.

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*Starred references are those worthy of first attention in additional reading.

BOOK V

THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER XVI

THE PROBLEM

The influence of the Reconstruction era on the psychology of the South, 665. — The South and the negro, 677. — Complexity of the problem, 679. — National character of the problem, 680. — Social changes wrought by emancipation, 683. — Upward and downward tendencies, 683. — Inadequacy of white people's knowledge of negro life, 685. — The criminal negro, 689. — Opportunity in the South and in the North, 691. — Political issues, 694. — Senator Vardaman's views, 704. — The negro in Haiti and San Domingo, 705. — Negro inferiority, 709

65. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL INFLUENCES OF RECONSTRUCTION[1]

The Reconstruction Background

To take the ground that all the complicated phases of the modern problem of race relations are attributable to Reconstruction, or to any other one line of policy, anywhere or at any time, would be to assume a wholly untenable position. The simpler the form of relation between two different races the simpler will be the problems between the two; the more complex the relation the more complex its problems. The simplest relation that could exist between the white and negro races, in the mass, was that of the physical control of one by the other. The most complex relations that can exist between the two, or between any racial

[1] By Alfred Holt Stone. Adapted from Studies in the American Race Problem, pp. 252–272, 275, 276, Doubleday, Page & Company, New York, 1908.

groups, are those predicated upon a condition of actual or technical equality. And the complications to which this relation gives rise will be difficult and severe in proportion to the degree of artificiality which characterizes the equality sought to be established. The greater the natural differences in the way, the more complicated and serious will be the problems incident to the artificially created relations. The mere grant of immediate freedom to a large mass of negro slaves would inevitably have produced its own racial problems. Every step taken toward the removal of the further barriers between white and black multiplied such problems and created new ones. The only escape from a cataclysm lay in allowing sufficient time to elapse between the re-removal of one barrier after another for the races to adjust their relations to the change along normal lines. But this would not have been "Reconstruction." That was a process the logical dogma of which was the proposition that nature has erected no barrier to racial equality which legislation cannot remove.

The only defense which can be attempted of the policy of giving the negro the ballot in 1867, and of confirming the grant in 1870, is that it was necessary to enable him to "protect" himself. The very thought suggests the idea of a conflict between former master and slave. Apparently it has been impossible for politicians and publicists to comprehend the existence of the relation of master and slave without a resulting state of inconceivable hostility between the individuals thus associated. We are prone to interpret the things which affect other people in terms of our own consciousness. This is the basic error of many people who discuss the problems before us. They would be miserable and unutterably wretched in a state of "bondage," *ergo*, the negro was miserable and wretched. The mistaken policy of Reconstruction was but the practical application of a mistaken theory of race relations under slavery.[1] Many thoughtful men were amazed that the negroes did not massacre their masters at the first opportunity. . . . That none of these things occurred has

[1] I am here eliminating from consideration all the baser motives of that policy and am reviewing only that which honestly, even though mistakenly, sought the welfare of the negro.

been ascribed to the "forgiving and benignant gentleness" of the negro. It is only occasionally that someone sees deeply enough to realize the whole truth.

We need not take too literally the pleasing romances which deal with Southern ante-bellum life, in order to realize the fact that there was much in the relations between the races under the old régime which was, and is, incomprehensible to the mind of anyone to whom slavery was merely the sum of all villainies. On the one hand we have balls and chains, auction blocks and weeping children, bloodhounds and swamps, the slave driver and the lash — all the accessories and paraphernalia necessary to equip a Southern plantation in a New England novel. On the other, we have the big house and its gentle mistress, the kind and indulgent master, the black mammy, the enduring friendship between the races, the Christmas frolics, and the various other things which live in the picture painted upon another canvas. We need not be deceived on either side. The truth will usually be found between any two given extremes.

Slavery was neither all the one nor all the other. It was essentially a human institution, and as such was no better and no worse than the individuals with whose lives it was inseparably associated. It was mild or harsh as the individual was mild or harsh. . . . There was a great potential force for usefulness in adjusting succeeding relations which was bound up in the ties which existed between the higher type of master and the higher type of slave. We are apt to miss this truth, through dwelling on the limited number of the higher domestic class as compared with the whole. We fail to realize that it was this higher class, in the main mulatto types, who in such large measure constituted the "negro" leaders of the Reconstruction era. It was through them that a great beneficent force might have been exerted upon the mass, just as it was through them that this force was in fact too largely exerted for evil. Such men as Hampton, Lamar, Hill, and Gordon on the one side, and Revels, Bruce, and many more on the other, both bond and free, might not have been able entirely to control their respective constituencies. It is morally certain, however, that acting together, as under normally developed

conditions they would have acted, they could and would have brought to bear a powerful pressure for good. That the normal relations between these men were all too nearly destroyed is one thing for which Reconstruction was immediately responsible. We have abundant testimony as to what in very large degree such relations were under slavery, and much from people of color themselves. . . .

Of all the miserable heritage of Reconstruction, probably the most harmful, all things considered, was the bequest to this generation of the foundation and beginning of a peculiarly uncompromising, indiscriminating color line, one such as was unknown in older days. There is no other element in the present situation so pregnant with hurtful possibilities, no factor the inexorable operations of which are so difficult to escape. It is hard for a Southern man fully to understand the attitude of mind which persistently holds the belief that such relations as we have just suggested did not exist under slavery, or at best were rare and curious phenomena. That this was a fundamental tenet with thousands of honest and intelligent people is not a matter of debate. It is testified to by innumerable specific declarations, by countless acts, by a policy too definitely based upon the theory to admit of doubt as to its controlling force. There was also always in evidence the corollary to this idea, a proposition equally as logical in its ignorance of fact. This was that, conversely, there must be, from the very nature and constitution of the Southern institution, a bond of unity and sympathy between the "oppressed negro slave" and the "oppressed non-slaveholding white man." To the Northern view they were the sharers of a common fate, and, upon the logic of well-reasoned human conduct, they could be counted upon to make a common cause against their common oppressor. The great war governor of Massachusetts tells his people in 1865 to "remember that the poor oppressed democracy of Georgia and the Carolinas are their brethren." He warns against letting "sentimental politics surrender either them, or the black man, with whom they have shared the voiceless woe of his servitude . . . to the possibilities of any reactionary theory."[1]

[1] Governor John A. Andrew's address to Massachusetts Legislature, Jan. 6, 1865, Massachusetts Senate Documents, 1, pp. 96, 97.

Governor Andrew almost completely reversed his own attitude toward Reconstruction, but the logic of his counsel lived. Though he would have had it otherwise, the policy of that period was not addressed to the former slave owner, and it met with no response from those who were said to have "shared the voiceless woe" of the former slave. By no people in the South was the equalizing program of Congress more bitterly resented and opposed. One inevitable result of that program was to estrange from the negro those men the habit of whose lives was that of personal kindliness to the race. There was created for the first time a partial identity of abstract attitude toward the negro between the slaveholder and those whom the North vainly imagined were the only logical friends of the slave. But one division was permitted by the policy which allied the negro with his new-found Northern friends and taught him to regard his master as his enemy. Upon one side of this dividing line were the negro and the carpetbagger; upon the other were the white people of the South, save the scalawag, without regard to previous party affiliation or other association, without question as to natural identity of interests or normal community of thought. The odium thus attached to political association between whites and blacks not only perpetuated itself in the popular mind, but communicated its taint to all other forms of public association as well. The community of interest between master and slave was destroyed, and hostility was the bitter fruit of the attempt to create a hopeless and senseless "equality" between the two.

But the old relations were too strong to be wholly broken down by even the iron policy of Reconstruction. To this day there yet survives more of ante-bellum racial kindliness than the outside world, with its ignorant wisdom, is able to comprehend. But what remained was peculiarly personal. In all public affairs, wherever there was an open alignment of men, white men stood by white men, and the negro stood by the stranger and the renegade. All public support of the negro became measurably identified with the odium of this political association, and the negro suffers the consequences. In any matter which becomes a question of race, in any matter wherein the white man is bound by public

opinion to openly espouse one side or the other, as between that which is historically and sentimentally identified with the cause of his own people, and that which is identified with those who were their enemies in peace, there is little doubt as to where the decision will lie. From the warning of Councill we may read that the negro in large part has himself to blame — himself and those who were the real creators of the Southern color line.

The man who does not know may catch some faint hint of the significance of this line as the colored man sees it, if he will listen to Dr. Du Bois. He says:

> It is usually true that the very representatives of the two races who for mutual benefit and the welfare of the land ought to be in complete understanding and sympathy are so far strangers that one side thinks all whites are narrow and prejudiced and the other thinks educated negroes dangerous and insolent. Moreover, in a land where the tyranny of public opinion and the intolerance of criticism are for obvious historical reasons so strong as in the South, such a situation is extremely difficult to correct. The white man as well as the negro is bound and tied by the color line, and many a scheme of friendliness and philanthropy, of broad-minded sympathy, and generous fellowship between the two has dropped still-born because some busybody has forced the color question to the front and brought the tremendous force of unwritten law against the innovators.[1]

For a student of race relations, seeking light upon the results of the artificial adjustment which followed the Civil War, rather than upon the barren facts of such adjustment, most of the literature which deals with the period possesses little value. It is of course worth while to know with accuracy just what the "Black and Tan" legislatures of Southern states spent on their printing bills and stationery accounts. The truth should of course be established as to the public debts which they did or did not create. Also by all means let them be given credit for the good they did, as well as the evil, and for all of the former which research can bring to light.

But this was but a comparatively small part of Reconstruction, as that term was seared into the minds and hearts of Southern people. Tradition may not be history, but if we would interpret

[1] The Relation of the Negroes to the Whites in the South, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July, 1901, pp. 137, 138.

the meaning and significance of the great epoch-marking events in the life of a people, we must take account of the one as well as of the other. History was handed down by word of mouth before it was recorded with the pen. For the light we need it is idle to point out with scientific exactness that in actual fact technical "Reconstruction" lasted just so many months and weeks and days.

What, then, is this thing which we call "Reconstruction"? In the South it is that period of misery which covered the decade or more between 1865 and 1875 or 1880, and measured the time during which the control of their domestic affairs was lost and regained by Southern white men. It is in popular comprehension the more or less clearly defined, but always darker, part of the bitter twenty years after 1860, during which the South was the scene of war, rehabilitation, and the undoing of the latter process. It was the period during which, amid the wreck of its old order and in the midst of its poverty, it was delivered up, as President Hyde, of Bowdoin, puts it, in the name of racial equality to political and social chaos. And these people trod the wine press alone. They were pilloried in public print, "investigated" time after time, almost as a holiday task, and "reported on" by committees of hostile congresses. They were cartooned by the pen of Thomas Nast, their every fault was hunted out and magnified and set upon a hill, for all the world to gaze at as typical of "a barbarous people." Their misfortunes were paraded as the well-earned fruit of treason. They were branded and set apart in outer darkness, to work out their salvation as best they might, under a handicap such as has not been imposed upon any other group of English-speaking people in modern times.

We are faced with the simple but pregnant fact that since 1865 the Southern people have constituted what is probably the most doggedly determined and compact body of men this country has known. Racial solidarity has become the fixed and natural habit of their thought and lives. People running well into the millions in numbers and occupying a vast expanse of territory, do not, cannot, maintain such an attitude through an unbroken reach of more than forty years without the existence of some great fundamental reason. It is folly to suppose that this could

be kept up as a result of "senseless race prejudice." We must account for conditions of such significance, when we write wise monographs on the "negro question" or learnedly descant upon the best methods of spreading education for the developing of "backward Southern civilization." Much as we might like to forget this period of our history, it cannot be ignored. The race problem is a broad one, and these conditions form one of its essential parts — the forbidding background of the recent past, upon which the picture of the present must be thrown if all its lights and shadows would be brought to view.

The Association of Ideas

It is a far cry from Southern Reconstruction to the present peace-loving chaplain of the United States Senate. Yet Dr. Hale gives us a clue which should help us to understand how the stress of the negro's first days of freedom is naturally associated with that of his later life. In one of his "Tarry at Home Travels" the venerable New Englander indulges the following reflective passage: "The French always brought Indians with them. And you may charge it to the French religion or not, as you choose, but the savage warfare which they carried on under French direction was of the most horrible kind. If anybody cares, it is to be observed that the hatred of the Roman Catholic Church which existed formerly in New England was due to the memory that the savage raids of the eighteenth century were in all instances mixed up with French invasion, and were ascribed by the sufferers, more or less, to the machinations of Latin priests." [1]

One of the simplest psychological processes of the human mind is that of the association of ideas. And, "if anybody cares," it operates as effectively in the South in associating the negro in politics with the odium of a hundred acts of Reconstruction days, which apparently lie beyond the reach of history, as it did in New England in associating Catholicism with Indian massacres. And we might call on psychology to help us interpret more than one other phenomenon which seems to puzzle the race-problem

[1] *Outlook*, May 6, 1905, p. 76.

specialist. The writer has a friend, born and reared and living in a Northern state, whose family was "expelled" from Haiti at the time of its slave insurrection. His people suffered unspeakable barbarities in the process. Whether or not family tradition has magnified those sufferings might interest the historian bent upon an exclusive search for time-worn actualities. It is not of so much concern to our present purpose as is the knowledge of the very real and existing fact that this man can with difficulty to-day tolerate a negro in his presence. Yet he is a kindly man and a just.

A picture comes to my mind of a gentle, almost womanly tender old man, telling in the monotone of age, around a winter's fireside, some of his Reconstruction experiences — the kind which only Southern children have heard from reminiscent lips, the kind which find no place in Reconstruction histories. He had surrendered in good faith at Appomattox, and had found his way back to the place he had once called home, thinking in his heart that war and invasion were really over, now that the fighting was done. He told of the humiliations and heartburnings and bitter things which followed the second invasion. And of how mild and commonplace by comparison became the incidents of real war, in which he had been given a fighting man's chance. He told of how he had been arrested by a negro bureau officer upon some trivial charge. He was a peaceable and law-loving man, and accompanied his custodian without hesitation or suspicion. The bureau headquarters were some distance away and the night was bitter cold. Darkness coming on, the officer suggested stopping at a negro cabin for the night. He demurred, but finally consented. While standing in front of the fire he was suddenly seized by the officer and his negro host. He was tied hand and foot and taken to the stable lot. Here a rail fence was raised and his head thrust under it, his neck resting on the bottom rail. In this position he was left during the long winter night, his face beat upon by driving sleet, his warworn body racked with pain. That was a long while ago, and he all but smiled as he told the story — a queer, non-humorous sort of smile. I dare say it would be almost a useless waste of time to tell him and his family and his country neighbors that the so-called "horrors of Reconstruction" were in fact, upon

the latest scientific analysis, found and actually demonstrated to have been mere creations of the overwrought Southern mind.

And how many such "trivial incidents," as the great world's history is measured, incidents long since forgotten elsewhere, were necessary to create a more or less fixed and definite mental attitude toward the period with which they are inseparably associated? Scattered throughout all this region there were enough and to spare. Each county, each little community or isolated group, has in its own simple way its own tales to tell to its children — even though they may not be recounted in the books from which we learn the history of that time.

If you live in a part of the world where present environment makes it possible to do so, attempt to frame for yourself a picture of the horrors through which the white people of Haiti lived during the inception of a government founded upon a massacre and perpetuated by assassination. Then read Wendell Phillips's apostrophe to Toussaint L'Ouverture, or Harriet Martineau's "The Hour and the Man." Picture to yourself the mental suffering inflicted by such experiences as I have described above. Estimate the abiding effect upon the communities in which they occurred, and you may then begin to appreciate how far such an observation as the following falls short of fathoming the depth of the real relation between Reconstruction and present conditions: "Now ensued the trial of negro suffrage, and most Southern writers on the subject of the present relations of the negroes and whites trace all the trouble back to those unholy acts of Congress and Constitutional Amendments. Every Southern child as he grows up becomes possessed of a fixed belief that from 1865 to about 1875 the South was governed by an unrighteous combination of negroes with a few 'scalawags' or on-the-soil Republicans, and 'carpetbaggers,' or Northern political adventurers. These things are within the memory of thousands of living men and women, and yet how warped already is the popular impression!"[1]

[1] Albert Bushnell Hart, "The Realities of Negro Suffrage," p. 154, in Proceedings of the American Political Science Association, second annual meeting. Baltimore, 1905.

Any postgraduate man at Harvard, Columbia, or Johns Hopkins might easily submit as a thesis a more "accurate" account of Reconstruction than would probably be written by anyone who had himself undergone the process, saving a few rare exceptions. It would answer every purpose of any investigator who wished for knowledge of the exact dates between which this state or that lived its Reconstruction life, who wanted to know the amount of each and every issue of bonds made during the period in question, the tax levy of each county, and the amount of taxes squandered, as well as properly used. From it possibly we could learn much about the proper division of responsibility between negroes, scalawags, and carpetbaggers. We might be told just how honestly or dishonestly the affairs of the Freedmen's Bureau were administered. But after all, for the purpose of measuring the effect of Reconstruction upon present relations between negroes and whites in the Southern states our information would be of little value.

The heart of it all is simply the common-sense fact that, like New England hatred of Catholicism, to revert to Dr. Hale, the still surviving Southern hatred of Reconstruction and opposition to negro suffrage are due in large part to the "mixing up" of many things, "ascribed by the sufferers, more or less," to the injection of the negro into politics. The one inevitable result of this program was to hopelessly, almost cruelly, and as it now seems perhaps even permanently, identify him with a period for which in our history we find no parallel. Professor Dunning, with a discernment of the acute mental aspects of the situation, which are usually lost sight of in a mass of physical details, has likened the condition of the Southern people, in the presence of the "remorseless approach of negro rule," to that of "the prisoner of tradition who watched the walls of his cell close slowly in from day to day to crush him."[1] But neither "The Pit and the Pendulum," nor any other creation of Poe's imagination, nor even the miseries of the crimes in the south of France, as touched by the magic pen of Dumas, can convey to the mind which does not know and the heart which has not felt, a sense of the exquisite

[1] Dunning, Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction, p. 248.

mental torture through which these people passed. Mr. Lamar, great apostle of peace as he was, said that "the iron thrust into the hearts of the Southern people by this wicked and relentless policy burned deeper than the wounds which followed hostile armies."

Attitude of the South toward Northern Teachers

It is hardly strange that the Southern people, situated as they were during this period, should have adopted the rigid policy which became almost a law of their social life. Their attitude was simply this:

> You come here as the "friends, deliverers, and saviors" of the negro. You have taught him that we are his hereditary enemies, and have been for generations his heartless taskmasters. In season and out you delight to tell him of his "rights," while to us you speak only of "duties." You instill it into his mind, as a cardinal tenet of his new-found faith, that he is the equal of the white man — as good as, if not better than, his former master. Holding your ideas, and pursuing the policy you do, there is nothing in common between you and us. Go your way and we shall go ours. We shall not molest you, but we will let you alone.

We must appreciate and bear in mind the conditions which surrounded the Southern people, if we would understand their course. They were helpless in the presence of what they felt to be another invasion, and used such weapons as they could command. One of the most powerful of these was social ostracism, and it was invoked against all who in their minds sought to keep the iron heel upon their necks. Northern teachers shared the fate of association with the Northern carpetbagger, the negro, and the scalawag. They all came in together, and it was inevitable that to some extent and for many years they should share in Southern minds the odium attached to the period and institution whose inauguration was first heralded by their approach. We are not concerned here with the question of the correctness or incorrectness of the Southern attitude. This is neither an indictment nor a defense. It is an attempt in part to explain a condition which so many people seem not able to understand.

66. THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO[1]

Politically, there still exists "the solid South"; yet, for the more intimate phases of Southern opinion in relation to the most serious of Southern problems, no one may speak as a representative authority. In the presence of the negro we may say truly that the mind of the South is of many minds. Just as the negro divides the sentiment of the North, he divides the sentiment of the South.

Under the different conditions obtaining to-day in our industrial and political life, from year to year and from place to place, the negro is different and the white man is different. In each locality of the South the problem is, therefore, a different problem. Ultimately, of course, the problem is one — is the mutual social, industrial, and political adjustment upon the same soil, of two races between whom the difference in color is perhaps the most superficial of the distinctions which divide them.

As this fundamental problem, however, is presented under the concrete working conditions of Southern life, it assumes a different phase in each State of the South, in each county of the several States, and even in the separate communities of each particular county.[2] When studied in the city where the white

[1] By Edgar Gardner Murphy. Adapted from The Present South, pp. 153–174, 182–201. Longmans, Green, & Co., New York, 1910.

[2] "The variety of conditions in different parts of a single State is often greater than would be imagined. If one were to say that certain counties of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Alabama contain fewer negroes than certain counties of New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, or Rhode Island, it might awaken surprise. But the figures for a number of counties in the South are as follows:

	Total	Negroes		Total	Negroes
Garrett, Md.	17,701	126	Unicoi, Tenn.	5,581	130
Buchanan, Va.	9,692	5	Union, Tenn.	12,894	79
Graham, N.C.	4,343	26	Van Buren, Tenn.	3,326	37
Fentress, Tenn.	6,106	25	Towns, Ga.	4,748	71
Pickett, Tenn.	5,366	11	Cullman, Ala.	9,554	21
Sequatchie, Tenn.	3,326	37	Winston, Ala.	17,849	7

"The twelve counties contain 90,756 people, of whom 575 are negroes, a single negro to 175 of the population. Nantucket Island, Massachusetts, contains more negroes than most of these counties.

population slightly outnumbers the black, where churches and schools are provided, and police protection is abundant, the racial conditions of such a State as Alabama present one problem; in an adjoining county, where the negroes outnumber the white people six to one, where both races are poor, where schools and churches are not numerous or usually impressive, where the constabulary is necessarily inadequate, our racial conditions present what may be readily understood to be a very different problem indeed.

Even in the rural South the problem varies from neighborhood to neighborhood. It is one thing in those regions of light and sandy soil where the farms of the white man and the negro adjoin, where the white man's farm is cultivated by his own labor, where the negro is not to any large extent a dependent class, and where the relation of master and servant exists but to a slight degree; it is another thing where the negro exists in large numbers as a working class upon the plantation of the white man. It assumes still another phase in the regions of black and heavy soil, where the white man who owns the land finds it too unhealthful to work his own plantation, and the large negro population comes into personal relations only with boss, overseer, or superintendent. In our mining regions, moreover, where the negro comes into direct contact with the white man, not as a landowner or overseer, but as a fellow laborer, often with the foreign laborer, we find a different problem still. The problem differs not only from locality to locality, but from man to man. There is a personal equation as well as a local equation.

"But again it may cause surprise to find how small is the proportion of white people in some counties. In Issaquena County, Mississippi, only six people in every hundred are white, and there are five other counties in which the per cent is less than ten. In fourteen counties in the South seven eighths of the people are negroes; in fifty-four counties, three quarters; and in one hundred and eight counties, two thirds. The great difference in race proportions in different counties is shown in Alabama, for example, where the proportion varies from Winston County, in which there are only seven negroes, to Lowndes, in which they number over thirty thousand.

"It needs no argument to show that the 'negro problem' is quite a different thing in Winston from what it is in Lowndes." — GEORGE S. DICKERMAN, in the *Southern Workman*, Hampton, Va., January, 1903.

And in addition to a personal and a local equation there is a class equation. In certain sections of the South the negroes themselves are different from those in other sections. Those negroes of Virginia who have been reared in proximity to the white population of the higher type, reflect in aspiration, in character, in manner, the better qualities of their environment. The negroes of other sections who are the descendants of those inferior slaves that were "weeded out" of the better plantations, and "sold South," present a far more difficult situation.

And the white population, also, has its social classifications. Between the more intelligent negroes and the representatives of the planter class — the old aristocracy — there is little if any friction. But between the negro of any class and the representative of the "plain people," the people whose energies are recreating the fortunes of the land, whose prejudices are quite as vigorous as their industry, who have never known the negro at his best and have too often seen him at his worst, — between the new negro and the new white man, there is likely to be enmity and there is very sure to be suspicion. The Southern white man also presents those marked varieties of temperament and disposition which go everywhere with a greater complexity and a deeper refinement of social organization. He differs also under the changing and instructive forces of travel, of education, of experience. From class to class, from man to man, as well as from place to place, what has been called "the problem of the races" assumes a distinctive phase and becomes a different problem.

There is to-day with us not the negro problem only, under its varied personal and local phases, but other problems with it, and when a man attempts to discuss the negro problem at the South, he may begin with the negro, but he really touches, with however light a hand, the whole bewildering problem of a civilization.

The difficulties of the situation are not simplified by the fact that this civilization is included within a larger civilization and a more democratic order, and that every problem of the one necessarily emerges under its varying political and industrial forms as a problem of the other. It is still true that there is one sense

in which the problem itself is profoundly sectional. Locally as well as historically the negro question is a Southern question. Seven eighths of the negro population are in the South, and they are in the South to stay. There will be occasional movements northward. Long-established negro "colonies" in cities like New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati will continue to increase in numbers. But these people, in the mass, and because of the silent, unyielding sway of climatic and industrial forces, will remain south of an imaginary line connecting the cities of Washington and St. Louis. Even within this Southern territory, it is evident that it is the lower South, the South within the South, which is receiving the largest relative increase in the number of its negroes.

And yet, while this is true, it is also true that there are two aspects of our question under which it must assume a national form. Although the larger proportion of the black population lies within the South, the actual number of negroes at the North is steadily increasing; and the national distribution of the negro as a factor of population involves the national distribution of the negro as a problem of American civilization.[1] From being a problem which was once accorded a wrong solution in one section of our country, it has become, for every section of our country, a problem which has received no adequate solution whatever.

The issues presented by the negro in American life are national, however, in no merely geographical sense. They are national because of the principles, because of the industrial and political assumptions, which they involve. The national welfare is the larger context of every local problem; and while the negro question finds its locality in the South, it must find its ultimate adjustment — if it ever receives adjustment — in the conscience, the wisdom, the knowledge, the patience, the courage of the

[1] The city in the United States having the largest number of negroes in 1900 was Washington, D.C., with 86,702; then follow Baltimore (79,258), New Orleans (77,714), Philadelphia (62,613), and New York (60,666). It will be noted that only one city south of Washington has as large a negro population as the city of New York. [The census of 1910 shows the following distribution: Washington, 94,446; New York, 91,709; New Orleans, 89,262; Baltimore, 84,749; Philadelphia, 84,459. Birmingham, Atlanta, and Memphis each had about 52,000 negroes in 1910. — Ed.]

Nation. The problem under its older form was created by the complicity of the Nation. The problem under its later forms has been created by the deliberate enactments of the Nation. The Nation, including the South, the West, the East, the North, cannot be permitted to evade responsibilities which it has always been zealous to accept but which it has not always been so zealous to discharge. Least of all can the South be a party to that evasion. If national action could be really inspired by the wholesome and constructive spirit of a truly national policy, could be pursued really in the interest of the whole people, rather than in the interest of sectional bitterness or partisan advantage, it would bring significant and lasting benefits. Too often, however, the policies which have been proposed in the Nation's name have been so pursued as to bring the negro into American life as an issue of sectionalism rather than as an occasion for nationality, — nationality of temper, of sympathy, of purpose. It is not enough to say that government by parties is inevitable. There are some crimes of which even parties ought to be incapable.

I have not hesitated to speak of the presence of the negro in American life as a "problem." We have been told that the negro should be regarded not as a problem but as a man. There is truth in the suggestion. And yet out of this truth there arises the problem — he is a man, and yet a man unlike, in history and in racial character, the men about him. Every man, white or black, presents a problem. The problem increases in perplexity when to the characteristics of the individual are added the characteristics which distinguish and differentiate the group — social, national, or racial — with which he is associated. When this group is brought into contact with another group, or with other groups, the elements of complexity are increased. The problem grows. The Russian in China is a Chinese problem. The Jew in Russia is a Russian problem. The white man in Africa is an African problem. The African in America is, and will be for centuries, one of the problems of American life.

Nor can we say that the negro presents not a problem but a task. That would be to assume that the supreme need is the need of resources, material and moral, and that all could be well

adjusted if there were sufficient power and sufficient patience. These, undoubtedly, are great needs. The task presents, however, not only the aspects of moral and physical difficulty but of intellectual confusion. If we all knew what to do and there were not the strength or the will to do it, the negro would present a task. Because there is much strength and some will, and yet because no ten men have ever yet agreed as to what we should all do, the negro presents something more than a task; he presents a problem.

Fortunately, there is increasing agreement upon the program presented by such institutions as Hampton and Tuskegee. And yet this program is rightly and obviously but a program of beginnings. That is its supreme success; and that is its limitation. What lies beyond? What, politically and socially, is the *terminus ad quem*, the far-on result, of such wise and righteous training? Before that question men divide. It is altogether probable that large numbers of men, white and black, North and South, have united upon the support of this program for wholly dissimilar or for antagonistic reasons. All are agreed that this is the next step. The next step to what? Before *that* question will rise all the ancient and lurid specters of misapprehension and suspicion.

As the negro problem has been presented at the North and in the South — its more especial local home — it has apparently assumed, within the past five years,[1] certain more acute and more serious forms. To these unfortunate developments the whole situation has contributed, from the side of the negro and from the side of the white man. And yet, while it is true that there are grave evidences of loss, it is equally true that there are marked evidences of gain. Progress has been coincident with retrogression. Many of our difficulties are due to the delinquencies of the negro; quite as many, however, are due to his advancement. Nor do the difficulties of the problem lie wholly with the negro. At the South the processes of social evolution which were accentuated, if not inaugurated, by the issue of the Civil War had their profound effect upon the life of the negro masses.

[1] That is, since about 1900. — Ed.

They have also involved, however, the life of the white masses, and have set to work within it certain forces of transformation which, for many years, must bear with insistent pressure upon the fortunes both of the negro and of the South. Let us turn, first of all, to the consideration of some of the social changes wrought in the masses of negro life by the issue of emancipation.

Slavery was nothing if not a system of restraint. This restraint was sometimes expressed in ignoble and brutal forms. It was sometimes expressed in the forms of a kindly and not ungenerous paternalism. But, good or bad, it held the race in check. It imposed its traditional limitations, it exercised a directive and restrictive oversight. It was bondage.

This bondage fixed, instinctively, a limit beyond which the negro must not ascend; it fixed a limit below which the negro must not fall. It operated in both directions as a check. To the negro who was inclined to rise into the larger liberties of thought and knowledge it opposed — it was compelled to oppose — its barriers. To the negro who was inclined to descend into the debilities of inefficiency and crime it also opposed — it was compelled to oppose — its barriers. As the race had come to these shores from a land of pitiless barbarism, the number of negroes who tended to fall below the standard of slavery was probably very much greater than the number who tended to rise above it. It is evident, therefore, that for some generations the net result of slavery was not, in its practical operation, a disadvantage to the masses of negro life. And yet the deep cry of the few who would aspire will always possess — in God's heart and in the heart of all our race — a more imperious validity than the dark longing of the many who would descend.

Upon the two tendencies of the negro thus held in check the effect of emancipation must be evident. Restraint withdrawn, negro life is released in two directions — the smaller number of better negroes is permitted to rise, and many of them do rise; the larger number of weaker negroes is permitted to fall, and most of them do fall. It was inevitable.

The South, the country as a whole, is confronted, therefore, with an upward and a downward tendency. We are in the

presence of two different, two opposing movements — the one serving at many points and in many ways to check the other, but each distinct and each representing the social momentum of natural and spontaneous forces. The masses of the race, released from the restraint which slavery imposed, and isolated, through the pressure of political exigencies, from the sympathetic guidance of the better South, have shown many of the tendencies of moral and physical reversion. At certain points within the South, especially at points where the white population has represented the highest average of culture and character, these tendencies have been arrested. But it was to have been expected that, upon the whole, the masses of the negroes would first become worse before becoming better.

And yet the process upward — although the story of a smaller number — must be borne clearly and steadily in mind. The failure of great masses of men — in the total life of any race — must not obscure the achievements of the few. Indeed, to the historian of the great ventures and experiments of civilization, the achievements of the few are of more significance than the failures of the many. For achievement — even though upon a small scale — is a demonstration of possibilities. It gives a starting point for constructive theories and policies; it gives authority to anticipation.

It is no small thing that the illiteracy of the negro males of voting age has been reduced in the Southern States from 88 per cent in 1870 to 52 per cent in 1900;[1] and yet it is only when we turn to the more intimate victories, here and there, of individual men and women that we get the full measure of the negro's promise. Nor would I be disposed to seek that promise in the rare and exceptional attainments of the men of genius. Neither in the marked reduction of the illiteracy of the masses nor in the marked distinction of such artists as Tanner or Dunbar or such leaders as Washington, Grant, and Walker can we seek the sure evidences of a people's essential progress. All promise and all attainment are worth while, but the only adequate measure of social efficiency and the only ultimate test of essential racial

[1] And to 37.2 per cent in 1910. — Ed.

progress lies in the capacity to create the home; and it is in the successful achievement of the idea and the institution of the family, of the family as accepted and honored under the conditions of Western civilization, that we are to seek the real criterion of negro progress.

For the very reason that the test is so severe — and yet so instinctively American — the weaknesses of the race will seem conspicuous and formidable. American society, as a whole, stands not unscathed in the white light of its own ideal. The heritage of the negro — his heritage from slavery and from the darker age which preceded slavery — has given him but small equipment for the achievement of this task. And yet the negro home exists. That its existence is, in many cases, but a naïve pretense, that negro life often proceeds upon its way with a disregard — partly immoral, partly nonmoral — of our accepted marital conditions, is evident enough. And yet those who would observe broadly and closely will find a patiently and persistently increasing number of true families and real homes, a number far in excess of the popular estimate, homes in which with intelligence, probity, industry, and an admirable simplicity, the man and the woman are creating our fundamental institution. Scores of such homes, in some cases hundreds, exist in numbers of our American communities — exist for those who will try to find them and will try, sympathetically, to know them. But one of the tragic elements of our situation lies in the fact that of this most honorable and most hopeful aspect of negro life the white community, North or South, knows practically nothing. Of the destructive factors in negro life the white community hears to the uttermost, hears through the press and police court; of the constructive factors of negro progress — the negro school, the saner negro church, the negro home — the white community is in ignorance. Until it does know this aspect of our negro problem it may know more or less accurately many things about the negro; but it cannot know the negro.

The white man, North as well as South, feels — and feels wisely — that the social barrier should remain. So long, however, as it remains it shuts out not only the negro from the white man

but the white man from the negro. Seeing the negro loafer on the streets, the negro man or woman in domestic service, the negro laborer in the fields, is not seeing the negro. It is seeing the negro on one side. It is seeing the negro before achievement begins, often before achievement — the achievement which the world esteems — is possible. Knowing the white man only under those conditions would not be knowing the white man. Yet this side of the negro is usually the only side of which the white community has direct and accurate knowledge. It is the knowledge of industrial contact, and of industrial contact upon its lower plane. It is not the knowledge of reciprocal obligations, of social revelation. And at the point where this lower contact ceases, at the point where the negro's real efficiency begins, and he passes out of domestic service or unskilled employment into a larger world, the white community loses its personal and definite information; the negro passes into the unknown. As the negro attains progress, he, by the very fact of progress, removes the tangible evidence of progress from the immediate observation of the white community. Thus the composite idea, the social conception of the negro which is beginning to obtain among us, is determined more largely by the evidences of negro retrogression or negro stagnation than by the evidence, the real and increasing evidence, of negro advancement.

Nor is the inadequacy of the composite picture of the negro due only to the way in which the social cleavage between the races imposes its limitation upon the vision of the white community. The inadequacy of the picture is due to subjective as well as to objective causes. A partly mistaken conception of the negro has resulted from the fact that the white world does not see the negro at his best; it has also resulted from the fact that the white world which now sees the negro habitually, which judges him and speaks of him most constantly, is not infrequently the white world at its worst. How large a number of the white world, upon its educated side, have ever really seen the life of a negro home, or the life of the negro school, or the life of the saner negro church? The conception of the old-time darky is a national heritage, a heritage more sacred to the South than those outside

the South can always understand. That conception, however, as it lives in the consciousness of our domestic and literary life, is due not to one factor only but to two. It was the result, like all conceptions, of the thing seen and the seeing eye. It was not due alone to the negro of our older age. It was due to the eye which looked upon him, which judged broadly his qualities of character, which had regard to his fidelities, and which understood, with the humor, the patience, the magnanimity of an educated class, the occasions of the negro's failure. The conception of the old-time darky is thus a double contribution, the contribution of the better negro as known and interpreted to us through the better heart of the older South.

But the mind of that older South no longer dominates the visual habits, the racial prepossessions of Southern life. The political and industrial reorganization of the South has formed a new democracy, a democracy which has brought into its fellowship the neglected masses of the white population, which has been forced to seek its basis of organization upon the one ground of the unity of race; and within this larger white world — alert, vigorous, confident, assertive — many of the old attitudes of spirit have passed away. An educated minority may transfer to the crude multitudes of a new order a sense of power, a sense of freedom, a sense of responsibility, but not its more intimate phases of temper, of individuality — its urbanities, its genial humor, its share in those pervasive charities which spring from a sense of leisure and from an assured consciousness of power, quite as much as from a fertile earnestness of heart.

The old South does last on within the new, the old South with its magnanimity and its poise; and, here and there, in numberless men and women and in many establishments of city and country, one may still observe the persistence and charm of that amazing patience with which the South has served the negro while the negro has served the South. And yet these forces are no longer dominant. The new world which has resulted from our political and industrial reorganization has brought into power vast multitudes of the unlettered and the untrained, a white population possessing all the pride, all the energy, all the assertiveness

of the older order, without its experience or its culture. It does not always rule. It has usually been so wise and so sincere as to choose its leaders from the ranks of trained and at least educated men; but among these it has usually chosen those who were fitted to understand it and to serve it rather than those who would instruct it. Have Northern constituencies wrought otherwise? But when the cruder forces of the South have found themselves in the possession of nobler leaders, chosen by them or chosen for them by the occasional influence of the commercial and professional classes, the masses of the people have been quick to respond to the appeal of every free and upbuilding purpose; and here lies the promise of the future. As yet, however, it is too soon to expect that the new and untrained elements of the white democracy will view the negro otherwise than from their own personal and present and actual standpoint. In States where, in many localities, more than 20 per cent of the white men of voting age are illiterate; where the rural population which can read and write does actually read and write but little; where large numbers of the people have known nothing of the slave except as the representative of a hated competitive labor, and where the negro in freedom has lost many of the virtues of his bondage, it is impossible to suppose that ignorant men will judge the negro, or any other factor of experience, otherwise than ignorantly. Even where knowledge is greater and experience broader, the popular conception of the negro is largely determined by the impressions that arise among the ignorant. Almost every family makes, in thought and expression, an "honorable exception" of the servants of its own household, the negroes it really knows; but the collective conception, the composite picture of the negro, is too often the negro as interpreted through the medium of an untrained public opinion, an opinion sometimes voiced in the rant of the political hustings, in sensational press reports, in the rumors of the street. The mind of the white world, as it sees and judges the negro, is thus not the mind of the white world at its best. It is a mind now influenced by the presence within it, in abnormal proportions, of unsympathetic and untutored forces; forces which are gaining daily, however, in

both sympathy and training; forces which may well be the occasion, therefore, of no inconsiderate pessimism but of a reasonable and wholesome faith, a faith which the true citizen of a democracy gives, and is bound to give, to every social possibility of his country's life.

We may be tempted to say, therefore, that the kindlier conception of the old-time negro resulted from the fact that the white world at its best was looking upon the negro at his best; the harsher conception of the present negro resulting from the fact that a white world which is not at its best is looking upon the negro at his worst. The generalization thus expressed may be too clearly drawn, and yet it is sufficiently evident that just at this period in the history of the South the two races have entered into new conditions, and that under these conditions their relations to each other are at many points the relations of disadvantage.

There is present in the North another factor which is also present in the South, and which contributes its sinister and baffling element to the composite picture upon which I have just dwelt. This factor is the "criminal" negro; numerically not a large proportion of the race, but as a factor of disturbance one of the baneful as well as one of the most formidable of social forces.[1] The number of such negroes is relatively small, and yet it has assumed a morbid and unfortunate importance. To this importance three influences have contributed.

First, the distinctively criminal negro is often guilty of unusual and abnormal crimes. He is associated in the public mind with one crime, particularly, which is unspeakable in its brutality and infamy. It is true that this crime has sometimes been charged against the innocent; that is true of all crimes. It is also true

[1] Negro crime seems to be proportionately greater at the North than at the South — due probably to the fact that at the North the negro is found under the conditions of the city, while at the South he lives chiefly under the simpler and more wholesome conditions of the country. The percentage of crime is, in both sections, much larger for the negro than for the white population, and the statement of the text as to the small proportion of criminal negroes refers only to the degenerate roving type, peculiarly irresponsible, and guilty of the more serious offenses.

— as has been suggested — that the number of such crimes is relatively small; and yet it must not be forgotten that, in order to shield the victim, the suppression of the news of this crime is often as significant as its exaggeration. But the fact that the criminals of this class are so few in number, should make the attitude of the public mind in dealing with them a task of simplicity and ease. And yet, because of the deep forces of interracial suspicion, a crime which should be the very last crime to present any other than an essential human issue between good and evil, has been made one of the most complex and difficult of "questions," the occasion for some of the most irreducible points in the discussion of racial issues. I think it must be fairly said that the difficulties of the situation are chargeable to false conditions in the public opinion of both races. Negro opinion, organized and unorganized, has seemed to be too protective; white opinion has too often been lawlessly retributive. . . .

I think it may be fairly said that the relative number of lynchings is decreasing from year to year. In the South, especially, there is an evident disposition upon the part of the more influential press to accord to the negro the measure of exact justice before the law.[1] That this ideal will be attained immediately no one

[1] The expressions of such journals as the *Constitution*, of Atlanta, Ga., and the *Advertiser*, of Montgomery, Ala., are noteworthy, and yet quite characteristic of the Southern press.

Said the *Constitution* under date of June 27, 1903:

The time when the lynching of a certain breed of brutes could be winked at because of satisfaction that punishment came to him quickly and to the uttermost, has given way to a time when the greater peril to society is the mob itself that does the work of vengeance. Against the growth of that evil the best sense of the nation needs to combine and enforce an adequate protection.

Said the *Advertiser* under dates of September 16 and October 6, 1903:

The white race has a duty which is imperative. It is a duty which is demanded by justice, by humanity, and by self-interest. Ours is and will ever be the governing race. It will elect the lawmakers, make the laws, and enforce them. That being so, that principle of eternal justice which bids the strong protect the weak, makes it our duty to protect the negro in all his legal, industrial, and social rights. We should see that he has equal and exact justice in the courts, that the laws bear alike on the black and the white, that he be paid for his labor just as the white man is paid, and that no advantage be taken of his ignorance and credulity. . . .

And the task is a simple and easy one. The courts and juries should know no difference between whites and blacks when a question of right and justice is up for settlement. The man who employs a negro to work for him should deal as fairly with him as he would deal by a white man. The life of a negro who has done no wrong should be as sacred as the life

can predict. So long as any element of the population is, as a class, in a position of marked economic dependence upon stronger factions or classes, it will certainly suffer — however unfortunately or unjustly — from the pressure of civil and political prejudice. The intelligent negro may well ask of our public opinion a larger measure of discrimination; and yet he may well lay the greater stress upon his gains rather than upon his losses. Certainly his gains will be of small avail if the contemplation of his wrongs shall supersede in his life the positive acceptance and the definite using of his rights. The consciousness of grievances is not an inspiring social asset for a class or for a race. There need be no surrender of essential principles, and yet stress may well be laid, confidently and hopefully, upon the privileges that are actually available for the negro in American life. Here, in the using of the positive liberties and advantages of education and of industry, of religious and political freedom, the negro, through the acceptance of a program of positive progress, may enter into a larger heritage than is open to any like number of his race in any quarter of the world. Important are some of the advantages he has not; but more important are the many advantages which he has.

Nor can it be said that these advantages are Northern rather than Southern. There are to-day almost nine millions of negroes in the United States. After thirty years of freedom, nearly eight millions of them remain within the borders of the South. Why have they remained? The broad and living decisions of great masses of men possess a dumb but interesting significance. They are never wholly irrational or sentimental. The negro remains at the South because, among the primary and the secondary rewards of honest life, he gets more of the primary rewards at the South than at the North. There is no idle flattery of the South in this declaration of the Principal of Tuskegee:

> It is in the South that the black man finds an open sesame in labor, industry, and business that is not surpassed anywhere. It is here that that form of

of a white man. He is in our power, politically and otherwise, and justice, humanity, and good policy unite in demanding for him equal and exact justice. Keep the negroes among us, give them the full protection of the laws, and let them have justice in all things. That is the solution of the race question.

slavery which prevents a man from selling his labor to whom he pleases on account of his color, is almost unknown. We have had slavery in the South, now dead, that forced an individual to labor without a salary, but none that compelled a man to live in idleness while his family starved.

The words are not too strong.[1] The negro knows that in the essential struggle for existence the spirit of the South has been the spirit of kindliness and helpfulness. Nor is it true that the negro may there perform only the deeds of drudgery, or those petty offices that are the badges of a menial dependence. The negro at the South is preacher, teacher, physician, and lawyer; he is in the dry-goods business, the grocery business, the livery business, the real-estate business, the wood-and-coal business; as well as in the business of running errands and blacking boots. He is shoemaker and carpenter and blacksmith. He is everywhere where there is anything to do, and if he can do it well, he is usually treated fairly and paid for it honestly. Except in professional capacities, he is employed by all, he does business with all. There is just one line drawn, however, and it is perhaps significant. In a Southern city, with the life of which I am familiar, there is a successful, respected negro man, with many industrial and commercial functions toward the community in which he lives. He is a keeper of carriages, a dealer in wood and coal, a butcher, and vendor of vegetables, — and an undertaker. There is one department of his varied establishment which has never had the monetary support of the white population, and which is sustained entirely by the people of his own race. The white people of the city will buy their supplies of him, will purchase his wood and his coal, will leave their horses in his stables, and will ride in his carriages; — but he may not bury

[1] Referring to the statistics of the United States Census for 1900 (Vol. II, p. ccvii), Booker T. Washington says: "Here is the unique fact, that from a penniless population just out of slavery, 372,414 owners of homes have emerged, and of these 255,156 are known to own their homes absolutely free of encumbrance. In these heads of negro families lies the pledge of my race to American civilization." — See the *Tradesman*, Chattanooga, Tenn., January 1, 1904, p. 99. [In 1910, *in the Southern States only*, 441,918 colored families owned their own homes, 323,786 of them being unencumbered. The Census does not in this particular distinguish negroes from other colored races — Indians, Chinese, and Japanese. — Ed.]

their dead. There is in this simple incident a monograph upon the subject of the negro in the South.

But the South gives to the negro something more merciful than sentiment and something more necessary than the unnegotiable abstractions of social right. The South gives to him the best gift of a civilization to an individual — the opportunity to live industriously and honestly. As the representative of the negro race whom I have already quoted has also said:

> If the negro would spend a dollar at the opera, he will find the fairest opportunity at the North; if he would earn the dollar, his fairest opportunity is at the South. The opportunity to earn the dollar fairly is of much more importance to the negro just now than the opportunity to spend it at the opera.[1]

The large and imperious development of trades-unionism at the North (the writer would not speak in criticism of organized labor in itself) is already eliminating the negro as an industrial factor. Du Bois's book on the negro in Philadelphia, to which I have already referred, is but a rescript of the story of his life in every community at the East. Nothing could be more searchingly relentless than the slow, silent, pitiless operation of the social and economic forces that are destroying the negro, body and soul, in the Northern city. None knows it so well as the negro himself. The race prejudice, which Professor Shaler of Harvard has recently told us is as intense at the North as it is anywhere in the world, first forbids to the negro the membership of the labor union, and then forbids to the employer the services

[1] It is of some significance that in 1900 there were 732,362 farms operated by negroes in the South. We find that 150,000 Southern negroes now own their own farms, and 28,000 more are recorded as part owners (Twelfth Census of the U.S., Vol. V, pp. xciii, 4, 172). The value of the property in all the farms operated by negroes at the South was $469,506,555. In more than half the counties of Virginia over 70 per cent of the negro farmers are owners or managers, and in 33 counties of the State the proportion is over 80 per cent (see the interesting papers in the *Southern Workman*, Hampton, Va., for October, 1902, and January, 1903; see also the valuable monograph by Carl Kelsey, "The Negro Farmer"; Chicago, Ill., Jennings and Pye, 1903). [In 1910, in the Southern States, there were 880,837 negro farm operators; there were 890,141 negro and other nonwhite farm operators, 218,467 of whom owned their own farms. The value of all farms operated by colored persons in 1910, in the South, was $900,132,334. The value of farms held by colored owners was $272,992,238. — Ed.]

of non-union labor. If the employer turn wholly to the non-union men, he finds that rather than work beside the negro, these usually throw down their tools and walk out of the door of factory or shop. And so the dreary tale proceeds. The negro at the North can be a waiter in hotel and restaurant (in some); he can be a butler or footman in club or household (in some); or the haircutter or bootblack in the barber shop (in some); and I say " in some " because even the more menial offices of industry are being slowly but gradually denied to him. And what is the opportunity of such an environment to the development of self-dependence, what is the value to his labor of so inadequate and restricted a market for the complex capacities and the legitimate ambitions of an awakening manhood? And what lies at the background of the man? What of the family, the wife, the mother, the children? What are the possibilities, there, of self-respect, of decency, of hope? What are the possibilities of bread?

The economic problem lies at the very heart of the social welfare of any race. The possibility of honest bread is the noblest possibility of a civilization; and it is the indispensable condition of thrift, probity, and truth. No people can do what is right or love what is good if they cannot earn what they need. The South has sins for which she must give account; but it may be fairly said that as yet the South has no problem so great, so intimately serious as this. The South has sometimes abridged the negro's right to vote, but the South has not yet abridged his right, in any direction of human interest or of honest effort, to earn his bread. To the negro, just now, the opportunity, by honest labor, to earn his bread is very much more important than the opportunity to cast his vote. The one opportunity is secondary, the other is primary; the one is incidental, — the greater number of enlightened peoples have lived happily for centuries without it, — the other is elemental, structural, indispensable; it lies at the very basis of life and integrity — whether individual or social.

It is not possible or desirable, however, to ignore the political issues created by the presence of the negro in our national life. If the negro were the only factor to be considered, the questions

affecting his political status might be temporarily postponed. But the negro is, in some respects, the least of the factors involved. The political and administrative organization of our country is democratic. Its institutional assumptions are the assumptions of a free democracy. Before all questions which touch the political status of any race or class of men there arises the primary question as to the effect upon our country and its constitution, upon its civic customs and its habits of thought, of the creation of a serf class, a fixed nonvoting population. Such a class can be established and continued only through habitual disregard to all the moral presumptions of our organic law; and such disregard, in its reactive influence upon those who continue it, must result in a lowering of political standards and a vitiation of civic fiber, far more disastrous to the strong than to the weak. Such practices may begin with class discriminations, but these discriminations soon forget their class distinctions; white men end by using against white men the devices which they began by confining to black men; the whole suffrage becomes corrupt; a corrupt suffrage eliminates from political leadership the men who are too free or too pure to use it; it becomes the basis of control for an ever-degenerating political leadership; and what began as a denial of political privilege to a despised faction at the bottom results in the control at the top of those very elements of an irresponsible ignorance which discrimination was intended to eliminate. The retrogressive forces which were dreaded in a faction become enthroned over all; and the real mind and conscience of the State, in attempting to secure their freedom by protecting themselves against the ignorant, are despoiled of their freedom through the very processes of their self-protection; are put, by their own methods, in bondage to the cruder forces of society.

The difficulties of the situation have been supremely serious, and complex beyond description. It is obviously true — as has just been stated — that a democracy cannot consent to the establishment of a dependent class. And yet it is equally obvious that within a number of our Southern States that is precisely what the negro is. He is so not primarily as the result of political proscription, but simply because he *is* so. A race which, while

numbering from 30 to 50 per cent of the population, contributes but 4 or 5 per cent of the direct taxes of the State, is as yet in an economic status which does not square with those industrial assumptions which are as important as the political assumptions of a genuinely democratic order. The elementary contradiction of our situation lies, therefore, just here — in the very presence within our life of the vast numbers of a backward and essentially unassimilable people.

In the years following the Civil War the North asserted, sometimes with a ruthless impatience and often through unworthy instruments, but with the sincere conviction of the masses of her people, that the actual political administration of the Southern States must be squared with the democratic assumptions of the Constitution. And the North was right. The South contended, upon the other hand, that where the choice must be made between civilization and democracy, between public order and a particular form of public order, between government and a specific conception of government, — civilization, order, government are primary, and that any forms or conceptions of them, however sacred, must await the stable and efficient reorganization of social life. And the South was right. It was opportune for the North to declare that the freedman could not protect himself unless given the ballot in the mass; it was equally opportune for the South — with whole States where the negroes were a majority, with many counties where the number of black men was treble the number of white men — to declare that the supreme question was not the protection of the negro but the protection of society itself; that white supremacy, at that stage in the development of the South, was necessary to the supremacy of intelligence, administrative capacity and public order, and involved even the existence of those economic and civic conditions upon which the progress of the negro was itself dependent. And here, also, the South was right.

The South was right and the North was right. The North was strong and the South was weak. The North imposed the forms of democracy. The South clung to the substance of government.

Yet, because the very forms of government were democratic and because these forms of government were ruthlessly imposed by an irresistible and unsympathetic party power, the South in clinging to the very substance of civilization was compelled to maintain a lie. Up to this point the historian will not accord to her the larger measure of blame for the moral tragedy which followed. The effort, however, to avert fraud and ignorance at one door admitted them at another. The effort to prevent the demoralization of government resulted — as has been suggested — in the compromise of all the safeguards of the suffrage. The growing youth of the South became habitually familiar with ever lowering political standards, as the subterfuges which were first employed against the black man came to be employed between white men in the struggle of faction against faction within the party. The better heart of the South now rose in protest. An unlimited suffrage was impossible, but the limitation of the suffrage must be established not by fraud or force but under legal conditions, and must be determined by a fixed and equitable administration.

Thus the deeper moral significance of the recent constitutional amendments of the Southern States does not lie in the exclusion of the negro.[1] The exclusion of the negro had long since been accomplished. It lies in the emancipation of the white man, an emancipation due to the awakening desire to abandon the established habits of fraud, and to place the elimination of the undesirable elements of the suffrage squarely and finally under the terms of law. The negro has, in the ultimate result, everything to gain from such a course. Temporarily he must suffer the consequences of an undemocratic adjustment to democratic conditions, an adjustment due primarily to no willfulness of the white man at the South and to no apathy of the white man at the North, but to the contradiction presented by his presence in the Nation. There are always disadvantages in securing for any adjustment a legal status through illegal means, and the direct elimination of all the undesirable elements of voting age might

[1] The amendments here referred to are those prescribing property or literacy qualifications for the franchise; also those embodying the so-called "grandfather clause." — Ed.

have seemed a comparatively simple undertaking. Had the negro masses presented the only illiterate elements, that method might have been pursued. But there were two defective classes — the unqualified negroes of voting age and the unqualified white men. Both could not be dropped at once. A working constitution is not an *a priori* theoretic creation; it must pass the people. The unqualified white men of voting age might be eliminated by gradual process, but they must first be included in the partnership of reorganization. Such a decision was a political necessity. They had been fused — by their participation in the military struggle of the Confederacy and by their growing participation in the industrial and political power of the South — into the conscious and dominant life of the State. Many of them possessed large political experience and political faculties of an unusual order. Moreover — and we touch here upon a far-reaching consideration — no amended Constitution, no suffrage reform, no legal status for a saner and purer political administration, was possible without their votes. They held the key to the political situation — with all its moral and social issues — and they demanded terms.

Terms were given them.[1] Under skillfully drawn provisions the mass of illiterate negro voters were deprived of suffrage and the then voting white population — with certain variously defined exceptions — was permitted to retain the ballot. Care was taken, however, that all the rising generation and all future generations of white voters should be constrained to accept the suffrage test, a test applicable, therefore, after a brief fixed period, to white and black alike. Such is the law.[2]

[1] In Alabama the Democratic State Convention went so far as to pledge that no white man would be disfranchised "except for infamous crime." In criticism of this pledge the writer pointed out that its fulfillment would leave the ballot in the hands of all the white vagrancy, perjury, and bribery of the State — as these offenses were not then "infamous" under the code — and would be contrary to the permanent interests of both races. The Constitutional Convention, largely at the suggestion of the Press Association of Alabama, practically ignored any literal interpretation of the unfortunate pledge, and the completed instrument did, in effect, result in the disfranchisement of a large number of white voters.

[2] No attempt is here made to distinguish between the suffrage provisions of the different States. A statement of these provisions in detail, together with a discussion of some of the current proposals of federal policy, must be reserved for a later volume.

Lest, however, its technical and more strictly political provisions should be declared unconstitutional, its practical administration is placed in the charge of boards of registrars, having a large discretionary power in the application of the law, and thus — by the acceptance or rejection of candidates for registration — actually choosing and creating the permanent electorate of the State. A system of appeals has been provided, and in a number of test cases white juries have shown themselves willing to reverse the adverse decision of the registrars, and to return a verdict in the interest of negro applicants; but the system — as a system — is manifestly subject to grave abuses. If it be used as a responsible instrument for the fair and equitable administration of the law, it may prove an honorable and effective way out of an intolerable situation.

The essential principles involved, apart from all the exasperations of the discussion that has gathered about the National Amendments, are, however, but the elementary principles of experience itself. In an open letter to the Constitutional Convention of Alabama, they were thus expressed:

> Southern sentiment will not approve the disfranchisement of the illiterate Confederate soldier. In any civilization there is a deep and rightful regard for the man who has fought in the armies of the State. But, with that exception, the State must eventually protect itself, and protect the interests of both races, by the just application of the suffrage test to the white and black alike. The South must, of course, secure the supremacy of intelligence and property. This we shall not secure, however, if we begin with the bald declaration that the negro is to be refused the suffrage although he have both intelligence and property, and that the illiterate white man is to be accorded the suffrage although he have neither. Such a policy, would, upon its face, sustain the charge that we are not really interested in the supremacy of intelligence and property, but solely in the selfish and oppressive supremacy of a particular race.
>
> Such a course, through its depressing influence upon the educational and industrial ambitions of the negro, would but increase his idleness and lawlessness, and work injustice to the negro and to the State. Take out of his life all incentive to the franchise, and you will partly destroy his interest in the acquisition of knowledge and of property, because no people will, in the long run, accept as a working principle of life the theory of taxation without representation. I do not think the negro will riot or rebel, but I do think he will be discouraged in the task of acquiring something for the State to tax. It is not merely a question of justice to the negro. It is a question of enlightened self-interest.

No State can live and thrive under the incubus of an unambitious, uneducated, unindustrious, and nonproperty-holding population. Put the privilege of suffrage among the prizes of legitimate ambition, and you have blessed both the negro and the State.

If, on the other hand, we accept the administration of an educational and property test which is to enfranchise the negro on his acceptance of its provisions, and is to enfranchise the white man whether he accepts them or not, we shall have adopted a measure which will be an injustice to the white citizenship of the South. It will be an injustice to the white man for the reason that it places for the negro a premium upon knowledge and property — makes for him a broader incentive to the acquisition of an education and a home, leaves the white boy without such incentive, makes the ballot as cheap in his hands as ignorance and idleness, and through indifference to the God-given relation between fitness and reward, tempts the race which is supreme to base its supremacy more and more upon force rather than upon merit.

No one shall justly accuse me of wanting to put the negro over the white man. If anything, however, could bring about that impossible result, it would be the imposition of a suffrage test for the negro without the application of the same test to the white man. Such action will increase for the negro the incentives to an education, to industry, and to good behavior; and leave the white man without the spur of those incentives. Whatever such a course may be, in relation to the humbler classes of our white people, it is not statesmanship. I do not assume that the average illiterate negro has the political capacity of the average illiterate white man. The illiterate white man at the South has attained — through the genius of race and the training of generations — more political capacity than many a literate negro. Nor is illiteracy a crime; but literacy is a duty. Old conditions are passing away. The white man of the future who would claim the political capacity to vote must exercise enough political capacity to qualify. The obligation to qualify is an obligation of helpfulness. No one is a true friend to our white people who increases for the negro the encouragements and attractions of progress and refuses those incentives and encouragements to the children of the white man. I am quite sure that any suffrage test which establishes for the negro an incentive to education and property, and which makes the ballot in the hands of our white population as free as ignorance and thriftlessness, will serve, permanently, to injure the stronger race rather than the weaker.

To the white boy such a provision is an insult as well as an injustice, for the reason that it assumes his need of an adventitious advantage over the negro. For us to ask the negro boy to submit to a test which we are unwilling to apply to our own sons, would be, in my judgment, a reflection upon the capacity of our white population; and our people, wherever it may be attempted by the politician of the hour, will come so to regard it. The absolute supremacy of intelligence and property, secured through a suffrage test that shall be evenly and

equally applicable in theory and in fact to white and black — this will be the ultimate solution of the South for the whole vexed question of political privilege.[1]

That this faith was not wholly justified by the issue of the Alabama Convention need not obscure the fact that the final proposals of the Convention were far more conservative, far more truly democratic, than at first seemed probable or possible. The "temporary plan" with its intended inequalities has already passed away. The permanent plan with its just and equal provisions is still, however, under the administration — as in Mississippi — of a system of election boards.

If these boards of registrars — the essential and distinctive provision in the suffrage system of the South — be administered arbitrarily and unfairly, if they perpetuate the moral confusion and the debasing traditions which they were intended to supplant, then the South will stand condemned both to the world and to herself. She will have defeated the purpose of her own deepest political and moral forces. But let no one assume that such a result is now in evidence. There have been many instances of needless and intentional injustice. There are, upon the other hand, many evidences which indicate that while the old habits have widely affected the immediate action of the registrars, there is a growing disposition toward just administration, a disposition to exclude the unqualified white man and to admit the qualified negro to the ballot.[2]

A dogmatic impatience will avail nothing. The Nation owes to the South an adequate opportunity for the trial of the difficult

[1] From An Open Letter to the Constitutional Convention of Alabama, by Edgar Gardner Murphy, Montgomery, Ala., April, 1901.

[2] According to the Secretary of State for Mississippi more than 15,000 negroes are already registered there as voters; in Virginia the number registered is approximately 23,000; in South Carolina, 22,000; in Louisiana, 6400; in North Carolina, 6250. In the latter State, as well as in Alabama, many negroes have been discouraged from offering to register by reason of the fact that the State organization of the party with which they have been associated recently refused to admit even their most respected representatives to its Conventions. Large numbers have also refrained from registration because of their unwillingness to meet the poll-tax requirement. The interest of the masses of the negroes in things political has, for quite different reasons, been much exaggerated by the representatives of both political parties.

experiment which she has undertaken. Adequate results, a full determination of success or failure, cannot be attained in five years or in ten. All criticism of the actual political readjustment of the South should, moreover, be positive as well as negative, and adverse discussion should deal sympathetically and constructively with the question, "If not this, what?" What is the alternative? One must recur again and again to the thought that the fundamental embarrassments lie in the elementary conditions that precede all the evils and all the remedies. Partially anomalous remedies will always arise out of essentially anomalous conditions.

The task is so complex, the difficulties are so inscrutably formidable, the issues — involving all the deepest and most fateful passions of races and parties — are so far-reaching, that one may well pause before attempting prematurely to substitute for a pending policy of extrication a policy — even though logically complete — which may be based upon more consistent but perhaps more academic conceptions of public right. As one who vigorously opposed the imposition of unequal or uneven tests the author feels that he may fitly say that there would be nothing gained and much lost by any return to older conditions, and that the whole Southern readjustment, whatever its theoretic inconsistencies, should be accorded a reasonable trial.

The situation presents issues for which men upon either side have often been willing to die. But for strong men it is sometimes easier to die than to wait. The need of the present is not martyrdom, with all its touching and tragic splendor, but just a little patience. Human nature is everywhere essentially the same. No movement of our human life can long support its own momentum, or conserve its own integrity, if it assume an irrational or unrighteous form. Political inequalities will not endure. With time, with reason, with patience, the moral forces of the South can accomplish something which all the enactments and threatening of the Nation can delay but cannot produce, — an equitable public temper, — with which imperfect laws are just, and without which Utopia itself would be but an institutional futility. God has left no corner of the world without certain of the resident forces of self-correction. The South feels, and feels justly, that

in the view of history she has dealt as scrupulously as the North with the literal obligations of the Constitution, and that in the travail of her extrication from an intolerable situation, her policy is now entitled to considerate and adequate trial. She has given her own welfare as hostage in pledge for her sincerity. With patience, and with the rapidly increasing educational and industrial quickening of the South, there is arising within her popular life, a clearer outlook, a saner Americanism, a freer and juster civic sense — and these are, at last, the only ultimate security of our constitutional assumptions.

The practical situation presents, not a problem of theoretic politics, sociology, or ethics. It is a problem of flesh and blood, the elements of which are men and women and little children; the issues of which lie not in the cheap and passing advantage of factions and parties but in the happiness or the wretchedness of millions of our human kind. It is in many of its aspects the greatest, the most difficult, problem in American life — a problem all the greater because, North as well as South, the forces of race prejudice and of commercial and political self-absorption are constantly and impatiently putting it out of sight. But it is here. It is the problem of taking those institutions and those principles which are the flowering of the political consciousness of the most politically efficient of all the races of mankind — institutions and principles to which even the Anglo-Saxon is unequal save in theory — and securing the just coördination under them of this stronger race which has hardly tried them with a race which had never dreamed them, a race which, with all its virtues, is socially and politically almost the least efficient of the families of men; —two races separated socially by antipathies of blood, separated politically by the supposed division of political interests; the weaker distrusting the stronger, the stronger distrusting the weaker; each knowing the other at its worst rather than at its best, and each passionately resolved to be judged by its best rather than by its worst; a situation of actual, grotesque, far-reaching inequalities projected under the conditions of a democratic order and continued under the industrial and political assumption of the parity of classes. A great problem! A

problem demanding many things — the temper of justice, unselfishness, truth — but demanding most of all a patient wisdom, a wise, conserving, and healing patience — the patience of thought and of work; not the patience of the opportunist but the deeper patience of the patriot. Indeed, if one may speak of it with anything of hopefulness, it is only because this problem has now come for its adjustment into a day when a deeper sense of nationality has merged within its broader sympathies and its juster perspective the divisive standpoints of the past, bringing into the Nation's single and inclusive fate a new North as well as a new South, a South with its boundaries at the Lakes and the St. Lawrence, a North with its boundaries through the fields and the pines of a reunited country at the waters of the Southern Gulf.

67. A SOUTHERN SENATOR'S VIEWS ON THE RACE SITUATION IN THE SOUTH[1]

The negro as a race, in all the ages of the world, has never shown sustained power of self-development. He is not endowed with the creative faculty. "God planted the Egyptian and the negro side by side in the fabled Valley of the Nile with equal opportunites. The earth was new; all things lay before all men; no man could borrow from his neighbor, because his neighbor had naught to lend; no man could learn from his neighbor, because his neighbor had naught to teach. Here was the virgin earth, fresh and moist from the hand of the Creator; there was the mysterious sea, and far away in the shining spaces of the night lay the uncounted stars with their lessons spread. All of these were to be conquered. The door of hope stood broadly open and no color line was drawn."

But the door of hope might have remained closed so far as the progress the negro was to make for himself was concerned.

[1] By James K. Vardaman, senator from Mississippi. Condensed from a speech in the United States Senate, Feb. 6, 1914. The Senate had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7951) to provide for coöperative agricultural extension work between the agricultural colleges in the several States receiving the benefits of an act of Congress approved July 2, 1862, and of acts supplementary thereto, and the United States Department of Agriculture.

He has never created for himself any civilization. He has never risen above the government of a club. He has never written a language. His achievements in architecture are limited to the thatched-roofed hut or a hole in the ground. No monuments have been builded by him to body forth and perpetuate in the memory of posterity the virtues of his ancestors.

For countless ages he has looked upon the rolling sea and never dreamed of a sail. In truth, he has never progressed, save and except when under the influence and absolute control of a superior race. His opportunities have been great. The negro helped to build the temples of Rameses, he polished the columns of Karnak, he toiled at the hundred-gated Thebes, he was touched by the tides of civilization that swept across the Eastern Hemisphere in the forenoon of the ages, and yet it made no more impression upon him as a race than a drop of water on the oily back of a duck. He is living in Africa to-day, in the land where he sprang, indigenous, in substantially the same condition, occupying the same rude hut, governed by the same club, worshiping the same fetish that he did when the Pharaohs ruled in Egypt. He has never had any civilization except that which has been inculcated by a superior race. And it is a lamentable fact that his civilization lasts only so long as he is in the hands of the white man who inculcates it. When left to himself he has universally gone back to the barbarism of the jungle.

Let us consider his condition in Haiti. It will throw a flood of light upon our own American problem. The negro acquired control of this island more than 100 years ago. Thomas Jefferson said: "This will test the negro's capacity for self-government."

With his usual prescience and foresight, Jefferson predicted failure. But he said: "Let him try it. We will help him."

Haiti was at that time the gem of the Antilles. The most magnificent cane fields, coffee plantations, and fruit groves graced the landscape of that delightful little island. Now shift the scene. Look at Haiti to-day, after 100 years of negro rule. After 100 years of assistance by the white man — assistance with money, with example, precept, and all of those superior virtues

which characterized the civilization of the white race, what do we find there to-day? Sir Spencer St. John, who represented the English Government at Port au Prince for 20 years, wrote a book entitled "Haiti, or Black Republic." When this English officer first visited Haiti he looked with compassion upon the black man. He thought he had been denied an equal chance in the race of life. He thought he had been the victim of slavery — that the elements of manhood had been stifled by such oppression as some of the distinguished Senators on this floor in this debate have called attention to as having been practiced in the Southern States of America. Yes; he thought "the negro was a sunburned Yankee, who had not been given a square deal."

Sir Spencer St. John remained as the representative of his Government at the court of this black Republic for 20 years. He made a close study of the question. He informed himself as to the racial peculiarities of the negro, and his testimony to the world is that the negro is incapable of self-government. He is incapable of sustaining a civilization all his own. Further, he says:

> After an experience of 100 years Haiti has proved a failure. There is no semblance of civil government there, except in the seaports, which are dominated by whites and mulattoes.

And he tells us further the disgusting story of the worship of the voodoo and cannibalism, which he says is as common as their sexual crimes in the Southern States of this Republic. The United States Government is in San Domingo to-day as the guardian of that people, having sent agents there to administer their public affairs. Now, I know the negro has made a certain order of progress in the South. He has acquired property. He is acquiring book learning. I am advised that there is a decrease of illiteracy of something like 12 per cent in every decade. There is no doubt about that. But I am going to make a statement which, I dare say, will astonish some of the gentlemen who have shown such honest and sincere interest in the negro's advancement. While he has progressed mentally, he has deteriorated morally and physically. It is a lamentable fact that as a race the negro in America is more criminal to-day than he was

in 1861. And certain diseases which were unknown among them before the war are decimating their ranks, filling the hospitals with incurables and the asylums with lunatics. I predict that these diseases will cause a marked falling off in the birth rate in the next decade.

And that is true of the negro of the North, probably more so than it is of the negro in the South. Nobody will deny that, that is, no one will deny it who has any reliable information on the subject. The white people of Pennsylvania are friendly to the negro. There he has been given every opportunity that the public schools and colleges afford for his moral and mental advancement, and yet, I am advised, that while he is only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total population of the State of "Brotherly Love," the negro race furnished 17 per cent of the male criminals and 30 per cent of the female criminals. In the city of Washington, a perfect haven for him, where special distinction has been shown him because of his "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," here in this city, where he has been treated as a hothouse plant, where he has enjoyed all the advantages of social, official, industrial, and political equality, we find his race after 40 years of freedom, while only 28 per cent of the total population, furnishing 68 per cent of the grist for the criminal courts to grind. It is not uncommon here, at the seat of government, where all of these special favors have been accorded the negro — I repeat, it is not uncommon — to find the pages of the morning papers blurred with the account of assaults perpetrated by negroes on white women on the main thoroughfares of the city.

I do not want to do anything that will arrest the negro's progress. I would not raise my hand against his material advancement. I believe that I am his real friend. I know him; I understand him in all the relations of life. I have lived with him from my infancy. I was nursed by an old black mammy, the recollection of whose tender ministrations to me are among the sweetest assets of my life. A dear old negro woman nursed every one of our babies. A most faithful, trustworthy, devoted servant and friend was this good old woman. I never permit an

opportunity to pass to pay the tribute of my love and respect for her memory. As governor of my State I am sure that I exerted myself as much to protect the negro in the enjoyment of his life, his liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and the products of his own toil as any executive in America has ever done. He does not vote much in Mississippi, but I really think that he votes more than he ought to vote, if he votes at all. I do not think it was ever intended by the Creator that the two races should live together upon equal terms — enjoy equal political and social advantages. One or the other must rule. The people of the South tried to share with the negro in the government of the country after the war, but the negro declined to share with the white man. Black heels rested cruelly upon white necks for many years after the close of the war. The white man endured the negro's misrule, his insolence, impudence, and infamy. He suffered his criminal incapacity to govern until the public domain had been well-nigh squandered and the public treasury looted. We saw the civilization reared by the genius of our fathers, glorified and cemented by their sacred blood, vanishing from the earth, and by means, I will not say in this presence, fair, but by means sufficient, we invoked the law of self-preservation; we arose in the might of an outraged race, and as the Saviour scourged the money changers from the temple, so the southern white man drove from power the scalawag, the carpetbagger, and the incompetent negro.

If in the providence of God the negro may make progress sufficient to justify the American people in giving him the franchise, that time has not yet arrived. I believe the Republican Party is getting about as tired of the negro in politics, and I believe the members of that party in this Chamber, if they were candid, would admit that they are about as tired of dealing with him in politics as the Democrats are. I was very much gratified to notice at one of the recent councils of the leaders of the Republican Party that you are trying to devise ways and means by which you may get rid of the pernicious vote of the southern negro in your national conventions. You ought to do it. It is not creditable to any party to pay the price you have to pay for it.

God Almighty never intended that the negro should share with the white man in the government of this country; and you cannot improve upon the plans of God Almighty or defeat His purposes, either, by legislative enactments. Do not forget that. It matters not what constitutions may contain or statutes provide, wherever the negro is in sufficient numbers to imperil the white man's civilization or question the white man's supremacy the white man is going to find some way around the difficulty. And that is just as true in the North as it is in the South. You need not deceive yourselves about that. The feeling against the negro in Illinois when he gets in the white man's way is quite as strong, more bitter, less regardful of the negro's feelings and conditions than it is in Mississippi. And that is true of every other Northern State.

I am not the negro's enemy. I know what is best for him. I think I can measure his productive capacity. I know the influences that move him. I am familiar with the currents of passion which sweep through his savage blood. I understand his hates, his jealousies, and his attachments. In a word, I think I know him as he really is. And knowing him, I believe I know what is best for him. You cannot measure the negro by the standard by which you would measure accurately the white man. He is different from the white man physically, morally, and mentally. The pure-blooded negro is without gratitude. He does not harbor revenge. He is not immoral — he is unmoral. I have never known one who ever felt the guilt of sin, the goading of an outraged conscience, or the binding force of a moral obligation. The pure-blooded negro reaches mental maturity soon after he passes the period of puberty. The cranial sutures become ossified by the time he reaches 20 years of age, and it is not uncommon to find one who reads fluently at 15 years of age not to know a letter in the book at the age of 25 or 30. It was this physical difference which Mr. Lincoln had in mind when he said: "There is a physical difference and an impassable gulf between the two races." Lombroso, the great Italian scientist, used this language: "Just at that moment when the Caucasian intellect is spreading its wings for a more daring flight the negro closes up and comes back."

No, Mr. President, the laws suited for the white race are not adaptable for the government of the negro. "The heir of all the ages in the foremost files of time" cannot progress if restrained by statutes intended for the government of the most backward and inferior of all the races of men. Nor can you by law lift the negro and hold him to the high standard which you demand that the white man live upon. . . .

The negro started life with equal opportunity with the Caucasian. Neither had anything to borrow from or to lend to the other. The white man evolved the civilization that glorifies the beginning of the twentieth century. The negro remained stationary. If you would have the negro progress, if you would promote his material interests by legislation, I submit to you that the best way to do it is to bring about cordial coöperation, invoke the assistance of the white man. You cannot do it in any other way. It is true in the North, it is true in the South, it is true in the East, it is true in the West. . . .

I agree with the Senator [Senator Clapp] that the negro has progressed mentally. He is, as I said a moment ago, reducing the percentage of illiteracy between 10 and 12 per cent every decade. A larger majority of the young negroes in Mississippi can read. We are furnishing them schools which run from four to nine months in the year, and the white man pays the bill. The negro has had opportunity that was never before afforded to an inferior race at somebody else's expense; he is acquiring property. But this progress is not making a better citizen of him. You cannot understand it, but I tell you in all solemn candor he is a thousand times more criminal to-day as a race than he was in 1861.

There never was a more faithful, trustworthy protector of the southern white woman, or white womanhood anywhere, than were the old slaves during the war and immediately following; and it is a startling fact that I am going to announce at this moment that every white woman in the black belt of the South to-day is living in a state of siege. The sons of those faithful, well-behaved servants — or slaves, if you prefer — with all of their

superior schoolbook learning and improved opportunities, have become the rapist and the robber. The care, the protection, the safeguards that are thrown around the white women are a thousand times more rigid — greater vigilance is kept — than were thrown around our mothers 100 years ago on the frontiers, where the wild man and the wild beasts roamed at will. These are facts, and you cannot deny them. The Senator from Minnesota cannot understand that; but if he should live in the black belt of the South for a little while — if his wife and daughters could live there, they would soon feel the dampening effect of that black cloud of peril which hovers over the devoted head of every white girl and woman in the South to-day.

I am not an enemy to the negro; I want to educate him — or rather train him — along proper lines; I want to train him in a way that we may improve his hand and educate his heart; I want to build, if possible, a moral substratum upon which to rear this mental superstructure; but if that is not done, with his ideas of morality, or as Froude, the historian, would put it, his ideas of "unmorality" — when you enhance his mentality without building this moral substratum, upon which it is to rest, you simply increase his capacity for harm. Your education will only serve to make a less desirable citizen.

I want, first, to build the foundation. The white man and the negro of the South are not enemies. They may be made so if you continue to insist on trying to bring them into abnormal relationship. The relation that existed between them before and immediately succeeding the war was akin to that of father and son. My recollections of the black folk on the farm during my boyhood are among the pleasant memories of my life. The negroes in Mississippi know that I am not their enemy. I would not permit them to vote, but I would protect them in the enjoyment of their life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and the product of their toil. And if the white people of the South are permitted to proceed along proper rational lines, knowing and recognizing the negro's inferiority, desiring, however, his betterment; if they are permitted to work out, although handicapped,

as they are, with laws which were conceived in hatred and brought forth in a spasm of venom and revenge — if they are permitted to do it, Mr. President, in their own proper way, very much more progress will be made for the negro's uplifting, for the negro's improvement than will be made if it shall be directed by men who do not know any more about it personally than I do about the political economy of the planet Mars.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE NEGRO

The economic condition of the negro farmer, 713. — The economic future of the negro, 726. — City and country, 727. — Race prejudice a bar to economic opportunity, 728. — The question of negro efficiency, 729. — Economic groups, 730.

68. THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE NEGRO FARMER[1]

Negroes on the farms may be divided into four classes: owners, cash tenants, share tenants, laborers. Share tenants differ from the same class in the North in that work animals and tools are usually provided by the landlord. Among the laborers must also be included the families living on the rice and cane plantations, who work for cash wages but receive houses and such perquisites as do other tenants and whose permanence is more assured than an ordinary day hand. They are paid in cash, usually through a plantation store, that debts for provisions, etc., may be deducted. Both owners and tenants find it generally necessary to arrange for advances of food and clothing until harvest. The advances begin in the early spring and continue until August or sometimes until the cotton is picked. In the regions east of the alluvial lands advances usually stop by the first of August, and in the interim until the cotton is sold odd jobs or some extra labor, picking blackberries and the like, must furnish the support for the family. The landlord may do the advancing or some merchant. Money is seldom furnished directly, although in recent years banks are beginning to loan on crop liens. The food supplied is often based on the number of working hands, irrespective of the number of children in the family. This is occasionally a hardship. The customary ration is a peck of corn meal and three pounds of pork per week. Usually a crop lien together with a

[1] By Carl Kelsey. Adapted from The Negro Farmer, pp. 29–32, 43–51. Jennings and Pye, Chicago, 1903.

bill of sale of any personal property is given as security, but in some states landlords have a first lien upon all crops for rent and advances. In all districts the tenant is allowed to cut wood for his fire, and frequently has free pasture for his stock. There is much complaint that when there are fences about the house they are sometimes burned, being more accessible than the timber, which may be at a distance and which has to be cut. The landlords and the advancers have found it necessary to spend a large part of their time personally, or through agents called "riders," going about the plantations to see that the crops are cultivated. The negro knows how to raise cotton, but he may forget to plow, chop, or some other such trifle, unless reminded of the necessity. Thus a considerable part of the excessive interest charged the negro should really be charged as wages of superintendence. If the instructions of the riders are not followed, rations are cut off, and thus the recalcitrant brought to terms.

For a long time rations have been dealt out on Saturday. So Saturday has come to be considered a holiday, or half holiday at least. Early in the morning the roads are covered with blacks on foot, horseback, muleback and in various vehicles, on their way to the store or village, there to spend the day loafing about in friendly discussion with neighbors. The condition of the crops has little preventive influence, and the handicap to successful husbandry formed by the habit is easily perceived. Many efforts are being made to break up the custom, but it is uphill work. Another habit of the negro which militates against his progress is his prowling about in all sorts of revels by night, thereby unfitting himself for labor the next day. This trait also shows forth the general thoughtlessness of the negro. His mule works by day, but is expected to carry his owner any number of miles at night. Sunday is seldom a day of rest for the work animals. It is a curious fact that wherever the negroes are most numerous there mules usually outnumber horses. There are several reasons for this. It has often been supposed that mules endure the heat better than horses. This is questionable. The mule, however, will do a certain amount and then quit, all inducements to the contrary notwithstanding. The horse will go till he drops; moreover, will

not stand the abuse which the mule endures. The negro does not bear a good reputation for care of his animals. He neglects to feed and provide for them. Their looks justify the criticism. The mule, valuable as he is for many purposes, is necessarily more expensive in the long run than a self-perpetuating animal.

In all parts it is the custom for the negroes to save a little garden patch about the house, which, if properly tended, would supply the family with vegetables throughout the year. This is seldom the case. A recent Tuskegee catalogue commenting on this says:

> If they have any garden at all, it is apt to be choked with weeds and other noxious growths. With every advantage of soil and climate, and with a steady market if they live near any city or large town, few of the colored farmers get any benefit from this, one of the most profitable of all industries.

As a matter of fact they care little for vegetables and seldom know how to prepare them for the table. The garden is regularly started in the spring, but seldom amounts to much. I have ridden for a day with but a glimpse of a couple of attempts. As a result there will be a few collards, turnips, gourds, sweet potatoes and beans, but the mass of the people buy the little they need from the stores. A dealer in a little country store told me last summer that he would make about $75 an acre on three acres of watermelons, although almost every purchaser could raise them if he would. In many regions wild fruits are abundant, and blackberries during the season are quite a staple, but they are seldom canned. Some cattle are kept, but little butter is made, and milk is seldom on the bill of fare, the stock being sold when fat (?).

Comparing these negro dietaries with other dietaries and dietary standards, it will be seen that —

(1) The quantities of protein are small. Roughly speaking, the food of these negroes furnished one third to three fourths as much protein as are called for in the current physiological standards and as are actually found in the dietaries of well-fed whites in the United States and well-fed people in Europe. They were, indeed, no larger than have been found in the dietaries of the very poor factory operatives and laborers in Germany and the laborers and beggars in Italy.

(2) In fuel value the negro dietaries compare quite favorably with those of well-to-do people of the laboring classes in Europe and the United States.[1]

[1] Bulletin No. 38, Office of Experimental Stations, U. S. Department of Agriculture — a study of dietaries made under Tuskegee Institute.

This indicates the ignorance of the negro regarding the food he needs, so that in a region of plenty he is underfed as regards the muscle and bone-forming elements and overfed so far as fuel value is concerned. One cannot help asking what effect a normal diet would have upon the sexual passions. It is worthy of notice that in the schools maintained by the whites there is relatively little trouble on this account. Possibly the changed life and food are in no small measure responsible for the difference.

Under diversified farming there would be steady employment most of the year, with a corresponding increase of production. As it is there are two busy seasons. In the spring, planting and cultivating cotton, say from March to July, and in the fall, cotton picking, September to December. The balance of the time the average farmer does little work. The present system entails a great loss of time.

The absence of good pastures and of meadows is noticeable. This is also too true of white farmers. Yet the grasses grow luxuriantly and nothing but custom or something else accounts for their absence; the something else is cotton. The adaptability of cotton to the negro is almost providential. It has a long taproot and is able to stand neglect and yet produce a reasonable crop. The grains, corn and cane, with their surface roots, will not thrive under careless handling.

The average farmer knows, or at least utilizes, few of the little economies which make agriculture so profitable elsewhere. The negro is thus under a heavy handicap and does not get the most that he might from present opportunities. I am fully conscious that there are many farmers who take advantage of these things and are correspondingly successful, but they are not the average man of whom I am speaking. With this general statement I pass to a consideration of the situation in the various districts before mentioned. . . .

In the central district life is a little more strenuous than on the seacoast. The average tenant has a "one-mule farm," some thirty or thirty-five acres. Occasionally the tenant has more land, but only about this amount is cultivated and no rent is paid

for the balance. The area of the land is usually estimated and only rarely is it surveyed. This land ranges in value from $5.00 to $15.00 per acre on the average. The customary rental for a "one-mule farm" is about two bales of cotton, whose value in recent years would be in the neighborhood of $75.00, thus making the rental about $3.00 per acre. On this farm from four to six bales of cotton are raised. The soil has been injured by improper tillage and requires an expenditure of $1.75 to $2.00 per acre for fertilizers if the best results are to be obtained. As yet the negroes do not fully appreciate this. The farmer secures advances based on 1 peck of meal and 3 pounds of "side meat," fat salt pork, per week for each working hand. About six dollars a month is the limit for advances, and as these are continued for only seven months or so the average advance received is probably not far from $50.00 per year. An advance of $10.00 per month is allowed for a two-horse farm. The advancer obligates himself to furnish only necessities, and any incidentals must be supplied from sale of poultry, berries and the like. Clothing may often be reckoned as an incidental. The luxuries are bought with cash or on the installment plan and are seldom indicated by the books of the merchant. The cost of the average weekly advances for a family in 1902 was:

10 pounds meat (salt pork sides) @ 13½c. . . .	$1.35
1 bushel corn meal	.90
1 plug tobacco (reckoned a necessity)	.10
	$2.35

Conditions throughout this district are believed to be fairly uniform, but the following information was gathered in Lowndes County, Alabama, so has closest connection with the prairie region of that state.

There are not an unusual number of one-room cabins.[1] Out of 74 families, comprising 416 people, the average was 7 to the room, the greatest number living in one room was 11. The families were housed as shown in the table on the next page.

[1] The cabins are built of both boards and logs.

Number of Families	Number of Rooms	Largest Number of Persons	Average Number of Persons
17	1	11	6
31	2	12 (3 families)	6
16	3	9	5
7	4	14	6
3	5	9	5

Field work is from sun to sun with two hours or so rest at noon. The man usually eats breakfast in the field, the wife staying behind to prepare it. It consists of pork and corn bread. The family come from the field about noon and have dinner consisting of pork and corn bread, with collards, turnip greens, roasting ears, etc. At sundown work stops and supper is eaten, the menu being as at breakfast. The pork eaten by the negroes, it may be said, is almost solid fat, two or three inches thick, lean meat not being liked. The housewife has few dishes, the food being cooked in pots or in small ovens set among the ashes. Stoves are a rarity. Lamps are occasionally used, but if the chimney be broken it is rarely replaced, the remainder being quite good enough for ordinary purposes. The cabins seldom have glass windows, but instead wooden shutters, which swing outward on hinges. These are shut at night, and even during the hottest summer weather there is practically no ventilation. How it is endured I know not, but the custom prevails even in Porto Rico I am told. In winter the cabins are cold. To meet this the thrifty housewife makes bed quilts and as many as 25 or 30 of these are not infrequently found in a small cabin. The floors are rough and not always of matched lumber, while the cabins are poorly built. The usual means of heating, and cooking, is the big fireplace. Sometimes the chimney is built of sticks daubed over with mud, the top of the chimney often failing to reach the ridge of the roof. Fires sometimes result. Tables and chairs are rough and rude. Sheets are few, the mattresses are of cotton, corn shucks or pine straw, and the pillows of home-grown feathers.

The following regarding the cooking of the Alabama negro is taken from a letter published in Bulletin No. 38, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Office of the Experiment Stations:

The daily fare is prepared in very simple ways. Corn meal is mixed with water and baked on the flat surface of a hoe or griddle. The salt pork is sliced thin and fried until very brown and much of the grease tried out. Molasses from cane or sorghum is added to the fat, making what is known as "sap," which is eaten with the corn bread. Hot water sweetened with molasses is used as a beverage. This is the bill of fare of most of the cabins on the plantations of the "black belt" three times a day during the year. It is, however, varied at times; thus collards and turnips are boiled with the bacon, the latter being used with the vegetables to supply fat "to make it rich." The corn-meal bread is sometimes made into so-called "cracklin bread," and is prepared as follows: A piece of fat bacon is fried until it is brittle; it is then crushed and mixed with corn meal, water, soda, and salt and baked in an oven over the fireplace. . . . One characteristic of the cooking is that all meats are fried or otherwise cooked until they are crisp. Observation among these people reveals the fact that very many of them suffer from indigestion in some form.

As elsewhere the advances are supplied by the planter or some merchant. The legal rate of interest is 8 per cent, but no negro ever borrows money at this rate. Ten per cent per year is considered cheap, while on short terms the rate is often 10 per cent per week. The average tenant pays from 12.5 per cent to 15 per cent for his advances, which are sold at an average of 25 per cent higher than cash prices on the average. To avoid any possible trouble it is quite customary to reckon the interest and then figure this into the face of the note so that none can tell either the principal or the rate. Below is an actual copy of such a note, the names being changed:

$22.00. Calhoun, Alabama, June 2, 1900.

On the first day of October, 1900, I promise to pay to the order of A. B. See Twenty Two Dollars at----------.

Value received.

And so far as this debt is concerned, and as part of the consideration thereof, I do hereby waive all right which I or either of us have under the Constitution and Laws of this or any other State to claim or hold any personal property exempt to me from levy and sale under execution. And should it become necessary to employ an attorney in the collection of this debt I promise to pay all reasonable attorney's fees charged therefore.

Attest: C. W. James.
A. T. Jones.

his
John X Smith
mark

The possibility of extortion which this method makes possible is evident.

It is worth while also to reproduce a copy, actual with the exception of the names, of one of the blanket mortgages often given.

THE STATE OF ALABAMA,
LOWNDES COUNTY.

On or before the first day of October next I promise to pay Jones and Co., or order, the sum of $77.00 at their office in Fort Deposit, Alabama. And I hereby waive all right of exemption secured to me under and by the Laws and Constitution of the State of Alabama as to the collection of this debt. And I agree to pay all the costs of making, recording, probating or acknowledging this instrument, together with a reasonable attorney's fee, and all other expenses incident to the collection of this debt, whether by suit or otherwise. And to secure the payment of the above note, as well as all other indebtedness I may now owe the said Jones and Co., and all future advances I may purchase from the said Jones and Co. during the year 1900, whether due and payable during the year 1900 or not, and for the further consideration of one Dollar to me in hand paid by Jones and Co., the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge, I do hereby grant, bargain, sell and convey unto said Jones and Co. the entire crops of corn, cotton, cotton seed, fodder, potatoes, sugar cane and its products and all other crops of every kind and description which may be made and grown during the year 1900 on lands owned, leased, rented or farmed on shares for or by the undersigned in Lowndes County, Alabama, or elsewhere. Also any crops to or in which the undersigned has or may have any interest, right, claim or title in Lowndes County or elsewhere during and for each succeeding year until the indebtedness secured by this instrument is fully paid. Also all the corn, cotton, cotton seed, fodder, peas, and all other farm produce now in the possession of the undersigned. Also all the live stock, vehicles and farming implements now owned by or furnished to the undersigned by Jones and Co. during the year 1900. Also one red horse "Lee," one red neck cow "Priest," and her calf, one red bull yearling. Said property is situated in Lowndes County, Alabama. If, after maturity, any part of the unpaid indebtedness remains unpaid, Jones and Co., or their agents or assigns, are authorized and empowered to seize and sell all or any of the above described property, at private sale or public auction, as they may elect, for cash. If at public auction, before their store door or elsewhere, in Fort Deposit, Alabama, after posting for five days written notice of said sale on post office door in said town, and to apply the proceeds of said sale to the payment, first of all costs and expenses provided for in the above note and expense of seizing and selling said property; second, to payment in full of debt or debts secured by said mortgage, and the surplus, if any, pay to the undersigned. And the said mortgagee or assigns is hereby authorized to purchase at his own sale under this mortgage. I agree that no member of my

family, nor anyone living with me, nor any person under my control, shall have an extra patch on the above described lands, unless covered by this mortgage; and I also agree that this mortgage shall cover all such patches. It is further agreed and understood that any securities held by Jones and Co. as owner or assignee on any of the above described property executed by me prior to executing this mortgage shall be retained by them, and shall remain in full force and effect until the above note and future advances are paid in full, and shall be additional security for this debt. There is no lien or encumbrance upon any property conveyed by this instrument except that held by Jones and Co. and the above specified rents. If, before the demands hereby secured are payable, any of the property conveyed herein shall be in danger of (or from) waste, destruction or removal, said demands shall be then payable and all the terms, rights and powers of this instrument operative and enforceable, as if and under a past due mortgage.

Witness my hand and seal this 10th day of January, 1900.

Attest: B. C. Cook. Sam Small. L. S.
R. J. Bennett.

It may be granted that experience has shown all this verbiage to be necessary. In the hands of an honest landlord it is as meaningless as that in the ordinary contract we sign in renting a house. In the hands of dishonest landlord or merchant it practically enables him to make a serf of the negro. The mortgage is supposed to be filed at once, but it is sometimes held to see if there is any other security which might be included. The rascally creditor watches the crop and if the negro may have a surplus he easily tempts him to buy more, or more simply still, he charges to his account imaginary purchases, so that at the end of the year the negro is still in debt. The negro has no redress. He cannot prove that he has not purchased the goods and his word will not stand against the merchant's. Practically he is tied down to the land, for no one else will advance him under these conditions. Sometimes he escapes by getting another merchant to settle his account and by becoming the tenant of the new man. When it is remembered that land is abundant and good labor rare, the temptation to hold a man on the land by fair means or foul is apparent. Moreover, the merchant by specious reasoning often justifies his own conduct. He says that the negro will spend his money at the first opportunity and that he might just as well have it as some other merchant. I would not

be understood as saying that this action is anything but the great exception, but there are dishonest men everywhere who are ready to take advantage of their weaker fellows and the negro suffers as a result, just as the ignorant foreigner does in the cities of the North.

The interest may also be reckoned into the face of the mortgage. In any case it begins the day the paper is signed, although the money or its equivalent is only received at intervals and a full year's interest is paid, often on the face of the mortgage, even if only two thirds of it has actually been advanced to the negro, no matter when the account is settled. The helplessness of the negro who finds himself in the hands of a sharper is obvious when that sharper has practical control of the situation. In many and curious ways the landlord seeks to hold his tenants. He is expected to stand by them in time of trouble, to protect them against the aggressions of other blacks and of whites as well. This paternalism is often carried to surprising lengths.[1]

The size of a man's family is known and the riders see to it that he keeps all the working hands in the field. If the riders have any trouble with a negro they are apt to take it out in physical punishment, to "wear him out," as the phrase goes. Thus resentment is seldom harbored against a negro and there are many who claim that this physical discipline is far better than any prison régime in its effects upon the negro. In spite

[1] Some change for the better has probably taken place since the above was written, as the following extract indicates. — ED.

Two decades ago the common way the merchant or landlord secured himself against losses was by taking a lien on the crops. The lien entitled the landlord to hold in possession all or part of a renter's crop until all claims were paid. The lien was not only upon growing crops, but often upon unplanted crops as well. If through the crop lien the landlord's claim was not settled in one season, it was continued into the next. The old crop lien system with all its force and meaning has apparently changed in meaning and form in some indescribable ways, and since the renter has gradually come into possession of personal property, money is secured for farming by making notes and mortgages on that property. All these may have some features of the crop lien system, but do not have the name. . . . It is as much the desire, and as much to the advantage, of the landlord to get rent or interest on the money involved in land with least trouble, as it is the renter's desire to advance himself, and enjoy the privilege of managing his affairs. The present trend of renting conditions — conditions which relieve the landlord of responsibilities and which put upon the renter more responsibilities — is in this direction. — THOMAS B. EDWARDS (Supervisor of Colored Public Schools, Tallapoosa County, Alabama), "The Tenant System and Some Changes since Emancipation," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1913, p. 45.

of all that is done it is claimed that the negroes are getting less reliable and that the chief dependence is now in the older men, the women and the children. One remark, made by a planter's wife, which impressed me as having a good deal of significance, was, "the negroes do not sing as much now as formerly."

To get at anything like an accurate statement of the income and expenses of a negro family is a difficult matter. The following account of three families will give a fair idea of their budget for part of the year at least.

Family No. 1 consists of five adults (over 14) and one child. They live in a two-roomed cabin and own one mule, two horses, two cows. Their account with the landlord for the years 1900 and 1901 was:

	1900		1901
To balance 1899	$32.60	To balance 1900	$15.21
Cash ($25.00) for mule	36.00	Cash	26.57
Clothing	19.68	Clothing	9.55
Feed	15.20	Feed and seed	44.19
Provisions	23.00	Provisions	26.29
Tools	2.03	Tools	.55
Interest and recording fee	16.87	Interest and recording fee	16.34
	$145.38		$138.70

Their credit for 1901 was $103.92, thus leaving a deficit for the beginning of the next year. As the advances stop in August or September, and the balance of the purchases are for cash and maybe at other stores, there is no way of getting at them. In 1900 the family paid $201 toward the 85 acres they are purchasing, part of this sum probably coming from the crop of 1899, and in 1901 they made a further payment of $34. This family is doing much better than the average. It may be interesting to see a copy of his account for the year 1901 taken from the ledger of the planter.

Jan. 1.	Balance 1900	$15.21
Jan. 12.	10 bu. corn, $5; fodder, $1.20; cash, $8	14.20
Jan. 19.	Cash for tax, $1.43; recording fee, $1; cash, $13.25	15.68
Feb. 2.	Plow shoes, $1.40; gents' hose, 10 cents; 20 yd. check, $1; 2 straw hats, $1.20	4.90

Feb. 2.	23.5 bu. corn, $14.94; cash, 79 cents; shoes, $1.50; plow lines, 20 cents	$17.43
Mar. 15.	15 yd. drilling, $1.20; 15 yd. check, 75 cents; 4.5 lb. bacon, 48 cents	2.43
Apr. 6.	10 bu. corn, $7; 5 bu. cotton seed, $1.75; 4.5 lb. bacon, 53 cents	9.28
Apr. 12.	Bu. meal, 65 cents; spool cotton, 5 cents; tobacco, 10 cents; 7 lb. bacon, 81 cents; 5 bu. corn, $3.50	5.11
May 1.	Cash, $1; 30 lb. bacon, $3.45; work shoes, $1.10; gents' shoes, $1.25; half bu. meal, 35 cents	7.15
May 1.	30 lb. bacon, $3.45; (25) 30 lb. bacon, $3.30; sack meal, $1.35	8.10
June 8.	2–3 bu. oats, 35 cents; 1–3 bu. corn, 25 cents; bu. meal, 70 cents; sack feed, $2.50	3.80
June 14.	Sack meal, $1.35; 12 lb. bacon, $1.32; cash, $1; (22) 12 lb. bacon, $1.38	5.05
June 22.	Sack meal, $1.35; sack feed, $2.50; plow sweep, 35 cents;	4.20
July 1.	6 lb. bacon, 69 cents; (5) sack feed, $2.60; half bu. meal, 35 cents; (9) bu. meal, 75 cents; 10 lb. bacon, $1.15	5.54
July 18.	8 lb. bacon, 92 cents; (19) sack feed, $2.60; (25) bu. meal, 90 cents	4.42
Aug. 6.	Half bu. meal, 50 cents; 4 lb. bacon, 46 cents; cash, 35 cents	1.31
Aug. 6.	Interest	15.34
Oct. 6.	Cash, 75 cents	.75
		$138.70

The second family consists of three adults and three children. They have three one-roomed cabins, own one mule and two cows, and are leasing fifty acres of land, the effort to buy it having proved too much. Their account for 1900 and 1901 was as follows:

	1900		1901
Balance Jan. 1	$ 0.50	Balance Jan. 1	$ 4.15
Cash	9.00	Cash	2.82
Clothing	9.79	Clothing	7.55
Feed	11.50	Feed	21.22
Provisions	13.48	Provisions	17.69
Tobacco	.80	Tobacco	.55
Tools, etc.	.40	Tools, etc.	.70
Interest and recording fee	5.77	Interest and fee	7.90
	$52.24		$62.48

The debit for 1900 was all paid by November first, and by November first, 1901, $58.40 of the charge for that year had been paid. In 1900 the man paid $94.61 towards his land but has since been leasing.

The third family consists of two adults and three children. They live in a board cabin of two rooms, have one mule, one cow and one horse. They are purchasing 50 acres of land. Their accounts for 1900 and 1901 stand between the two already given.

	1900		1901
Balance 1899	$17.24	Balance 1900	$13.93
Cash	23.20	Cash	21.28
Clothing	4.73	Clothing	6.30
Provisions	19.80	Provisions	21.36
Tools	4.40	Tools	3.50
Interest and fee	8.40	Interest and fee	12.40
		Feed	26.50
	$77.41		$109.28

By November 30, 1901, they had paid $79.13 of their account. In 1900 they paid $180 towards their land and $29.60 in 1901.

All of these families are a little above the average. The income is supplemented by the sale of chickens, eggs, and occasionally butter. In hard years when the crops are poor the men and older boys seek service in the mines of north Alabama or on the railroads during the summer before cotton picking begins, and again during the winter.

The outfit of the average farmer is very inexpensive and is somewhat as follows:

Harness, $1.50; pony plow, $3; extra point, 25 cents	$4.75
Sweepstock,[1] 75 cents; 3 sweeps, 90 cents; scooter,[2] 10 cents	1.75
2 hoes, 80 cents; blacksmith (yearly average), 50 cents	1.30
Total	$7.80

A cow costs $25, pigs $2 to $2.50, wagon (seldom owned) $45. A mule now costs from $100 to $150, but may be rented

[1] A sweep is a form of cultivator used in cleaning grass and weeds from the rows of cotton.

[2] A scooter, or "bull-tongue," is a strip of iron used in opening the furrow for the cotton seed.

by the year for $20 or $25. Owners claim there is no profit in letting them at this price and the negroes assert that if one dies the owner often claims that it had been sold and proceeds to collect the value thereof. From either point of view the plan seems to meet with but little favor.

The following table will give some idea of the condition and personal property of a number of families in Lowndes County:

	Adults	Children under Fourteen	Log Cabins	Board Cabins	Number of Rooms	Sewing Machines	Mules	Horses	Oxen	Cows	Pigs	Dogs
Family 1 . .	4	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Family 2 . .	2	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	2	0	1
Family 3 . .	3	3	3	0	3	1	1	0	0	2	0	1
Family 4 . .	2	3	0	1	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
Family 5 . .	4	2	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	1	2	1
Family 6 . .	5	1	1	0	2	0	1	2	0	2	0	0
Family 7 . .	3	0	1	1	3	0	1	0	0	2	0	1
Family 8 . .	3	1	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Family 9 . .	4	0	0	3	5	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
Family 10 . .	5	4	1	1	3	0	1	0	0	2	0	1
Total . .	35	16	11	8	25	1	8	6	1	14	2	10

69. THE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF THE NEGRO AMERICAN.[1]

What are the questions in the present problem of the economic status of the negro American? They may be summed up in four groups:

1. The relation of the negro to city and country.
2. The relation of the negro to group and national economy.
3. The influence of race prejudice.
4. The question of efficiency.

[1] From The Negro American Artisan. Edited by W. E. B. DuBois and A. G. Dill, Atlanta University Publications No. 17 (1912), pp. 127–142.

City and Country

A fact of great importance in regard to the economic conditions of the negro American is his cityward movement. According to the Thirteenth Census 2,689,229 or 27.3 per cent of the negroes in the United States lived in urban centers in 1910, a decided increase over 1900. The cityward movement of the negro is explained by:[1]

1. The divorce of the negro from the soil.
2. The trend of the negro to industrial and commercial centers.
3. Secondary or individual causes:
   (a) Attractiveness of urban centers.
   (b) Labor legislation.
   (c) Desire for economic improvement.
   (d) Family relationships.
   (e) Desire to escape from restrictive and oppressive legislation and social customs.

This means an intensifying of the urban economic problem. This group of 2,689,229 town negroes presents preëminently all of the economic problems outside of those connected with landholding and agriculture.

Moreover, the city negroes include more than a third of the intelligent negroes of the United States and have a rate of illiteracy of probably less than 25 per cent. Unquestionably it is in the city that the more intricate problems of economic life and race contact are going to be fought out. On the other hand, the very presence of seven million negroes in the country districts makes the economic problem there, though simple in quality, of tremendous proportions in quantity and of added significance when we see how the country is feeding the city problems.

[1] See G. E. Haynes, The Negro at Work in New York City, pp. 13–44.

Group Economy and National Economy

Present conditions show that while the force of competition from without is of tremendous economic importance in the economic development of the negro American it is by no means final. In an isolated country the industry of the inhabitants can be supported and developed by means of a protecting tariff until the country is able to enter into international trade with fully developed resources; that a similar thing can be accomplished in a group not wholly isolated but living scattered among more numerous and richer neighbors is often forgotten. There is therefore a double question in regard to the negro's economic advance. The first question is: How far is the negro likely to gain a foothold as one of the economic factors in the nation's industrial organization? The second is: How far can the negro develop a group economy which will so break the force of race prejudice that his right and ability to enter the national economy are assured?

Race Prejudice

Race prejudice, more than any other single factor, retards the negro's development in the economic world. Outside of all question of ability an American of negro descent will find more or less concerted effort on the part of his white neighbors:

1. To keep him from all positions of authority.
2. To prevent his promotion to higher grades.
3. To exclude him entirely from certain lines of industry.
4. To prevent him from competing upon equal terms with white workingmen.
5. To prevent his buying land.
6. To prevent his defense of his economic rights and status by the ballot.

Efforts in these directions have been pressed with varying degrees of emphasis and have had varying degrees of success. Yet they must all be taken into account in any economic study of the negro American. Strikes have repeatedly occurred against negro

firemen, of whose ability there was no complaint. The white office boy, errand boy, section hand, locomotive fireman all have before them the chance to become clerk or manager or to rise in railway service. The negro has few such openings. Fully half of the trade-unions in the United States, counted by numerical strength, exclude negroes from membership and thus usually prevent them from working at the trade. Another fourth of the unions, while admitting a few black men here and there, practically exclude most of them. In only a few unions, mostly unskilled, is the negro welcomed, as in the case of the miners. In a few others the economic foothold of the negro has been good enough to prevent his expulsion, as in some of the building trades. Agitation to prevent the selling of land to negroes has for a long time been evident over large districts of the South and is still spreading. In an Atlanta campaign in the not far distant past the most telling cartoon for the influence of white voters was one which represented the house of a particular candidate in process of erection by black men. The black vote was of course disfranchised in this contest, as it is in a large part of the South.

Negro Efficiency

The last element in the economic condition of the negro is the great question of efficiency. How efficient a laborer is the negro and how efficient can he become with intelligent technical training and encouragement? That the average negro laborer to-day is less efficient than the average European laborer is certain. When, however, you take into account the negro's past industrial training, his present ignorance, and the social atmosphere in which he works it is not exactly fair to condemn him nor is it easy to say offhand what is his possible worth. Certainly increasing intelligence has made him increasingly discontented with his conditions of work; the determined withdrawing of responsibility from the negro has not increased his sense of responsibility; the systematic exploitation of black labor has decreased its steadiness and reliability. Notwithstanding all this there never were before in the world's history so many black men steadily

engaged in common and skilled labor as in the case of the American negro. Nor is there to-day a laboring force which seems capable, under judicious guidance, of more remarkable development.

Economic Groups

The negroes of America may be divided into three distinct economic groups:

1. The independents — farmers, teachers, clergymen, merchants, and professional men and women.
2. The struggling — artisans, industrial helpers, servants, and farm tenants.
3. The common laborers.

The Independents

The independents number possibly 300,000 negroes and include 225,000 farmers, 25,000 teachers, 17,000 clergymen, 15,000 merchants, and numbers of professional men and women of various sorts. They are separated sharply into a rural group of farmers and an urban group and are characterized by the fact that with few exceptions they live by an economic service done their own people. This is least true in regard to the farmers, but even in their case it is approximately true, for they, to an increasingly large degree, raise their own supplies and use their produce as a surplus crop. Usually through this alone do they come into national economy. This group is the one that feels the force of outward competition and prejudice least in its economic life and most in its spiritual life. It is the head and front of the group-economy movement, comprehends the spiritual as well as the economic leaders and is bound in the future to have a large and important development, limited only by the ability of the race to support it. However, in some respects this group is truly vulnerable. Many of the teachers, for instance, depend upon educational boards elected by white voters and many depend upon philanthropy. There has been concerted action in some of the rural districts of the South to drive out the best negro teachers, and even in the cities the way of the independent black teacher

who dares think his own thoughts is made difficult. In many cases negro teachers under the great philanthropic foundations are being continually warned that their bread and butter depend on their agreeing with present public opinion in regard to the negro. There is growing up, however, silently, almost unnoticed, a distinct negro private-school system officered, taught, attended and supported by negroes. Such private schools have to-day at least 30,000 pupils and are growing rapidly — another example of group economy as produced by the negro American.

If we regard exclusively the urban group of these independents we find that the best class of this group is fully abreast in education and morality with the great middle class of Americans. They have furnished notable names in literature, business and professional life and have repeatedly in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Washington and other great urban centers proved their right to be treated as American citizens on a plane of perfect equality with other citizens. Despite this fact and despite the fact, too, that this group is numerically small and without much inherited wealth, it has been struggling under two overwhelming burdens: First, upon this group has been laid the duty and responsibility of the care, guidance and reformation of the great stream of black rural immigrants from the South simply because they happen to be of the same race. There is no claim or vestige of a claim that this small city group of risen negroes is responsible for the degradation of the plantation, yet upon this small group the great work is placed. In the case of other immigrants to our urban centers, each race must care for its own and be responsible for its advancement, but the helpers are given all aid and sympathy in their undertakings and their hands are upheld. In the case of the negro, however, every disability, every legal, social and economic bar placed before the new immigrant must be endured by the city group on whom the immigrants have been dumped. And that group must be judged continually by the worst class of those very immigrants whose uplift is calmly shifted by the city at large.

What is the result? The talented tenth is submerged under the wave of immigration. And this is the second burden under

which the group has labored. This has been the experience in many cities of the North. In the South, however, the beating back of the leading group has not awaited the excuse of immigration. On the general ground of impudence or indolence members of this class of economic and social leaders have been repeatedly driven out of the smaller towns, while in the larger cities every possible combination and tool, from the Jim Crow laws to the secret society and the boycott, have been made time and time again to curtail the economic advantages of the members of this class and to make their daily life so intolerable that they would either leave or sink to listless acquiescence.

What then, in view of these conditions, can this town group do in self-defense? It can organize the negroes about it into a self-supplying group. This organization is actually going on. So far has it gone that in cities like Washington, Richmond and Atlanta a negro family which does not employ a negro physician is in danger of social ostracism; in the North this is extending to grocery stores and similar businesses. Whereas only a few years ago negroes transacted insurance business with white companies, to-day more than half of that business has passed to black companies.

There are persons who see nothing but the advantages of this course. But it has grave disadvantages, too. It intensifies prejudice and bitterness. For example: White insurance agents and collectors in the South, for fear of white opinion, would not take off their hats when they entered negro homes. The black companies have harped on this, published it, called attention to it and actually capitalized it into cold cash. Again, this movement narrows the activity of the best class of negroes, withdraws them from much helpful competition and contact, perverts and cheapens their ideals — in fact provincializes them in thought and deed. Yet it is to-day the only path of economic escape for the most gifted class of black men, and the development along this line is certain to be enormous.

Turning to the rural group of this independent class, the negro landowners are to be considered. Here first one runs against one of those traditional statements which pass for truth because unchallenged, namely, that it is easy for the Southern

negro to buy land. The letter of this statement is true, but the spirit of it is false. There are vast tracts of land in the South that anybody, black or white, can buy for little or nothing for the simple reason that such tracts are worth little or nothing. Eventually these lands will become valuable. But they are almost valueless to-day. For the negro, land to be of any value must have present value, for he is too poor to wait. Moreover, it must be

1. Land which he knows how to cultivate.
2. Land accessible to a market.
3. Land so situated as to afford the owner protection.

There are certain crops which the negro farmer knows how to cultivate; to these can be added certain food supplies. Gradually intensive cultivation can be taught, but this takes a long time. It is idle to compare the South with Belgium or France, for the agricultural economy of those lands is the result of centuries of training aided by a rising market and by law and order, while the present agricultural economy of the South is but a generation removed from the land murder of a slave régime. No graduate of that school knows how to make the desert blossom as the rose, and the process of teaching must be long and tedious. Meantime he must live on such crops as he knows how to cultivate. In addition to the poverty of the soil, bad roads, comparatively few railroads, and few navigable rivers throw much of this land out of usefulness. But even more important than all this: the negro farmer must seek the protection of community life with his own people and this he finds in the black belt. It is precisely in this black belt, however, that it is most difficult for him to buy land. For there it is that the capitalistic culture of cotton with a system of labor peonage is so profitable that land is high. In addition, in many of these regions it is considered bad policy to sell land to negroes because a fever of landowning "demoralizes" the labor system; so that in the densest black belt of the South the percentage of landholding among negroes is alarmingly low, a fact that has led to curious moralizing on the shiftlessness of black men.

The increase of the average size of farms in many parts of the South is illustrative of the astounding and dangerous concentration

of landholding in that section, which is itself more appalling when it is noted that many of these farms do not belong singly to single owners but are owned in groups of as high as forty or fifty by great landed proprietors. Many of these landed proprietors refuse to sell a single acre of land to black men. While there are of course large regions where black men can buy land on reasonable terms, it is usually land poorly situated as regards markets, or unhealthful in climate, or so placed as to afford the owners poor schools and lawless, overbearing white neighbors.

Add to these facts the results of the training and the character of the negro farmers. Black farmers are often discussed and criticized as though they were responsible, trained men who carelessly and viciously neglect their economic opportunity. On the contrary they are for the most part unlettered men, consciously and carefully trained to irresponsibility, to whom all concepts of modern property and saving are new and who need benevolent guardianship in their upward striving. Such guardianship they have in some cases received from former masters and in this way a considerable number of the present landowners first got their land. In the great majority of cases, however, this guardianship has consisted in deliberately taking the earnings of the negro farmer and appropriating them to the use of the landlord. The argument was this: "These negroes do not need this money. If I give it to them they 'll squander it or leave the plantation; therefore I will give them just enough to be happy and keep them with me. In any case their labor rightfully belongs to me and my fathers and was illegally taken from us." On the strength of this argument and by such practices it is a conservative estimate to say that three fourths of the stipulated wages and shares of crops which the negro has earned on the farm since emancipation has been illegally withheld from him by the white landlords, either on the plea that this was for his own good or without any plea at all.

Would this wealth have been wasted if given the laborer? Waiving the mere question of the right of any employer to withhold wages, take the purely economic question: Is the community richer by such practices? It is not. The South is poorer.

The best negroes would have squandered much at first and most would have squandered all, but this would have been more than offset by the increased responsibility and efficiency of the resulting negro landholders. Nor is this mere pious opinion. There is in the South, in the middle of the black belt, a county of some 700 square miles, Lowndes County, Alabama. It contained in 1910 28,125 negroes and 3769 whites. It was formerly the seat of the most strenuous type of American slavery — with absentee owners, living at ease in Montgomery, great stretches of plantations with 500 to 1000 slaves on each driven by overseers and riders. There was no communication with the outside world, little passing between plantations. The negroes were slothful and ignorant — even to-day, fifty years after emancipation, the illiteracy among those over ten is about 51 per cent. It would be difficult to find a place where conditions were on the whole more unfavorable to the rise of the negro. The white element was lawless, the negroes thoroughly cowed, and up until recent times the body of a dead negro did not even call for an arrest. In this county during the last twenty years there has been carried on a scheme of coöperative land-buying under the Calhoun School. It was asked for by a few negroes who could not get land; it was engineered by a negro graduate of Hampton; it was made possible by the willingness of a white landlord to sell his plantation and actively further the enterprise by advice and good will. It was capitalized by white Northerners and inspired by a New England woman. Here was every element in partnership, and the experiment began in 1892. It encountered all sorts of difficulties: the character and training of the men involved; the enmity of the surrounding white population, with a few notable exceptions; the natural suspicion of the black population, born of a régime of cheating; the low price of cotton; several years of alternate flood and drought; and the attempts of the neighboring whites to secure the homesteads through mortgages.

The twentieth annual report of the Principal of the Calhoun Colored School of Calhoun, Lowndes County, Alabama, says:

> While in 1892 the majority of the people lived in rented one-room cabins, now by far the larger number are in cottages of from two to four rooms and in

some cases as many as six to eight rooms. Many of these cottages were put up and are owned by the negro occupants on land they have bought through the school.

The improvements have come slowly and by daily, almost imperceptible, growth, but just as truly have they come to stay and to increase. . . . All the land the school had for sale near its own locality has been bought by the negroes. Several men have this year finished their payments on land and on houses, and have paid in full the mortgages they were under. Only a few men have still a debt remaining before they can really say, "These are our own homes." In several instances a man has sold a few acres of his land to lessen the debt upon the whole, and this is a double help. It reduces his financial burden and forces him into more intensive farming.

Not only from an economic point of view, but from the standpoint of the sociologist as well, the experiment here in Lowndes County has been both interesting and successful. The negroes call it the "Free Land." There are no overseers and riders roaming about whipping the workers and seducing black wives and daughters; there is an eight months' school in their midst, a pretty new church, monthly conferences, a peculiar system of self-government, and a family life of high moral tone.

What has been done in Lowndes County under the Calhoun School and the sensible guardianship of its wise leaders could be duplicated in every single black-belt county in the South. It is to be hoped that such will be done, and on that hope is based one's faith in the economic future of this black rural group.

The Struggling

The second great economic group among the negroes of America may be called "the struggling." It includes the artisans, the industrial helpers, the servants, and the farm tenants. This group is characterized as follows:

1. It is sharply divided into a city and a country group.
2. While it has a large significance in the group economy of the negro American, its overwhelming significance is for the industry of the nation as a whole.
3. Its great hindrance is the necessity of group substitution in the place of individual promotion.
4. Its greatest enemy is the organized opposition of its white fellow workmen.

The rural group of this class of negro Americans consists of farm tenants. In a large number of cases farm tenancy has been an aid to land-buying; in many cases farm tenancy has been a school of thrift and saving; in the majority of cases it was the only available system after the war when the negroes were set free without landed possessions of their own. Yet, when all this is said, it remains true that the system of farm tenancy as practiced over the larger part of the South to-day is a direct encouragement to cheating and peonage, a means of debauching labor, and a feeder of crime and vagrancy. It demands for its support a system of mortgage and contract laws and a method of administration which are a disgrace to twentieth-century civilization. For every man whom the system has helped into independence it has pushed ten back into virtual slavery. It is often claimed that honest and benevolent employers and landholders have made this system a means of uplift, development, and growth. In thousands of cases this is perfectly true; but at the same time it remains true and terribly true that any system of free labor where the returns of the laborer, the settlement of all disputes, the drawing of the contract, the determination of the rent, the expenditure of the employees or tenants, the price they pay for living, the character of the houses they live in, and their movements during and after their work are left practically to the unquestionable power of one man who owns the land and profits by the labor and who is in the exercise of his power practically unrestrained by public opinion or the courts and who has no fear of ballots in the hands of the laborers or their friends — any such system is inherently wrong. If men complain of its results being shiftlessness, listlessness, and crime, they have themselves to thank. To the man who declares that he is acting justly and treating his tenants and employees even better than they treat themselves, it is sufficient answer to say that he is an exception to the rule; that the majority of the landholders are as indifferent to the welfare of their men as are employers the world over; and that a deplorably large minority consciously oppress and cheat them. The best employer or landholder suffers, therefore, for the sins of the average.

The only salvation for these negro tenants lies in landholding, and in this the negroes have made commendable strides. In 1890 negro Americans owned 120,738 farms; in 1900 they owned 187,799 farms; in 1910 they owned about 220,000 farms, an increase of over 82 per cent. If the negroes throughout the whole of the rural South had been encouraged by such wise economic leadership as was the case in Lowndes County, Alabama, referred to above, the record would be even more encouraging.

The city group of this class of negro workers consists of perhaps 130,000 skilled artisans, 600,000 semiskilled and ordinary industrial helpers, and 500,000 servants. The servant class has lost most of its best representatives because it offers a narrower and narrower method of uplift. This is due in part to foreign competition and in part to the fact that the temptations to negro girls in domestic service are greater than in any single industry. It must be remembered that the mulatto is the product of house service in the South.

With the skilled and semiskilled negroes the industrial history has been this: Groups of negroes have been excluded entirely from certain trades and admitted to others. Unfortunately they have been able to hold their place in the second set by working for lower wages, though in certain industries they have forced themselves without resorting to the lever of low wages. This gave the trade-unions a chance to fight negroes as scabs. In some battles the unions won and so continued to exclude negroes. In other cases the negroes won and were admitted to the unions. Even in the union, however, they have been and are to-day discriminated against in many cases. In the near future the members of this class of negro workingmen are going to have the struggle of their lives, and the outlook indicates that by the fulcrum of low wages and the group economy, coupled with increasing efficiency, they will win. This means that the negro is to be admitted to the national economy only by degrading labor conditions. The alternative offered is shameful and could be easily avoided if color prejudice did not insist upon group substitution for negroes in industry. That is, under present conditions a single individual or a few men of negro

descent cannot usually gain admittance to an industry. Only when they can produce workmen enough to supply the whole industry or the particular enterprise can the black man be admitted. Then immediately this substitution is made the occasion of a change in labor conditions — lower wages, longer hours and worse treatment. It thus often happens that by refusing to work beside a single black man, the workmen in an industry suffer a general lowering of wages and working conditions. The real economic question in the South is: How long will race prejudice supply a more powerful motive to white workingmen of the South than decent wages and industrial conditions? To-day the powerful threat of negro labor is making child labor and the fourteen-hour day possible in Southern factories. How long will it be before the white workingmen of the South discover that the interests that bind them to their black brothers are greater than those that artificially separate them? The answer is easy: That discovery will not be made until the present wave of extraordinary prosperity and exploitation passes and the ordinary every-day level of economic struggle begins. If the negro can hold his own until then his development is certain.

The Common Laborers

The third distinct economic group of American negroes is the group of common laborers numbering more than two millions. A million and a quarter are farm laborers, and the remainder are common laborers of other sorts. This group includes half the breadwinners of the race, and its condition is precarious. In many of the country districts of the South the laws concerning contracts, wages and vagrancy are continually forcing the lower half of these laborers into pauperism and crime. In most of the Southern States the law concerning the breaking of a contract to work made between an ignorant farm hand and a landowner and covering a year's time is enforced to the letter, and the breaking of such a contract by the laborer is a penitentiary offense. A large proportion of the homicides in the country districts of the South in which negroes are the slayers or the

victims arise from disputes over wage settlement. So intolerable has the condition of the farm laborer of the South become, that he is running away from the country and entering the cities, there to add to the already complex problems of city life. One frequently hears the demand for immigrants to fill the places of these fleeing negro farm hands. Notwithstanding all efforts in this direction it is safe to say that no group of immigrants will stand the present contract and crop-lien system. Certain it is that they will not stand the lawlessness of the average country district of the South where every white man is a law unto himself and where no negro has any rights which the worst white man is bound to respect. So bad has this lawlessness become in some parts of the South that concerted and commendable action has been taken against white cappers and night riders, and a few peonage cases have reached the courts. These efforts, however, have but scratched the surface of the real trouble — a trouble which lies deep-seated in the social fabric of the South, a trouble which so seriously retards the whole South in its economic advancement and development.

On the whole there are four general cures for the economic submersion of this class of negro Americans. First, the classes above must be given every facility to rise so as not to bear down upon them from above. Secondly, the system of law and law courts in the South by which it is practically impossible in the country districts and improbable even in the cities for a black laborer to force justice from a white employer must be changed. Thirdly, negro children must be given common-school training. The states are not doing their duty in this respect, and the tendency in some of them is to do less.[1]

Finally, the black laborer must have a vote. It is impossible for these two million and more black workingmen to maintain themselves when thrust into modern competitive industry so long as the state allows them no voice or influence in the making of the laws or the interpretation and administration of the same.

The value of land and buildings owned by negroes in the South in 1910 was $272,992,238, an increase of nearly 90 per cent in

[1] See Atlanta University Publications, No. 16, The Common School and the Negro American.

a single decade. This does not include land owned by negro farmers and rented out. On a basis of the value of farm property the total negro wealth to-day may be estimated at $570,000,000. Yet in much of the South the holders of this wealth are as absolutely disfranchised as the worst criminal in the penitentiary. They cannot say a word as to the condition of the roads and highways which pass their property, or as to the location or supervision of their schools or the choice of teachers, or as to the selection of the government officials or the fixing of the rate of taxation.

Summary

Half the negro breadwinners of the nation are partially submerged by a bad economic system, an unjust administration of the laws, and enforced ignorance. Their future depends on common schools, justice, and the right to vote. A million and three quarters of men just above these are fighting a fierce battle for admission to the industrial ranks of the nation — for the right to work. They are handicapped by their own industrial history, which has made them often shiftless and untrustworthy; but they can, by means of wise economic leadership, be made a strong body of artisans and landowners. Three hundred thousand men stand economically at the head of the negroes, and by a peculiar self-protecting group economy are making themselves independent of prejudice and competition.

What can be said of any one of these groups of black workingmen can be said of them all. *In so far as they are given opportunity and assured justice, in so far can the world expect from them the maximum of efficiency and service.*

CHAPTER XVIII

RACE SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION

Race segregation in cities, 742.— Pressure of race prejudice in a Northern city, 752.— Problems of citizenship: the views of a Northern student of the race problem, 755.

70. RACE SEGREGATION IN CITIES[1]

Migration to the city is being followed by segregation into districts and neighborhoods within the city. In Northern cities years ago negro residents, for the most part, lived where their purses allowed. With the influx of thousands of immigrants from the South and the West Indies, both native negro and newcomer have been lumped together into distinct neighborhoods. In Southern cities domestic servants usually still live upon the premises of their employers or near by. But the growing negro business and professional classes and those engaged in other than domestic and personal service find separate sections in which to dwell. Thus the negro ghetto is growing up. New York has its "San Juan Hill" in the West Sixties, and its Harlem district of over 35,000 within about eighteen city blocks; Philadelphia has its Seventh Ward; Chicago has its State Street; Washington its North West neighborhood, and Baltimore its Druid Hill Avenue. Louisville has its Chester Street and its "Smoketown"; Atlanta its West End and Auburn Avenue. These are examples taken at random which are typical of cities, large and small, North and South.

This segregation within the city is caused by strong forces at work both within and without the body of the negroes themselves. Naturally, negroes desire to be together. The consciousness of kind in racial, family, and friendly ties binds them closer to one

[1] By G. E. Haynes. Adapted from "Conditions among Negroes in the Cities," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. XLIX, September, 1913, pp. 109–119.

another than to their white fellow-citizens. But as negroes develop in intelligence, in their standard of living and economic power, they desire better houses, better public facilities, and other conveniences not usually obtainable in the sections allotted to their less fortunate black brothers. To obtain these advantages they seek other neighborhoods, just as the European immigrants who are crowded into segregated sections of our cities seek better surroundings when they are economically able to secure them.

But a prejudiced opposition from his prospective white neighbors confronts the negro, which does not meet the immigrant who has shuffled off the coil of his Continental condition. Intelligence and culture do not often discount color of skin. Professions of democratic justice in the North, and deeds of individual kindness in the South, have not yet secured to negroes the unmolested residence in blocks with white fellow-citizens. In Northern cities where larger liberty in some avenues obtains, the home life, the church life, and much of the business and community life of negroes are carried on separately and apart from the common life of the whole people. In Southern communities, with separate street-car laws, separate places of amusement and recreation, separate hospitals and separate cemeteries, there is sharp cleavage between whites and negroes, living and dead. With separation in neighborhoods, in work, in churches, in homes, and in almost every phase of their life, there is growing up in the cities of America a distinct negro world, isolated from many of the impulses of the common life and little known and understood by the white world about it.

In the midst of this migration and segregation the negro is trying to make a threefold adjustment, each phase of which requires heroic struggle. First, there is the adjustment that all rural populations have to make in learning to live in town. Adjustment to conditions of housing, employment, amusement, etc., is necessary for all who make the change from country to city. The negro must make a second adjustment from the status of a chattel to that of free contract, from servitude to citizenship. He has to realize in his own consciousness the self-confidence of a free man. Finally, the negro must adjust himself to the white population

in the cities, and it is no exaggeration of the facts to say that generally to-day the attitude of this white population is either indifferent or prejudiced or both.

Now, the outcome of segregation in such a serious situation is first of all to create an attitude of suspicion and hostility between the best elements of the two races. Too much of the negro's knowledge of the white world comes through demagogues, commercial sharks, yellow journalism, and those "citizens" who compose the mobs, while too much of the white man's knowledge of the negro people is derived from similar sources, from domestic servants, and from superficial observation of the loafers about the streets. The best elements of both races, thus entirely removed from friendly contact, except for the chance meeting of individuals in the market place, know hardly anything of their common life and tend to become more suspicious and hostile toward each other than toward strangers from a far country.

The white community is thus frequently led to unjust judgments of negroes and negro neighborhoods, as seen in the soubriquets of "little Africa," "black bottom," "Niggertown," "Smoketown," "Buzzard's Alley," "Chinch-row," and as indicated by the fact that the individuals and families who live in these neighborhoods are all lumped by popular opinion into one class. Only here and there does a white person come to know that "there are negroes and negroes just as there are white folks and white folks." The most serious side of this attitude and opinion is, that the negro is handicapped by them in securing the very things that would help him in working out his own salvation.

In the matter of the housing conditions under which he must live, reliable investigations have shown that in several cities the "red-light" districts of white people are either in the midst of or border closely upon negro neighborhoods. Also respectable negroes often find it impossible to free themselves from disreputable and vicious neighbors of their own race, because the localities in which both may live are limited. And on top of this, negroes often pay higher rentals for accommodations similar to those of white tenants, and, frequently, improved houses are secured only when white people who occupied them have moved

on to something better. In Southern cities many of the abler classes of negroes have escaped the environment of the vicious element by creating decent neighborhoods through home ownership, and by eternal vigilance excluding saloons, gambling places or other degrading agencies. For the poorer and less thrifty element, in a number of towns and cities, loose building regulations allow greedy landlords to profit by "gun-barrel" shanties and cottages, by "arks," of which the typical pigeon-house would be a construction model, and by small houses crowded upon the same lot, often facing front street, side street, and the alley, with lack of sewerage and with other sanitary neglect, which an inspector of one Southern city described as "a crying disgrace to any civilized people."

Yet, in the face of these handicaps, thousands of homes that would do credit to any people on earth are springing up in these cities. In the absence or with the indifference of sanitary authorities, intelligent negroes are not only struggling to free themselves from disease-breeding surroundings, but they are teaching the unintelligent throng. In spite of spontaneous schemes of real-estate owners and agents to keep them out of desirable neighborhoods, in spite of the deliberate designs of city segregation ordinances such as have been passed in several cities and attempted in others, in spite of intimidation, the abler negroes in some cities are buying homes and creating decent neighborhoods in which to live. However, the larger proportion are rent payers and not owners, hence they need intelligent leadership and influential support in their efforts for improved housing and neighborhood conditions.

Three facts should be placed in the foreground in looking at the economic conditions of the segregated negro in the city. First, the masses of those who have migrated to town are unprepared to meet the exacting requirements of organized industry and the keen competition of more efficient laborers. Second, organized facilities for training these inefficient, groping seekers for something better are next to nothing in practically all the cities to which they are flocking. They therefore drift hit or miss into any occupations which are held out to their unskilled hands and untutored brains. Natural aptitude enables many to "pick up"

some skill, and these succeed in gaining a stable place. But the thousands work from day to day with that weak tenure and frequent change of place from which all unskilled, unorganized laborers suffer under modern industry and trade.

The third fact of prime importance is the prejudice of the white industrial world, which the negro must enter to earn his food, shelter, and raiment. This prejudice, when displayed by employers, is partly due to the inefficiency indicated above and the failure to discriminate between the efficient individual and this untrained throng. When exhibited by fellow wage-earners, it is partly due to fear of probable successful competitors and to the belief that the negro has "his place" fixed by a previous condition of servitude. But in the cases of many employers and employees, as shown in numbers of instances carefully investigated, the opposition to the negro in industrial pursuits is due to a whimsical dislike of any workman who is not white and especially of one who is black!

In Southern cities negro labor is the main dependence and manual labor is slow to lose the badge of servitude. But for selected occupations in Southern cities between 1890 and 1900 the rate of increase in domestic and personal service occupations among negroes was greater than that in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, and than that in trade and transportation, if draymen, hackmen, and teamsters are omitted from the last classification. The occupations of barbering, whitewashing, laundering, etc. are being absorbed by white men. The white firemen of the Georgia Railroad and Queen and Crescent Railway struck because these companies insisted upon giving negro firemen employment on desirable trains. These are indications of a possible condition when the desire of white men for places held by negroes becomes a matter of keen competition.

When it comes to the question of business experience and opportunity, the sea is still thicker with reefs and shoals. A negro who wants training and experience in some line of business that he may begin some enterprise of his own, finds, except in very rare cases, the avenues to positions in white establishments which would give him this experience closed. The deadline of his desire

is a messenger's place or a porter's job. How can a porter learn to run a mercantile establishment or a messenger understand how to manage a bank? His only alternative, inexperienced as he may be, is to risk his meager savings in venturing upon an unsounded sea. Shipwreck is necessarily the rule, and successful voyage the exception.

The successes, however, in both industry and trade are multiplying, and with substantial encouragement may change the rule to exception in the teeth of excessive handicaps. There was an increase between 1890 and 1900 of 11.6 per cent of negroes engaged in selected skilled and semi-skilled occupations in Southern cities. In 1910 the executive council of the American Federation of Labor unanimously passed a resolution inviting negroes, along with other races, into its ranks. Some of its affiliated bodies have shown active sympathy with this sentiment, and have taken steps in different cities to bring in negro workmen. All of eleven negro inventors of 1911 were city dwellers. The "Freedmen's Bank," which had branches in about thirty-five cities and towns, failed in 1873. During its existence it held deposits of over $50,000,000 of savings of the freedmen. Although the confidence of the freedmen was shaken to its foundation, they have rallied and in 1911 there were 64 private negro banks in the towns and cities of the country. Many of these are thriving institutions. There is no means of knowing the number and importance of other negro business enterprises. But judging from studies of negro business enterprises made in Philadelphia and in New York City, and from the widespread attendance upon the annual meetings of the National Negro Business League, substantial progress is triumphing over unusual obstacles.

Crowded into segregated districts; living in poor houses for the most part for which they pay high rentals; often untaught and without teachers in the requirements of town life; walled in by inefficiency, lack of training and the chance to get the training; usually restricted from well-paid occupations by the prejudice of fellow employees and frequently by the prejudice of employers; with a small income and the resulting low standard of living, the wonder is not that negroes have a uniformly higher death rate

than whites in the cities and towns, but that the mortality is as small as it is and shows signs of decrease. Forced by municipal indifferences or design in many cities to live in districts contaminated by houses and persons of ill fame; unable often to drive from their residential districts saloons and dens of vice; feeling the pressure of the less moral elements of both races, and feeling that weight of police and courts which the poor and the oppressed undoubtedly experience, the marvel is not that the criminal records outrun other elements of our urban population, but that impartial observers both North and South testify to the large law-abiding negro citizenship and to the thousands of pure individuals, Christian homes and communities.[1]

In speaking of the negro death rate in Southern cities, Frederick L. Hoffman, who cannot be charged with favorable bias, said in 1906, "without exception, the death rates are materially in excess of the corresponding death rates of the white population, but there has also been in this case a persistent decline in the general death rate from 38.1 per 1000 in 1871 to 32.9 in 1886 and 28.1 in 1904." Data from other investigations for five Southern cities (three cities not included in Mr. Hoffman's studies) show results similar to his. Figures for the death rate of negroes in Northern cities are not available.

Infant mortality, tuberculosis, and pneumonia are chief causes of the excessive death rate. Negroes in cities have an excessive number of female breadwinners, and a large proportion of these are married women. The neglect of the child, while the mother is "working out" during the long hours of domestic service, and ignorance of child nurture are the ingredients of the soothing-syrup which lulls thousands of small children into the sleep of death. Undernourishment due to low pay, bad housing, poor sanitation, ignorant fear of "night air," and lack of understanding of the dangers of infection, make negroes the prey of diseases now clearly proved preventable. With an aroused public conscience for sanitation and adequate leadership in education on matters of health these conditions are gradually removable.

[1] The writer has had to condense into a few clauses here the conclusions from a large amount of testimony and facts.

The mental and moral conditions of a people cannot be shown by case counting. Tables of criminal statistics are quite as much a commentary on the culture conditions of the whole community as upon the accused negro. The best study of crime in cities showed that down to 1903 there was a general tendency toward a decrease among negroes. Available testimony for Southern cities from the days of the Freedmen's Bureau superintendence down to the present time is decidedly in favor of the negro, even under an archaic penal system. Personal observation for fifteen years during residence in and repeated visits to a score of the larger cities and a number of the smaller ones, leave the writer with a firm conviction of decided advancement. The intelligence and character demanded of ministers, teachers, doctors, lawyers and other professional classes, the drawing of social lines based upon individual worth, the improved type of amusement and recreation frequently in evidence, and similar manifestations are a part of the barometer which clearly shows progress.

To make the view of urban situation among negroes full and clear, a number of conditions which exist in some cities but are absent in others should be included in the list. In many cities the sequel of segregation means less effective police patrol and inadequate fire protection; in others it means unpaved streets, the absence of proper sewerage and lack of other sanitary supervision and requirements.

The provision which people have for the play life of their children and themselves is nearly as important as the conditions of labor. Facilities for amusement and recreation, then, are of great importance to the negro. Wholesome amusement for all the people is just beginning to receive deserved attention. But the negro is in danger of being left out of account in the movement. Playgrounds in negro neighborhoods are so rare as to excite curiosity, and organized play is just being heard of in the negro world. There is hardly a city where unhindered access to theaters and moving picture shows exists. In a few Southern cities "negro parks" of fair attractiveness are being provided because exclusion from public parks used by whites has been the custom. Here and there enterprising negroes are starting playhouses for their own people.

In the provision for education the opportunity of the city negro is much greater than that of his rural brother. Yet, while one rejoices over this fact, candor compels consideration of the relative educational chances of the black boy and the white one. Some of the Northern cities which have no official or actual separation in public schools may be passed without scrutiny. In others and in some border cities like St. Louis, Washington, and Louisville, where there are separate schools, the standards and equipment for the negro schools compare favorably. Also a large meed of praise is due Southern communities for the great advance which has been made in public opinion and financial support for negro education. Yet, in many cities, although local pride may apply names and give glowing descriptions, those who have seen the public-school systems at close range know that they are poor compared with white schools in the same places. The bona-fide negro public high schools in the cities of the South can be counted on the fingers of the two hands. Public schools all over the land have been tardy to the call of the educational needs of the masses of the people. The "dead hand" of past aims, content, and methods of education still clasps many communities in its icy grip. It is well-nigh impossible to tell in a generalized statement the significance of this condition as applied to the city negro. The hopeful sign of the situation is the awakening of the South to the need.

The recital of the foregoing facts and conclusions would be of little consequence unless it led somewhere. The summary of the discussion presents a clear case of a large nation-wide negro migration to towns and cities, such as is taking place among the entire people; a segregation within the city of negroes into distinct neighborhoods with a decreasing contact with the larger community and its impulses; accompanying housing, economic, health, moral, educational, and other conditions which are more critical and are receiving less attention than similar problems among the white people. With such a problem before us, what should be done?

1. There should be an organized effort to acquaint the negro in the country with the desirability of his remaining where he is unless by education and training he is prepared to meet the

exactions of adjustments to city life. The roseate picture of city existence should be corrected. Simultaneously with the agricultural and other improvements of country life calculated to make its economic and social conditions more attractive should go an effort to minimize the activities of labor agents, employment-agency sharks, and the other influences that lure the rustics from home.

2. Recognizing that already more than two score cities and towns have large negro populations in the first stages of adjustment, organized effort should be made to help the negro to learn to live in town. The thoughtful white and colored people in each community will have to break the bonds of this increasing segregation and come into some form of organized community coöperation. The danger most to be feared is antagonism between the better element of both races, because they may not know and understand each other. The meeting on the high levels of mutual sympathy and coöperation will work wonders with prejudices and conventional barriers.

3. The cöoperative movement of the white and colored citizens of each locality should work out a community program for the neighborhood, housing, economic, educational, religious, and other improvement of the negro. The time is at hand when we should not let this matter longer drift.

4. Such a movement should sooner or later become conscious of the national character of the problem and the towns and cities should unite for the exchange of plans, methods, and experience and for general coöperation and for developing needed enthusiasm.

5. The negro must have more and better trained leadership in these local situations. Slowly but surely we are listening to the lesson of group psychology and common sense and are beginning to use the most direct way of influencing the customs and habits of a people by giving them teachers and exemplars of their own kind. If the negro is to be lifted to the full stature of American civilization, he must have leaders — wise, well-trained leaders — who are learned in the American ways of thinking and of doing things. And it should never be forgotten that the negro himself has valuable contributions to make to American life.

6. The final suggestion is that the white people of each locality can best foster mutual confidence and coöperation of negroes by according them impartial community justice. This means a "square deal" in industry, in education, and in other parts of the common life. It means equality of opportunity.

71. THE RESULTS OF COLOR PREJUDICE[1]

In the negro's mind color prejudice in Philadelphia is that widespread feeling of dislike for his blood which keeps him and his children out of decent employment, from certain public conveniences and amusements, from hiring houses in many sections, and, in general, from being recognized as a man. Negroes regard this prejudice as the chief cause of their present unfortunate condition. On the other hand most white people are quite unconscious of any such powerful and vindictive feeling; they regard color prejudice as the easily explicable feeling that intimate social intercourse with a lower race is not only undesirable but impracticable if our present standards of culture are to be maintained; and although they are aware that some people feel the aversion more intensely than others, they cannot see how such a feeling has much influence on the real situation, or alters the social condition of the mass of negroes.

As a matter of fact, color prejudice in this city is something between these two extreme views: it is not to-day responsible for all, or perhaps the greater part of the negro problems, or of the disabilities under which the race labors; on the other hand it is a far more powerful social force than most Philadelphians realize. The practical results of the attitude of most of the inhabitants of Philadelphia toward persons of negro descent are as follows:

1. As to getting work:

No matter how well trained a negro may be, or how fitted for work of any kind, he cannot in the ordinary course of competition hope to be much more than a menial servant.

[1] By W. E. B. DuBois. From *The Philadelphia Negro*, pp. 322–325. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1899.

He cannot get clerical or supervisory work to do save in exceptional cases.

He cannot teach save in a few of the remaining negro schools.

He cannot become a mechanic except for small transient jobs, and cannot join a trades union.

A negro woman has but three careers open to her in this city: domestic service, sewing, or married life.

2. As to keeping work:

The negro suffers in competition more severely than white men.

Change in fashion is causing him to be replaced by whites in the better paid positions of domestic service.

Whim and accident will cause him to lose a hard-earned place more quickly than the same things would affect a white man.

Being few in number compared with the whites the crime or carelessness of a few of his race is easily imputed to all, and the reputation of the good, industrious, and reliable suffer thereby.

Because negro workmen may not often work side by side with white workmen, the individual black workman is rated not by his own efficiency, but by the efficiency of a whole group of black fellow workmen which may often be low.

Because of these difficulties, which virtually increase competition in his case, he is forced to take lower wages for the same work than white workmen.

3. As to entering new lines of work:

Men are used to seeing negroes in inferior positions; when, therefore, by any chance a negro gets in a better position, most men immediately conclude that he is not fitted for it, even before he has a chance to show his fitness.

If, therefore, he set up a store, men will not patronize him.

If he gain a position in the commercial world, men will quietly secure his dismissal or see that a white man succeeds him.

4. As to his expenditure:

The comparative smallness of the patronage of the negro, and the dislike of other customers, make it usual to increase the charges or difficulties in certain directions in which a negro must spend money.

He must pay more house rent for worse houses than most white people pay.

He is sometimes liable to insult or reluctant service in some restaurants, hotels, and stores, at public resorts, theaters, and places of recreation, and at nearly all barber shops.

5. As to his children:

The negro finds it extremely difficult to rear children in such an atmosphere and not have them either cringing or impudent: if he impresses upon them patience with their lot, they may grow up satisfied with their condition; if he inspires them with ambition to rise, they may grow to despise their own people, hate the whites, and become embittered with the world.

His children are discriminated against, often in public schools.

They are advised when seeking employment to become waiters and maids.

They are liable to species of insult and temptation peculiarly trying to children.

6. As to social intercourse:

In all walks of life the negro is liable to meet some objection to his presence or some discourteous treatment; and the ties of friendship or memory seldom are strong enough to hold across the color line.

If an invitation is issued to the public for any occasion, the negro can never know whether he would be welcomed or not; if he goes he is liable to have his feelings hurt and get into unpleasant altercation; if he stays away he is blamed for indifference.

If he meet a lifelong white friend on the street, he is in a dilemma; if he does not greet the friend he is put down as boorish and impolite; if he does greet the friend he is liable to be flatly snubbed.

If by chance he is introduced to a white woman or man, he expects to be ignored on the next meeting, and usually is.

White friends may call on him, but he is scarcely expected to call on them, save for strictly business matters.

If he gain the affections of a white woman and marry her he may invariably expect that slurs will be thrown on her reputation and on his, and that both his and her race will shun their company.

When he dies he cannot be buried beside white corpses. . . .

Any one of these things happening now and then would not be remarkable or call for especial comment; but when one group of people suffer all these little differences of treatment and discriminations and insults continually, the result is either discouragement, or bitterness, or oversensitiveness, or recklessness. And a people feeling thus cannot do their best.

72. PROBLEMS OF CITIZENSHIP[1]

The negro not only continues to be a hair-trigger issue in at least ten states of the Union, but the very fact that so many are now prepared for citizenship and are pressing forward to use with intelligence the rights conferred upon them by the Fifteenth Amendment, gives rise to new and very serious problems. The status of the negro in the democracy still remains unsettled. Thousands of Americans believe earnestly that no negro, no matter how intelligent, should be allowed to share in the government, and these not only wish to throw down the legal barrier imposed by the Fifteenth Amendment, but do their best by state legislation, or by artifice at the primaries or at elections, to nullify the legal rights of the negro. Other thousands of Americans believe that all negroes, like all white men, should have the full rights of citizenship. And between these two extremes exists every shade of opinion. As for the negroes themselves, all of them, no matter what diversities of opinion there may be among them as to methods of progress, are pressing steadily forward to become real participants in government; and in Northern cities they have already become an element decidedly to be reckoned with. In certain Northern states like Ohio and Indiana the negro vote is increasingly important.

Our government is one of the freest in the world in the matter of suffrage; and yet we bar out, in most states, all women; we bar out Mongolians, no matter how intelligent; we bar out Indians and all foreigners who have not passed through a certain

[1] By Ray Stannard Baker. Adapted from the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. XLIX (September, 1913), pp. 94–104.

probationary stage and have not acquired a certain small amount of education. We also declare — for an arbitrary limit must be placed somewhere — that no person under twenty-one years may exercise the right to vote, although some boys of eighteen are to-day as well equipped to pass intelligently upon public questions as many grown men. We even place adult white men on probation until they have resided for a certain length of time, often as much as two years, in the state or town where they wish to cast their ballots. Our registration and ballot laws eliminate hundreds of thousands of voters, and finally we bar out everywhere the defective and criminal classes of our population. We do not realize, sometimes, I think, how limited the franchise really is, even in America. We forget that out of over 90,000,000 people in the United States only 15,000,000 cast their votes for President in 1912 — or about one in every six.

Thus the practice of a restricted suffrage is very deeply implanted in our system of government. It is everywhere recognized that even in a democracy lines must be drawn, and that the ballot, the precious instrument of the government, must be hedged about with stringent regulations. The question is, Where shall these lines be drawn in order that the best interests, not of any particular class, but of the whole nation shall be served.

No one can say dogmatically how far democracy should go in distributing the enormously important powers of active government. Democracy is not a dogma; it is not even a dogma of free suffrage. Democracy is a life, a spirit, a growth. The primal necessity of any sort of government, democratic or otherwise, whether it be more unjust or less unjust toward special groups of its citizens, is to exist, to be a going concern, to maintain upon the whole a stable administration of affairs. If a democracy cannot provide such stability, then the people go back to some form of oligarchy. Having secured a fair measure of stability, a democracy proceeds with caution toward the extension of the suffrage to more and more people — trying foreigners, trying women, trying negroes.

As the weight of responsibility upon the popular vote is increased, it becomes more and more important that the ballot

should be jealously guarded and honestly exercised. In the last few years, therefore, a series of extraordinary new precautions have been adopted: the Australian ballot, more stringent registration systems, the stricter enforcement of naturalization laws to prevent the voting of crowds of unprepared foreigners, and the imposition by several states, rightly or wrongly, of educational or property tests. It becomes a more and more serious matter every year to be an American citizen, more of an honor, more of a duty.

At the close of the Civil War, in a time of intense idealistic emotion, some three quarters of a million of negroes, the mass of them densely ignorant and just out of slavery, with the iron of slavery still in their souls, were suddenly given the political rights of free citizens. A great many people, and not in the South alone, thought then, and still think, that it was a mistake to bestow the high powers and privileges of a wholly unrestricted ballot — a ballot which is the symbol of intelligent self-government — upon the negro. Other people believe that it was an unescapable concomitant of the revolution; it was itself a revolution, not a growth, and like every other revolution it had its fearful reaction. Revolutions, indeed, change names but they do not at once change human relationships. Mankind is reconstructed not by proclamations, or legislation, or military occupation, but by time, growth, religion, thought. At that time, then, the nation drove down the stakes of its idealism in government far beyond the point which it was able to reach in the humdrum activities of everyday existence. A reaction was inevitable; it was inevitable and perfectly natural that there should be a widespread questioning as to whether all negroes, or indeed any negroes, should properly be admitted to full political fellowship. That questioning continues to this day.

Now, the essential principle established by this Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution was not that all negroes should necessarily be given an unrestricted ballot; but that the right to vote should not be denied or abridged "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This amendment wiped out the color line in politics so far as any written law could possibly do it.

Let me here express my profound conviction that the principle of political equality then laid down is a sound, valid, and absolutely essential principle of any free government; that the restriction upon the ballot, when necessary, should be made to apply equally to white and colored citizens, and that the Fifteenth Amendment ought not to be repealed. Moreover, the principle of political equality is more firmly established to-day than it was forty years ago, when it had only Northern bayonets behind it. For now, however short the practice falls of reaching the legal standard, the principle is woven into the warp and woof of Southern life and Southern legislation. Not a few Southern white leaders of thought are to-day convinced, not forced believers in the principle, and that is a great omen.

Let me, then, lay down this general proposition:

Nowhere in the South to-day is the negro cut off legally, as a negro, from the ballot. Legally, to-day, any negro who can meet the comparatively slight requirements as to education, or property, or both, can cast his ballot on a basis of equality with the white man. I have emphasized the word legally, for I know the practical difficulties which confront the negro voter in many parts of the South. In the enforcement of the law the legislative ideal is still pegged out far beyond the actual performance.

If we are interested in the problem of democracy, we have two courses open to us. We may think the laws are unjust to the negro, and incidentally to the poor white man as well. If we do we have a perfect right to agitate for a change, and we can do much to disclose, without heat, the actual facts regarding the complicated and vexatious legislative situation in the South, as regards the suffrage. Every change in the legislation upon this subject should, indeed, be jealously watched that the principle of political equality between the races be not legally curtailed. The doctrine laid down in the Fifteenth Amendment must, at any hazard, be maintained.

But I think our emphasis at present should be laid upon the practical rather than upon the legal aspect of the problem. I think we should take advantage of the widely prevalent feeling in the South that the question of suffrage has been settled,

legally, for some time to come; of the desire on the part of many Southern people, both white and colored, to turn aside from the discussion of the political status of the negro. In short, let us for the time being accept the laws as they are, and build upward from that point. Let us turn our attention to the practical task of finding out why it is that the laws we already have are not enforced, and how best to secure an honest vote for every negro and equally for every "poor white" man (and there are thousands of him) who is able to meet the requirements, but who for one reason or another does not or cannot exercise his rights.

Taking up this side of the question we shall discover two entirely distinct difficulties:

First, we shall find many negroes, and indeed hundreds of thousands of white men as well, who might vote, but who through ignorance, or the inability or unwillingness to pay poll taxes, or from mere lack of interest, disfranchise themselves.

The second difficulty is peculiar to the negro. It consists in open or concealed intimidation on the part of the white men who control the election machinery. In many places in the South to-day no negro, no matter how well qualified, would dare to present himself for registration. When he does he is often rejected for some trivial or illegal reason.

Thus we have to meet a vast amount of apathy and ignorance and poverty on the one hand, and the threat of intimidation on the other.

First of all, for it is the chief injustice as between white and colored men with which we have to deal — an injustice which the law already makes punishable — how shall we meet the matter of intimidation? As I have said already the door of the suffrage is everywhere legally open to the negro, but a certain sort of Southerner bars the passageway. He stands there and, law or no law, keeps out many negroes who might vote, and he represents in most parts of the South the prevailing public opinion.

Shall we meet this situation by force? What force is available? Shall the North go down and fight the South? But the North to-day has no feeling but friendship for the South. More than that, and I say it with all seriousness, because it represents

what I have heard wherever I have gone in the North to make inquiries regarding the negro problem, the North, wrongly or rightly, is to-day more than half convinced that the South is right in imposing some measure of limitation upon the franchise. There is now, in short, no disposition anywhere in the North to interfere in the internal affairs of the South — not even with the force of public opinion.

What other force, then, is to be invoked? Shall the negro revolt? Shall he migrate? The very asking of these questions suggests the inevitable reply.

What other alternatives are there?

Accepting the laws as they are, then, there are two methods of procedure, neither sensational, nor exciting.

The underlying causes of the trouble in the country being plainly ignorance and prejudice, we must meet ignorance and prejudice with their antidotes: education and association.

Every effort should be made to extend free education both among negroes and white people. A great extension of education is now going forward in the South. The negro is not by any means getting his full share (indeed, he is getting shamefully less than his share), but as certainly as sunshine makes things grow, education in the South will produce tolerance. That there is already such a growing tolerance no one who has talked with the leading white men of the South can doubt. The old fire-eating, negro-baiting leaders of the Tillman-Vardaman type are passing away: a far better and broader group is coming into power.

In his last book Mr. Edgar Gardner Murphy, of Alabama, expresses this new point of view when he says:

> There is no question here as to the unrestricted admission (to the ballot) of the great masses of our ignorant and semi-ignorant blacks. I know no advocate of such an admission. But the question is as to whether the individuals of the race, upon conditions of restriction legally imposed and fairly administered, shall be admitted to an adequate and increasing representation in the electorate. And as that question is more seriously and more generally considered, many of the leading publicists of the South, I am glad to say, are quietly resolved that the answer shall be in the affirmative.

From an able Southern white man, a resident of New Orleans, I received only recently a letter containing these words:

> I believe we have reached the bottom, and a sort of quiescent period. I think it most likely that from now on there will be a gradual increase in the negro vote. And I honestly believe that the less said about it, the surer the increase will be.

Education, and by education I mean education of all sorts, industrial, professional, classical, in accordance with each man's talents will not only produce breadth and tolerance, but it will help to cure the apathy which now keeps so many thousands of both white men and negroes from the polls: for it will show them that it is necessary for every man to exercise all the political rights within his reach. For if he fails voluntarily to take advantage of the rights he already has, how shall he acquire more rights?

As ignorance must be met by education, so prejudice must be met with its antidote, which is association. Democracy does not consist in mere voting, but in association, the spirit of common effort, of which the ballot is a visible expression. When we come to know one another we soon find that the points of likeness are much more numerous than the points of difference. And this human association for the common good, which is democracy, is difficult to bring about anywhere, whether among different classes of white people, or between white people and negroes.

After the Atlanta riot I attended a number of conferences between leading white men and leading colored men. It is true these meetings bore evidence of awkwardness and embarrassment, for they were among the first of that sort to take place in the South, but they were none the less valuable. A white man told me after one of these meetings: "I did not know there were any such sensible negroes in the South." And a negro told me that it was the first time in his life that he had ever heard a Southern white man reason in a friendly manner with a negro concerning their common difficulties.

More and more these associations of white and colored men, at certain points of contact, must and will come about. Already,

in connection with various educational and business projects in the South, white men and colored men meet on common grounds, and the way has been opened to a wider mutual understanding. And it is common enough now, where it was unheard of a few years ago, for both white men and negroes to speak from the same platform in the South. I have attended a number of such meetings. Thus slowly, awkwardly at first — for two centuries of prejudice are not easily overcome — the white man and negro are coming to know each other, not as master and servant, but as co-workers. These things cannot be forced.

One reason why the white man and the negro have not got together more rapidly in the South than they have, is because they have tried always to meet at the sorest points. When sensible people, who must live together whether or no, find that there are points at which they cannot agree, it is the part of wisdom to avoid those points, and to meet upon other and common interests. Upon no other terms, indeed, can a democracy exist, for in no imaginable future state will individuals cease to disagree with one another upon something less than half of all the problems of life.

"Here we all live together in a great country," say the apostles of this view, "let us all get together and develop it. Let the negro do his best to educate himself, to own his own land, and to buy and sell with the white people in the fairest possible way."

Now, buying and selling, land ownership, and common material pursuits may not be the highest points of contact between man and man, but they are real points, and they help to give men an idea of the worth of their fellows, white or black. How many times, in the South, I have heard a white man speak in high admiration of some negro farmer who had been successful, or of some negro blacksmith who was a worthy citizen, or some negro doctor who was a leader of his race.

It is curious once a man (any man, white or black) learns to do his job well how he finds himself in a democratic relationship with other men. I remember asking a prominent white citizen of a town in central Georgia if he knew anything about Tuskegee. He said:

Yes; I had rather a curious experience last fall. I was building a hotel and could n't get anyone to do the plastering as I wanted it done. One day I saw two negro plasterers at work in a new house that a friend of mine was building. I watched them for an hour. They seemed to know their trade. I invited them to come over and see me. They came, took the contract for my work, hired a white man to carry mortar at a dollar a day, and when they got through it was the best job of plastering in town. I found that they had learned their trade at Tuskegee. They averaged four dollars a day each in wages. We tried to get them to locate in our town, but they went back to school.

Out of such crude points of contact will grow an ever finer and finer spirit of association and of common and friendly knowledge. And that will lead inevitably to an extension upon the soundest possible basis of negro franchise. I know cases where white men have urged intelligent negroes to cast their ballots, and have stood sponsor for them out of genuine respect. To-day, negroes who vote in the South are, as a class, men of substance and intelligence, fully equal to the tasks of citizenship.

Thus I have confidence not only in the sense of the white man in the South but in the innate capability of the negro — and that once these two really come to know each other, not at sore points of contact, nor as mere master and servant, but as workers for a common country, the question of suffrage will gradually solve itself in the interest of true democracy.

Another influence also will tend to change the status of the negro as a voter. That is the pending break-up of the political solidarity of the South. All the signs point to a political realignment upon new issues in this country, both South and North. Old party names may even pass away. And that break-up, with the attendant struggle for votes, is certain to bring into politics thousands of negroes and white men now disfranchised. The result of a real division on live issues has been shown in many local contests in the South, as in the fight against the saloons, when every qualified negro voter, and every negro who could qualify, was eagerly pushed forward by one side or the other. With such a division on new issues the negro will tend to exercise more and more political power, dividing not on the color line, but on the principles at stake. Still another influence which is helping to solve the problem is the wider diffusion of negroes

throughout the country. The proportion of negroes to the whites in most of the Southern States is decreasing, thereby relieving the fear of negro domination, whereas negroes are increasing largely in Northern communities, where they take their place in politics not as an indigestible mass, but divide along party lines even more readily than some of the foreign-American groups in our population. A study of the negro vote in November, 1912, would show that many negroes broke their historic allegiance with the Republican party and voted for Roosevelt, while some even cast their votes for Wilson; and in local elections the division is still more marked.

Thus in spite of the difficulties which now confront the negro, I cannot help looking upon the situation with a spirit of optimism. I think sometimes we are tempted to set a higher value upon the ritual of a belief than upon the spirit which underlies it. The ballot is not democracy; it is merely the symbol or ritual of democracy, and it may be full of passionate social significance, or it may be a mere empty and dangerous formalism. What we should look to, then, primarily, is not the shadow, but the substance of democracy in this country. Nor must we look for results too swiftly; our progress toward democracy is slow of growth and needs to be cultivated with patience and watered with faith.

CHAPTER XIX

THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO

Booker T. Washington's Atlanta Exposition address, 765. — Industrial education and the public schools, 769. — Argument for the higher education of the negro, 774. — A brief for the higher education of the negro, 777. — The problem from an ethnologist's point of view, 784.

73. ATLANTA EXPOSITION ADDRESS[1]

One third of the population of the South is of the negro race. No enterprise seeking the material, civil, or moral welfare of this section can disregard this element of our population and reach the highest success. I but convey to you, Mr. President and Directors, the sentiment of the masses of my race when I say that in no way have the value and manhood of the American negro been more fittingly and generously recognized than by the managers of this magnificent Exposition at every stage of its progress. It is a recognition that will do more to cement the friendship of the two races than any occurrence since the dawn of our freedom.

Not only this, but the opportunity here afforded will awaken among us a new era of industrial progress. Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the state legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention or stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden.

[1] By Booker T. Washington. From Up from Slavery, pp. 218–225. Doubleday, Page & Company, New York, 1901. This Address, delivered September 18, 1895, at the opening of the Cotton States and International Exposition at Atlanta, Georgia, was instantly hailed all over the country as the expression of a new and workable standard of relations between blacks and whites in the South.

A ship lost at sea for many days suddenly sighted a friendly vessel. From the mast of the unfortunate vessel was seen a signal, "Water, water; we die of thirst!" The answer from the friendly vessel at once came back, "Cast down your bucket where you are." A second time the signal, "Water, water; send us water!" ran up from the distressed vessel, and was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." And a third and fourth signal for water was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." The captain of the distressed vessel, at last heeding the injunction, cast down his bucket, and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River. To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man, who is their next-door neighbor, I would say: "Cast down your bucket where you are" — cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.

Cast it down in agriculture, in mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this Exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity

of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the eight millions of negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and to education of head, hand, and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories. While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen. As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

There is no defense or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. If anywhere there are efforts tending to curtail the fullest growth of the negro, let these efforts be turned into stimulating, encouraging, and making him the most useful and intelligent citizen. Effort or means so invested will pay a thousand per cent interest. These efforts will be twice blessed — "blessing him that gives and him that takes."

There is no escape through law of man or God from the inevitable: —

> The laws of changeless justice bind
> Oppressor with oppressed;
> And close as sin and suffering joined
> We march to fate abreast.

Nearly sixteen millions of hands will aid you in pulling the load upward, or they will pull against you the load downward. We shall constitute one third and more of the ignorance and crime of the South, or one third its intelligence and progress; we shall contribute one third to the business and industrial prosperity of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death, stagnating, depressing, retarding every effort to advance the body politic.

Gentlemen of the Exposition, as we present to you our humble effort at an exhibition of our progress, you must not expect overmuch. Starting thirty years ago with ownership here and there in a few quilts and pumpkins and chickens (gathered from miscellaneous sources), remember the path that has led from these to the inventions and production of agricultural implements, buggies, steam engines, newspapers, books, statuary, carving, paintings, the management of drug stores and banks, has not been trodden without contact with thorns and thistles. While we take pride in what we exhibit as a result of our independent efforts, we do not for a moment forget that our part in this exhibition would fall far short of your expectations but for the constant help that has come to our educational life, not only from the Southern states, but especially from Northern philanthropists, who have made their gifts a constant stream of blessing and encouragement.

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house.

In conclusion, may I repeat that nothing in thirty years has given us more hope and encouragement, and drawn us so near to you of the white race, as this opportunity offered by the Exposition; and here bending, as it were, over the altar that represents the results of the struggles of your race and mine, both starting practically empty-handed three decades ago, I pledge that in your effort to work out the great and intricate problem which God has laid at the doors of the South, you shall have at all times the patient, sympathetic help of my race; only let this be constantly in mind, that, while from representations in these buildings of the product of field, of forest, of mine, of factory, letters, and art, much good will come, yet far above and beyond material benefits will be that higher good, that, let us pray God, will come, in a blotting out of sectional differences and racial animosities and suspicions, in a determination to administer absolute justice, in a willing obedience among all classes to the mandates of law. This, this, coupled with our material prosperity, will bring into our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth.

74. INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS[1]

If I were asked what I believe to be the greatest advance which negro education has made since emancipation I should say that it had been in two directions: first, the change which has taken place, among the masses of the negro people, as to what education really is and, second, the change that has taken place, among the masses of the white people, in the South, toward negro education itself.

I can perhaps make clear what I mean by a little explanation. The negro learned in slavery to work but he did not learn to respect labor. On the contrary, the negro was constantly taught, directly and indirectly during slavery times, that labor was a curse. It was the curse of Canaan, he was told, that condemned the black man to be for all time the slave and servant of the white man. It was the curse of Canaan that made him for all

[1] By Booker T. Washington. *Adapted from the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. XLIX (September, 1913), pp. 226–232.

time "a hewer of wood and drawer of water." The consequence of this teaching was that, when emancipation came, the negro thought freedom must, in some way, mean freedom from labor.

The negro had also gained in slavery some general notions in regard to education. He observed that the people who had education for the most part belonged to the aristocracy, to the master class, while the people who had little or no education were usually of the class known as "poor whites." In this way education became associated, in his mind, with leisure, with luxury, and freedom from the drudgery of work with the hands.

Another thing that the negro learned in slavery about education was that it was something that was denied to the man who was a slave. Naturally, as soon as freedom came, he was in a great hurry to get education as soon as possible. He wanted education more than he wanted land or property or anything else, except, perhaps, public office. Although the negro had no very definite notion in regard to education, he was pretty sure that, whatever else it might be, it had nothing to do with work, especially work with the hands.

In order to make it possible to put negro education on a sound and rational basis, it has been necessary to change the opinion of the masses of the negro people in regard to education and labor. It has been necessary to make them see that education which did not, directly or indirectly, connect itself with the practical daily interests of daily life could hardly be called education. It has been necessary to make the masses of the negroes see and realize the necessity and importance of applying what they learned in school to the common and ordinary things of life; to see that education, far from being a means of escaping labor, is a means of raising up and dignifying labor and thus, indirectly a means of raising up and dignifying the common and ordinary man. It has been necessary to teach the masses of the people that the way to build up a race is to begin at the bottom and not at the top, to lift the man farthest down, and thus raise the whole structure of society above him.

On the other hand, it has been necessary to demonstrate to the white man in the South that education does not "spoil" the

negro, as it had been so often predicted that it would. It was necessary to make him actually see that education makes the negro not an idler or spendthrift, but a more industrious, thrifty, law-abiding, and useful citizen than he otherwise would be.

As there never was any hope of educating the great mass of the negroes in the South outside of the public schools, so there was no hope of a thoroughly efficient school system until the Southern white man was convinced that negro education was of some real value, not only to the negro himself, but also to the community.

The task of changing the popular opinion of both races in the South in regard to the value and meaning of negro education, has fallen very largely to the industrial schools. The first great task of these schools has been to teach the masses of the negro people that every form of labor is honorable and that every form of idleness is disgraceful. The second great task has been to prove to the masses of the Southern people, by actual living examples, that money invested in negro education pays, when that education is real and not a sham.

As far as the masses of the negro people are concerned, this task is pretty nearly completed. There was a time at Tuskegee when parents objected to their children doing work with the hands in connection with their school work. They said they wanted their children to study books, and the more books and the bigger the books, the better they were satisfied. At the present time at Tuskegee, the work in the shops and on the farm is just as interesting, just as much sought after by pupils, as work in the classroom. So great has been the change in the attitude of the masses of the people in this regard that a school which does not advertise some sort of industrial training finds it difficult to get students. At the present time almost every negro school teaches some sort of industry and the number of schools which advertise themselves as industrial institutes is constantly increasing. There are, for example, not fewer than four hundred little schools in the South to day which call themselves industrial schools, although, in many instances, these schools are doing little, if anything, more in the direction of industrial training than the public schools.

But if there has been a change in the opinion of the masses of the colored people in regard to education, there has been an equally great change in the attitude of the Southern white people in regard to the education of the negro.

There never was a time when the thoughtful, sober people in the South did not perceive the necessity of educating the negro, not merely for the sake of the negro himself, but for the sake of the South. Some of the strongest and wisest friends of negro education have been men who were born or lived in the South. The Hon. William H. Rufner, who inaugurated the first public-school system in Virginia and was state superintendent of education in that state from 1870 to 1882, made a strong and statesmanlike plea for the education of all the people, black and white, in his first annual report. From that day to this there have always been wise and courageous men in the South who were ready at all times to go out of their way to urge the necessity of giving the negro equal opportunities with the white man, not only for education but also for advancement in every other direction.

On the other hand it cannot be denied that the mass of Southern white people have been until recent years either positively hostile or else indifferent toward negro education.

No one who studied the trend of opinion in the South can fail to realize that there has been a great change in the attitude of the white people of the South in regard to the education of the negro within, say, the last five years. There is every evidence, at the present time, that the Southern people have determined to take up in a serious way the education of the negro, and the black man is to have better opportunities, not only in the matter of education, but also in every other direction.

One indication of this changed attitude is the fact that all through the South state and county superintendents are beginning to take a more real and active interest in the progress of the negro schools. Five Southern States have already appointed assistant state superintendents of schools whose sole duty will be to look after the interest of the negro schools. In many instances negro supervisors have been appointed to assist the

county superintendents in the work of improving the negro schools. Usually these negro supervisors have been supported, in whole or in part, by funds furnished by the Anna T. Jeanes Fund for the improvement of the colored rural schools.

What, you may ask, has brought about this change of sentiment of the average white man toward the colored school?

One thing that has done as much as anything else to bring about the change has been the demonstration farming movement. Demonstration farming has taught the average farmer the importance of applying science and skill to the work of the farm and he has argued that, what this sort of education has done for the white farmer it will also do for the colored farmer. He has foreseen, also, that the education which makes the negro a better farmer will make the South a richer community. That is one reason that the average Southern white man has come to take an interest in negro education.

Another thing that has helped to bring about this change is that the Southern white man has seen for himself the effects of negro education upon the negro.

There is no way in which industrial schools, like Hampton and Tuskegee, have done more to change the sentiment of both races in regard to education and so prepare the way for the building up of a real and efficient system of negro education in the South than in the character of the graduates that have gone out from these schools and from others, to work in the rural communities as teachers and leaders, and to illustrate in their own lives the practical value of the education they have obtained.

In referring in this way to the manner in which the industrial schools have helped to change sentiment and create sympathy for negro education among the masses of the white people in the South I do not intend to say that the graduates of other institutions, with different aims, have not done their part. I merely intend to emphasize the fact that the industrial schools have made it part of their program to connect the work in the schools with the practical interests of the people about them, and that they have everywhere sought to emphasize the fact that the function of the school is not merely to teach a certain number of

classroom studies to a certain number of students, but to use the school as a means for building up and improving the moral and material life of the communities in which these schools are located.

75. ON THE TRAINING OF BLACK MEN[1]

The dangerously clear logic of the negro's position will more and more loudly assert itself in that day when increasing wealth and more intricate social organization preclude the South from being, as it so largely is, simply an armed camp for intimidating black folk. Such waste of energy cannot be spared if the South is to catch up with civilization. And as the black third of the land grows in thrift and skill, unless skillfully guided in its larger philosophy, it must more and more brood over the red past and the creeping, crooked present, until it grasps a gospel of revolt and revenge and throws its new-found energies athwart the current of advance. Even to-day the masses of the negroes see all too clearly the anomalies of their position and the moral crookedness of yours. You may marshal strong indictments against them, but their counter-cries, lacking though they be in formal logic, have burning truths within them which you may not wholly ignore, O Southern Gentlemen! If you deplore their presence here, they ask, Who brought us? When you cry, Deliver us from the vision of intermarriage, they answer that legal marriage is infinitely better than systematic concubinage and prostitution. And if in just fury you accuse their vagabonds of violating women, they also in fury quite as just may reply: The rape which your gentlemen have done against helpless black women in defiance of your own laws is written on the foreheads of two millions of mulattoes, and written in ineffaceable blood. And finally, when you fasten crime upon this race as its peculiar trait, they answer that slavery was the arch-crime, and lynching and lawlessness its twin abortion; that color and race are not crimes, and yet they it is which in this land receive most unceasing condemnation, North, East, South, and West.

[1] By W. E. B. DuBois. From The Souls of Black Folk, 8th edition, pp. 105–109. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1909.

I will not say such arguments are wholly justified, — I will not insist that there is no other side to the shield; but I do say that of the nine millions of negroes in this nation, there is scarcely one out of the cradle to whom these arguments do not daily present themselves in the guise of terrible truth. I insist that the question of the future is how best to keep those millions from brooding over the wrongs of the past and the difficulties of the present, so that all their energies may be bent toward a cheerful striving and coöperation with their white neighbors toward a larger, juster, and fuller future. That one wise method of doing this lies in the closer knitting of the negro to the great industrial possibilities of the South is a great truth. And this the common schools and the manual-training and trade schools are working to accomplish. But these alone are not enough. The foundations of knowledge in this race, as in others, must be sunk deep in the college and university if we would build a solid, permanent structure. Internal problems of social advance must inevitably come, — problems of work and wages, of families and homes, of morals and the true valuing of the things of life; and all these and other inevitable problems of civilization the negro must meet and solve largely for himself, by reason of his isolation; and can there be any possible solution other than by study and thought and an appeal to the rich experience of the past? Is there not, with such a group, and in such a crisis, infinitely more danger to be apprehended from half-trained minds and shallow thinking than from over education and over refinement? Surely we have wit enough to found a negro college so manned and equipped as to steer successfully between the *dilettante* and the fool. We shall hardly induce black men to believe that if their stomachs be full, it matters little about their brains. They already perceive that the paths of peace winding between honest toil and dignified manhood call for the guidance of skilled thinkers, the loving, reverent comradeship between the black lowly and the black men emancipated by training and culture.

The function of the negro college, then, is clear: it must maintain the standards of popular education, it must seek the social regeneration of the negro, and it must help in the solution

of problems of race contact and coöperation. And finally, beyond all this, it must develop men. Above our modern socialism, and out of the worship of the mass, must persist and evolve that higher individualism which the centers of culture protect; there must come a loftier respect for the sovereign human soul that seeks to know itself and the world about it; that seeks a freedom of expansion and self-development; that will love and hate and labor in its own way, untrammeled alike by old and new. Such souls aforetime have inspired and guided worlds, and if we be not wholly bewitched by our Rhine-gold, they shall again. Herein the longing of black men must have respect: the rich and bitter depth of their experience, the unknown treasures of their inner life, the strange rendings of nature that they have seen, may give the world new points of view and make their loving, living, and doing precious to all human hearts. And to themselves in these days that try their souls, the chance to soar in the dim blue air above the smoke is to their finer spirits boon and guerdon for what they lose on earth for being black.

I sit with Shakespeare and he winces not. Across the color line I move arm in arm with Balzac and Dumas, where smiling men and welcoming women glide in gilded halls. From out of the caves of evening that swing between the strong-limbed earth and the tracery of the stars, I summon Aristotle and Aurelius and what soul I will, and they come all graciously with no scorn nor condescension. So, wed with Truth, I dwell above the Veil. Is this the life you grudge us, O knightly America? Is this the life you long to change to the dull red hideousness of Georgia? Are you so afraid lest peering from this high Pisgah, between Philistine and Amalekite, we see the Promised Land?

76. A BRIEF FOR THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO[1]

Ridicule and contempt have characterized the habitual attitude of the American mind toward the negro's higher strivings. The African was brought to this country for the purpose of performing manual and menial labor. His bodily powers alone were required to accomplish this industrial mission. No more account was taken of his higher susceptibilities than of the mental and moral faculties of the lower animals. As the late Mr. Price used to say, the white man saw in the negro's mind only what was apparent in his face, "darkness there, and nothing more." His usefulness in the world is still measured by physical faculties rather than by qualities of mind and soul. The merciless proposition of Carlyle, that the negro is useful to God's creation only as a servant, still finds wide acceptance. It is so natural to base a theory upon a long-established practice that one no longer wonders at the prevalence of this belief. The negro has sustained servile relation to the Caucasian for so long a time that it is as easy as it is agreeable to Caucasian pride to conclude that servitude is his ordained place in society. When it was first proposed to furnish means for the higher development of this race, some, who assumed the wisdom of their day and generation, entertained the proposition with a sneer; others with a smile.

As the higher susceptibilities of the negro were not wanted, their existence was at one time denied. The eternal inferiority of the race was assumed as a part of the cosmic order of things. History, literature, science, speculative conjecture, and even Holy Writ were ransacked for evidence and argument to support the ruling dogma. While the slaveholder had proved beyond all possibility of doubt the incapacity of the negro for knowledge, yet he, prudently enough, passed laws forbidding the attempt.

The African was snatched from the wilds of savagery and thrust into the midst of a mighty civilization. He thus escaped

[1] By Kelly Miller. Adapted from Race Adjustment, 2d edition, pp. 259–275. The Neale Publishing Company, New York, 1909.

the gradual progress of evolution. Education must accomplish more for a backward race than for a people who are in the forefront of progress. It must not only lead to the unfoldment of faculties but also equip for a life from which the recipient is separated by many centuries of development.

It required the human race thousands of years to bridge the chasm between savagery and civilization, which must now be crossed by a school curriculum of a few years' duration. In a settled state of society the chief function of education is to enable the individual to live the life already attained by his race, but the educated negro must be a pioneer, a progressive force in the uplifting of his race, and that, too, notwithstanding the fact that he belongs to a backward breed that has never taken the initiative in the progressive movements of the world.

The first great need of the negro is that the choice youth of the race should assimilate the principles of culture and hand them down to the masses below. This is the only gateway through which a new people may enter into modern civilization. Herein lies the history of culture. The select minds of the backward race or nation must receive the new cult and adapt it to the peculiar needs of their own people. Japan looms up as the most progressive of the non-Aryan races. The wonderful progress of these Oriental Yankees is due in a large measure to their wise plan of procedure. They send their picked youth to the great centers of western knowledge; but before this culture is applied to their own needs it must first be sifted through the sieve of their native comprehension. The graduates of the schools and colleges for the negro races are forming centers of civilizing influence in all parts of the land, and we confidently believe that these grains of leaven will ultimately leaven the whole lump.

The work of the educated colored man is largely that of leadership. He requires, therefore, all the discipline, judgment and mental equipment that long preparation can afford. The more ignorant and backward the masses the more skilled and sagacious should the leaders be. If a beneficial and kindly contact between the races is denied on the lower plane of flesh and

blood, it must be sought in the upper region of mental and moral kinship. Knowledge and virtue know no ethnic exclusiveness. If indeed races are irreconcilable, their best individual exponents are not. All dignified negotiation must be conducted on the high plane of individual equality.

> For East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,
> Till earth and sky stand presently at God's great judgment seat;
> But there is neither East nor West, border nor breed nor birth,
> When two strong men stand face to face, though they come from the ends of the earth.

Irreconcilables become reconciled only after each has manifested the best possibilities of a common nature. The higher education tends to develop superior individuals who may be expected to exercise controlling influence over the multitude. The individual is the proof, the promise and the salvation of the race. The undeveloped races which, in modern times, have faded before the breath of civilization have probably perished because of their failure to produce commanding leaders to guide them wisely under the stress and strain which an encroaching civilization imposed. A single red Indian with the capacity and spirit of Booker T. Washington might have solved the red man's problems and averted his pending doom.

Again, the higher education should be encouraged because of the moral impotency of all the moods of education which do not touch and stir the human spirit. It is folly to suppose that the moral nature of the child is improved because it has been taught to read and write and cast up accounts, or to practice a handicraft. The ability to saw a line or hit a nail aplomb with a hammer does not create a zeal for righteousness and truth. It is only when the pupil comes to feel the vitalizing power of knowledge that it begins to react upon the life and to fructify in character. This is especially true of a backward race whose acquisitive power outruns its apperceptive faculty.

The negro has now reached a critical stage in his career. The point of attachment between the races which slavery made possible has been destroyed. The relation is daily becoming less intimate and friendly, and more businesslike and formal. It thus

becomes all the more imperative that the race should gain for itself the primary principles of knowledge and culture.

The social separation of the races in America renders it imperative that the professional classes among the negroes should be recruited from their own ranks. Under ordinary circumstances, professional places are filled by the most favored class in the community. In a Latin or Catholic country, where the fiction of "social equality" does not exist, there is felt no necessity for negro priest, teacher, or physician to administer to his own race. But in America this is conceded to be a social necessity. Such being the case, the negro leader, to use a familiar term, requires all the professional equipment of his white confrere, and special knowledge of the needs and circumstances of his race in addition. The teacher of the negro child, the preacher to a negro congregation, or the physician to negro patients certainly requires as much professional skill as those who administer to the corresponding needs of the white race. Nor are the requirements of the situation one whit diminished because the bestower is of the same race as the recipient. The negro has the same professional needs as his white confrere and can be qualified for his function only by courses of training of like extent and thoroughness. By no other means can he be qualified to enlighten the ignorant, restrain the vicious, care for the sick and afflicted; administer solace to weary souls, or plead in litigation the cause of the injured.

According to the census of 1900 there were 72 cities in the United States with a population of more than 5000 persons of color, averaging 15,000 each, and aggregating 1,000,000 in all. The professional needs of this urban population for teachers, preachers, lawyers, and physicians call for 5000 well-equipped men and women, not one of whom would be qualified for his function merely by the three R's or a handicraft.

The supreme concern of philanthropy is the welfare of the unawakened rural masses. To this end there is need of a goodly sprinkling of well-educated men and women to give wise guidance, direction and control. Let no one deceive himself that the country negro can be uplifted except through the influence of

higher contact. It is impossible to inaugurate and conduct a manual training or industrial school without men of sound academic as well as technical knowledge. The torch which is to lighten the darksome places of the South must be kindled at the centers of light.

Whenever the higher education of the negro is broached, industrial training is always suggested as a counterirritant. Partisans of rival claims align themselves in hostile array and will not so much as respect a flag of truce. These one-eyed enthusiasts lack binocular vision. We had as well attempt to decide whether the base or altitude is the more important element of a triangle. The two forms of training should be considered on the basis of their relative, not rival, claims.

Indeed, one of the strongest claims for the higher education of the negro is that it will stimulate the dormant industrial activities of the race. The surest way to incite a people to meet the material demands of life is to teach them that life is more than meat. The unimaginative laborer pursues the routine rounds of his task, spurred on only by the immediate necessities of life and the taskmaster's stern command. To him, it is only time and the hour that run through the whole day. The negro lacks enlightened imagination. He needs prospect and vista. He does not make provision because he lacks prevision. Under slavery he toiled as the ass, dependent upon the daily allowance from his master's crib. To him the prayer, Give us this day our daily bread, has a material rather than a spiritual meaning. If you would perpetuate the industrial incapacity of the negro, then confine him to the low grounds of drudgery and toil and prevent him from casting his eyes unto the hills whence come inspiration and promise. The man with the hoe is of all men most miserable unless, forsooth, he has a hope. But if imbued with hope and sustained by an ideal, he can consecrate the hoe as well as any other instrument of service, as a means of fulfilling the promise within him. It requires range of vision to stimulate the industrial activities of the people. The most effective prayer that can be uttered for the negro is, "Lord, open Thou his eyes." He cannot see beyond the momentary gratification of appetite

and passion. He does not look before and after. Such stimulating influence can be brought to bear upon the race only through the inspiration of the higher culture.

It requires men of sound knowledge to conceive and execute plans for the industrial education of the masses. The great apostles of industrial education for the negro have been of academic training, or of its cultural equivalent. The work of Hampton and Tuskegee is carried on by men and women of a high degree of mental cultivation.

Slavery taught the negro to work, but at the same time to despise those who worked. To them all show of respectability was attached to those whom circumstances placed above the necessity of toil. It requires intellectual conception of the object and the end of labor to overcome this mischievous notion. The negro mechanics produced under the old slave régime are rapidly passing away because they did not possess the power of self-perpetuation. They were not rooted and grounded in rational principles of the mechanical arts. The hand could not transmit its cunning because the mind was not trained. They were given the knack without the knowledge.

The charge has recently been made that money spent on the higher education of the negro has been wasted. Does this charge come from the South? When we consider that it was through Northern philanthropy that a third of its population received their first impulse toward better things; that these higher institutions prepared the 30,000 negro teachers whose services are utilized in the public schools; that the men and women who were the beneficiaries of this philanthropy are doing all in their power to control, guide and restrain the South's ignorant and vicious masses, thus lightening the public burden and lifting the general life to a higher level; that these persons are almost without exception earnest advocates of peace, harmony, and good will between the races; to say nothing of the fact that these vast philanthropic contributions have passed through the trade channels of Southern merchants, it would seem that the charge is strangely incompatible with that high-minded disposition and chivalrous spirit which the South is so zealous to maintain. Does this

charge come from the North? It might not be impertinent to propound a few propositions for their consideration. Is it possible to specify a like sum of money spent upon any other backward race that has produced greater results than the amount spent upon the Southern negro? Is it the American Indian, upon whom four centuries of missionary effort has produced no more progress than is made by a painted ship upon a painted sea? Is it the Hawaiian, who will soon be civilized off the face of the earth? It is incumbent upon him who claims that this money has been wasted to point out where, in all the range of benevolent activity, the contributions of philanthropy have been more profitably spent.

It is true that forty or fifty millions of dollars have been thus spent, but when we consider the magnitude of the task to which it was applied, we find that it would not average one dollar a year for each negro child to be educated. Why should we marvel, then, that the entire mass of ignorance and corruption has not put on enlightenment and purity?

It is sometimes claimed that the few capable negroes can find opportunity for higher training in the institutions of the North. It is by no means certain as to what extent these institutions would admit colored students. The Northern college is not apt to inspire the colored pupil with the enthusiasm and fixed purpose for the work which Providence has assigned him. It is the spirit, not the letter that maketh alive. The white college does not contemplate the special needs of the negro race. American ideals could not be fostered in the white youth of our land by sending them to Oxford or Berlin for tuition. No more can the negro gain racial inspiration from Harvard or Yale. And yet they need the benefit of contact and comparison, and the zeal for knowledge and truth which these great institutions impart. The negro college and the Northern institution will serve to preserve a balance between undue elation for want of sober comparison, and barren culture, for lack of inspirational contact with the masses.

It is often charged that the higher education lifts the negro above the needs of his race. The thousands of graduates of

negro schools and colleges all over the land are a living refutation of this charge. After the mind has been stored with knowledge it is transmitted to the place where the need is greatest and the call is loudest, and transmuted into whatever mode of energy may be necessary to accomplish the imposed task.

The issues involved in the race question are as intricate in their relations and far-reaching in their consequences as any that have ever faced human wisdom for solution. No one can be too learned or too profound in whose hands are intrusted the temporal and eternal destiny of a human soul. Even if the educated negro desired to flee from his race, he soon learns by bitter experience that he will be thrown back upon himself by the expulsive power of prejudice. He soon learns that the Newtonian formula has a social application: "The force of attraction varies directly as the mass."

77. THE PROBLEM FROM AN ETHNOLOGIST'S POINT OF VIEW[1]

When we turn our attention to the negro problem as it presents itself in the United States, we must remember our previous considerations, in which we found that no proof of an inferiority of the negro type could be given, except that it seemed possible that perhaps the race would not produce quite so many men of highest genius as other races, while there was nothing at all that could be interpreted as suggesting any material difference in the mental capacity of the bulk of the negro population as compared to the bulk of the white population.

Much has been said about the shorter period of growth of the negro child as compared to the white child, but no convincing data have been forthcoming. Considering the great variation in the duration of growth and development in different individuals and in various social classes, according to the more or less favorable nutrition of the child, the information that we possess in regard to the negro child is practically without value. We have not

[1] By Franz Boas. From The Mind of Primitive Man, pp. 268–278. The Macmillan Company, 1911.

even evidence that would prove that a shorter period of development must be unfavorable in its results. Neither do we know at what period and in what manner develop the typical negroid features, which are much less pronounced in the newborn than in adults.

It is surprising, that, notwithstanding their importance, no attempts have been made to gain a better insight into these anatomical and physiological problems, some of which might be solved without much difficulty. As it is, almost all we can say with certainty is, that the differences between the average types of the white and of the negro that have a bearing upon vitality and mental ability are much less than the individual variations in each race.

This result is, however, of great importance, and is quite in accord with the result of ethnological observation. A survey of African tribes exhibits to our view cultural achievements of no mean order. To those unfamiliar with the products of native African art and industry, a walk through one of the large museums of Europe would be a revelation. None of our American museums has made collections that exhibit this subject in any way worthily. The blacksmith, the wood-carver, the weaver, the potter, — these all produce ware original in form, executed with great care, and exhibiting that love of labor, and interest in the results of work, which are apparently so often lacking among the negroes in our American surroundings. No less instructive are the records of travelers, reporting the thrift of the native villages, of the extended trade of the country, and of its markets. The power of organization as illustrated in the government of native states is of no mean order, and when wielded by men of great personality has led to the foundation of extended empires. All the different kinds of activities that we consider valuable in the citizens of our country may be found in aboriginal Africa. Neither is the wisdom of the philosopher absent. A perusal of any of the collections of African proverbs that have been published will demonstrate the homely practical philosophy of the negro, which is often proof of sound feeling and judgment.

It would be out of place to enlarge on this subject, because the essential point that anthropology can contribute to the practical

discussion of the adaptability of the negro is a decision of the question how far the undesirable traits that are at present undoubtedly found in our negro population are due to racial traits, and how far they are due to social surroundings for which we are responsible. To this question anthropology can give the decided answer that the traits of African culture as observed in the aboriginal home of the negro are those of a healthy primitive people, with a considerable degree of personal initiative, with a talent for organization, and with imaginative power, with technical skill and thrift. Neither is a warlike spirit absent in the race, as is proved by the mighty conquerors who overthrew states and founded new empires, and by the courage of the armies that follow the bidding of their leaders. There is nothing to prove that licentiousness, shiftless laziness, lack of initiative, are fundamental characteristics of the race. Everything points out that these qualities are the result of social conditions rather than of hereditary traits.

It may be well to state here once more with some emphasis that it would be erroneous to assume that there are no differences in the mental make-up of the negro race and of other races, and that their activities should run in the same lines. On the contrary, if there is any meaning in correlation of anatomical structure and physiological function, we must expect that differences exist. There is, however, no evidence whatever that would stigmatize the negro as of weaker build, or as subject to inclinations and powers that are opposed to our social organization. An unbiased estimate of the anthropological evidence so far brought forward does not permit us to countenance the belief in a racial inferiority which would unfit an individual of the negro race to take his part in modern civilization. We do not know of any demand made on the human body or mind in modern life that anatomical or ethnological evidence would prove to be beyond the powers of the negro.

The traits of the American negro are adequately explained on the basis of his history and social status. The tearing away from the African soil and the consequent complete loss of the old standards of life, which were replaced by the dependency of slavery and by all it entailed, followed by a period of disorganization and

by a severe economic struggle against heavy odds, are sufficient to explain the inferiority of the status of the race, without falling back upon the theory of hereditary inferiority.

In short, there is every reason to believe that the negro, when given facility and opportunity, will be perfectly able to fulfill the duties of citizenship as well as his white neighbor. It may be that he will not produce as many great men as the white race, and that his average achievement will not quite reach the level of the average achievement of the white race; but there will be endless numbers who will be able to outrun their white competitors, and who will do better than the defectives whom we permit to drag down and to retard the healthy children of our public schools.

The anthropological discussion of the negro problem requires also a word on the "race instinct" of the whites, which plays a most important part in the practical aspect of the problem. Ultimately this phenomenon is a repetition of the old instinct and fear of the connubium of patricians and plebeians, of the European nobility and the common people, or of the castes of India. The emotions and reasonings concerned are the same in every respect. In our case they relate particularly to the necessity of maintaining a distinct social status in order to avoid race-mixture. As in other cases mentioned, the so-called instinct is not a physiological dislike. This is proved by the existence of our large mulatto population, as well as by the more ready amalgamation of the Latin peoples. It is rather an expression of social conditions that are so deeply ingrained in us that they assume a strong emotional value; and this, I presume, is meant when we call such feelings instinctive. The feeling certainly has nothing to do with the question of the vitality and ability of the mulatto.

Still the questions of race-mixture and of the negro's adaptability to our environment represent a number of important problems.

I think we have reason to be ashamed to confess that the scientific study of these questions has never received the support either of our government or of any of our great scientific institutions; and it is hard to understand why we are so indifferent toward a question which is of paramount importance to the

welfare of our nation. The anatomy of the American negro is not well known; and, notwithstanding the oft-repeated assertions regarding the hereditary inferiority of the mulatto, we know hardly anything on this subject. If his vitality is lower than that of the full-blooded negro, this may be as much due to social causes as to hereditary causes. Owing to the very large number of mulattoes in our country, it would not be a difficult matter to investigate the biological aspects of this question thoroughly. The importance of researches on this subject cannot be too strongly urged, since the desirability or undesirability of race-mixture should be known. Looking into a distant future, it seems reasonably certain that with the increasing mobility of the negro, the number of full-bloods will rapidly decrease; and since there is no introduction of new negro blood, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the ultimate effect of the contact between the two races must necessarily be a continued increase of the amount of white blood in the negro community.

This process will go on most rapidly inside of the colored community, owing to intermarriages between mulattoes and full-blooded negroes. Whether or not the addition of white blood to the colored population is sufficiently large to counterbalance this levelling effect, which will make the mixed bloods with a slight strain of negro blood darker, is difficult to tell; but it is quite obvious that, although our laws may retard the influx of white blood considerably, they cannot hinder the gradual progress of intermixture. If the powerful caste system of India has not been able to prevent intermixture, our laws, which recognize a greater amount of individual liberty, will certainly not be able to do so; and that there is no racial sexual antipathy is made sufficiently clear by the size of our mulatto population. A candid consideration of the manner in which intermixture takes place shows very clearly that the probability of the infusion of white blood into the colored population is considerable. While the large body of the white population will always, at least for a very long time to come, be entirely remote from any possibility of intermixture with negroes, I think that we may predict with a fair degree of

certainty a condition in which the contrast between colored people and whites will be less marked than it is at the present time. Notwithstanding all the obstacles that may be laid in the way of intermixture, the conditions are such that the persistence of the pure negro type is practically impossible. Not even an excessively high mortality and lack of fertility among the mixed type, as compared with the pure types, could prevent this result. Since it is impossible to change these conditions, they should be faced squarely, and we ought to demand a careful and critical investigation of the whole problem.

It seems to my mind that the policy of many of our Southern States that try to prevent all racial intermixture is based on an erroneous view of the process involved. The alleged reason for this type of legislation is the necessity of protecting the white race against the infusion of negro blood. As a matter of fact, this danger does not exist. With very few exceptions, the unions between whites and negroes are those of white men and negro women. The increase of races, however, is such that the number of children born does not depend upon the number of men, but upon the number of women. Given, therefore, a certain number of negro women, the increase of the colored population will depend upon their number; and if a considerable number of their children are those of white fathers, the race as a whole must necessarily lose its pure negro type. At the same time no such infusion of negro blood into the white race through the maternal line occurs, so that the process is actually one of lightening the negro race without corresponding admixture in the white race.

It appears from this consideration that the most important practical questions relating to the negro problem have reference to the mulattoes and other mixed bloods, — to their physical types, their mental and moral qualities, and their vitality. When the bulky literature of this subject is carefully sifted, little remains that will endure serious criticism; and I do not believe that I claim too much when I say that the whole work on this subject remains to be done. The development of modern methods of research makes it certain that by careful inquiry definite answers

to our problems may be found. Is it not, then, our plain duty to inform ourselves, that, so far as that can be done, deliberate consideration of observations may take the place of heated discussion of beliefs in matters that concern not only ourselves, but also the welfare of millions of negroes?

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